THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

1877  1929

Founded by JAMES KNOWLES

219

JULY 1929. No. 629. Vol. CVI

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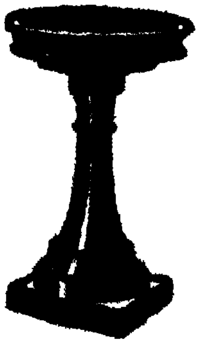
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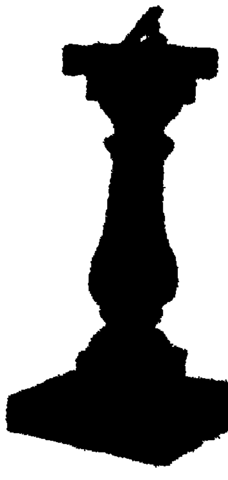
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CENTURY
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No. DC[illegible]—[illegible]

THE DISFRANCHISED

Votes cast :

Conservative [illegible]
Labour [illegible]
Liberal [illegible]
Independents [illegible]

Thus, in order to return a member, an average number of votes was cast as follows :

To return a Labour member . . [illegible] votes
To return a Conservative member . . [illegible]
To return a Liberal member . . [illegible]

The figures in regard to Independents are not very useful, partly because they represent several different schools of thought, and partly because out of the nine Independents two (nearly one quarter) were returned unopposed.

The figures set out above show not merely that the effective value of a Conservative vote was less than the effective value of a Labour vote, though there is a considerable difference even in that respect : but they show that so great was the inequality in regard to the effective value of Liberal votes, that a Conservative vote had almost three times, and a Labour vote more than three times, the effective value of a Liberal vote. Exact mathematical equality in the value of votes is not attainable in practical politics ; but some rough approximation to equality is necessary if democratic government is not to break down, since democratic government does not mean merely majority rule, but necessitates that a representative assembly should in its composition be fairly representative of the views of the electorate.

At the present moment Conservatives, irritated by being in a minority, are disposed to throw the blame upon Liberals, because Liberals insisted on voting for candidates who held Liberal views, even when those candidates were most unlikely to be elected. The Conservative assumptions on this matter are two : assumption number one, which may be called the premise, being that a Liberal voter who cannot hope to succeed in returning a Liberal candidate ought not to vote Liberal ; assumption number two, which may be called the conclusion, being that if a Liberal voter did not vote Liberal he or she would vote Conservative.

Both assumptions are unjustified, and indeed are rather foolish. The typical Liberal voter is deeply opposed to Socialism and to certain Marxian tenets of the Labour Party ; he is [illegible] by the class attitude which is one of that party's [illegible] characteristics. But he is also deeply opposed to [illegible] Protection (under whatever pleasing name it may be [illegible]) believing it to be highly injurious to the [illegible] and [illegible] to our shipping : he strongly [illegible]

[illegible] represented in the House of Commons.

[illegible] the assumption that, in the absence of a [illegible] a Liberal will in fact vote Conservative any [illegible] for the absence of a Liberal candidate [illegible] be much influenced by the particular legislative [illegible] problems which at the moment are most pressing [illegible] the slightest doubt that in most industrial [illegible] no Liberal candidate in the field, quite three-fifths of the [illegible] vote would generally be given to the Labour candidate [illegible] more than two-fifths to the Conservative candidate.

This opinion, which is based upon a number of [illegible] gathered from various sources, is of course difficult to [illegible] by an appeal to figures, but support is lent to my view by [illegible] that have been published in regard to the election at [illegible] Preston returns two members and each elector has two votes. There were four candidates, of whom two were Conservative, one was Labour, and one was Liberal. The Labour and Liberal candidates were successful, but of the voters [illegible] cast a vote for the Labour candidate only, and did not use their second vote; [illegible] over [illegible] cast a vote for the Liberal only, and did not use their second vote. The voters [illegible] for candidates belonging to two different parties [illegible] for Liberal and Conservative, [illegible] and Labour, [illegible] voters. Now on these figures [illegible] there were at least [illegible] Liberal [illegible] preferred the Conservative [illegible] second choice.

[illegible]

been upon the whole election I doubt if even the most knowing could form a reliable opinion.

Another important factor in political influence is ignored by the assumption that Liberals ought to unite with Conservatives in rejecting Labour candidates. It may be called the factor of Political Sincerity. All Liberal speakers must be aware of the bitter gibes that are flung at them when combined action between Liberals and Conservatives has taken place or has been suspected. Agreement and disagreement between Liberals and Conservatives is made to appear a mere matter of party expediency, divorced from any question of political principle, and belief in the political sincerity of both Liberals and Conservatives is thus destroyed. It is a familiar saying that Britain does not love coalitions, and this is true; but the reason of this dislike is often misunderstood. It is not, as is often assumed, that Britain dislikes compromise. The Englishman has a very keen sense of the propriety and of the advantage of compromise, but he hates insincerity, and he never feels confident that members of coalitions are acting with political honesty. Political principle can be upheld in the public eye only by supporting one's own beliefs, even if the result may be inconvenient to some political party; and a reasonable confidence in the sincerity of candidates and of parties is essential to the healthy political activity and interest of the electorate.

It is thus seen that electoral reform is of the utmost importance, and should be taken in hand at once by all who believe in representative or in democratic government. The Labour Party would be wise to undertake it, though no doubt it is difficult for leaders of a party which has just achieved power under a defective electoral system to feel keenly the importance of remedying the defects. The Conservative Party would be wise to press for electoral reform, because the disappearance of Liberal candidates will undoubtedly result in the severe defeat of the Conservative Party at the polls whenever certain classes of political question come to the front. And now is the time for action, else any party government—and both Labour and Conservative Governments will sometimes obtain office—will in times of overwhelming success tend to push aside the question of electoral reform, just as a party returned to power under a system of election by 'rotten boroughs' never could bring itself to believe that the system was rotten and a travesty of representative government.

It is worth while to consider what is likely to be the effect in the future of the perpetuation of our present electoral system, if Liberals get tired of being disfranchised and vote for Conservative or Labour candidates. Whatever else has been demonstrated by the General Election, the comparative number of voters who can

fairly be regarded as holding opinions represented by Conservative, Labour, and Liberal has been ascertained, because each of the three parties ran a reasonably complete set of candidates. Put it at its lowest, Liberal opinions are held by one-fifth of the electorate. Now if one-fifth of the electorate is not really in sympathy with either of two parties for one of which votes have to be cast, it is surely clear that from time to time there will be a violent swing of the political pendulum. The swing of the pendulum has in the past been put down, and rightly put down, to the unattached voter who has no very definite political views. How much more violent is that swing likely to be when to the voter with no very definite political views is added the voter with very definite Liberal views. He would have no true party allegiance and would find himself impelled to transfer his vote from one party to another as the circumstances of the moment indicated. The great weight of Liberal opinion will thus be added at the end of the pendulum to the already rather inconveniently heavy weight of indefinite opinion. No one can contemplate that position without serious concern, except the merely party politician engaged in a game of see-saw, cynically singing, 'If I'm in to-day, I'll be out to-morrow; if I'm out to-day, I'll be in to-morrow. What does it matter? I get my turn.'

Both Conservative and Labour politicians no doubt believe that if they could wipe the Liberal Party out of existence both candidates and electors would be compelled to join one of the two remaining parties, which would thus gain a great access of strength. But these calculations ignore the vital fact that even if, by their joint efforts, the Conservative and Labour Parties could kill the Liberal Party—and they have frankly joined hands in the attempt—they cannot kill Liberal opinion, and Liberal opinion will always command many votes, even if there be not a single Liberal candidate in the political arena. The Liberal conception of government is far more individualistic than either the Conservative or the Labour conception, and only the Liberal can in the long run be relied upon to struggle to maintain the freedom of the individual against bureaucratic tyranny, whether in the State or in local government. Liberalism stands for a theory of individual helpfulness and an ideal of individual service which is largely, though vaguely, held to-day amongst the younger people of this country, probably more largely held than at any previous time. It is only this theory of individual duties and responsibilities, as well as of individual rights, that can successfully combat the Marxian theories of State ownership and State production and State control and belief in the political struggle for material wealth. Against these Marxian doctrines Conservatism wages an unequal and losing fight, because it has no

radically different theory of government to which to appeal. It is content to use the power of the State to carry out Conservative wishes, and by the power of the State to strive to maintain some existing division of material wealth. Liberalism does not believe in government by a ruling class, but does believe in maintaining individual initiative in all branches of human activity: it believes that competition is not only healthy, but is essential to progressive development, and this not only in the production of material wealth, but in the production of ideas and ideals and in mental and spiritual concerns, although it fully recognises the need for co-operation, which indeed is the outcome of that urge towards individual helpfulness which lies at the root of Liberalism.

As these ideas and the political opinions based upon them cannot be killed, there will always be a large number of voters who are essentially dissatisfied with a Government which is either Conservative or Labour, and will tend always to express their dissatisfaction by voting against whatever Government is in power and thus increase the already existing tendency to instability. Electoral Reform is the only way to avoid this permanent dissatisfaction by allowing such voters a reasonable representation of their views in Parliament, and the wisdom of Electoral Reform should thus be patent to all who set country and good government above immediate party interest, and of such there are many in all three parties. And let not Conservatives flatter themselves that they and the Labour Party will, if the Liberal Party be extinguished, permanently occupy the political field. Any day it may be their turn to be the disfranchised. Already on the political horizon is a cloud, small as a man's hand, of another party with another theory of the social structure, and it may be the Labour Party, which, in the opportunist hope of strengthening itself against its new foes, will join hands with them to extinguish the Conservative Party. Political Nemesis is not often long delayed, and conscienceless political precedents have an awkward way of repeating themselves, the victors of to-day becoming the victims of to-morrow. Liberals have at times departed from principle and theory and have followed political expediency, with disaster as the result. They are not in a position to preach, but may be in a strong position to warn. Many people to-day fear that a three-party system may make the stability of Government uncertain, but worse than the inconvenience of an unstable Government is the danger of an unstable structure of society.

The particular method of Electoral Reform is no doubt a fair subject for careful discussion and consideration. Proportional Representation in any of its forms seems to involve the creation of much larger constituencies, and already constituencies are of

unwieldy size. It seems that a constituency to be fitted for the proportional representation of three parties must be large enough for the return of five members, so that if, for example, the voting in the constituency were of the same character as the voting throughout the whole country at the recent General Election, the constituency might be represented by two Conservatives, two Labour members, and one Liberal. In such large constituencies the qualifications of the individual candidates would count for even less than at present, and that would be a serious detriment to parliamentary government.

Perhaps the scheme of the Alternative Vote is for practical purposes the most satisfactory method of reform. If there were only two candidates, each voter would have one vote and the election would take place exactly as at present But if there were three or more candidates each voter would have two votes, one a first-choice vote and one a second-choice vote, and both votes could not be given to the same candidate In the first place, all first-choice votes could be counted, and if a candidate were found to have to his credit more than one-half of the number of voters who voted—that is, more than one-half of the number of voting papers used—then that candidate would be elected, just as under the present system But if of the first-choice votes no candidate polled votes equal in number to a majority of the voters who voted, then the second-choice votes would also be counted and added to the first-choice votes, so that each candidate would be credited with all votes given to him whether first-choice votes or second-choice votes, and the candidate who then had most votes would be elected This system would enable electors to elect the candidate who would have been elected in a straight fight between any two of the candidates, and thus prevent the election of a candidate who could not have secured a majority of votes in a straight fight against some one of the other candidates. The system would not necessarily secure a representation of parties in the House of Commons proportional to the party complexion of the views of the electors, but it would be much more likely to do so than the present system It would still be true that two strong parties could in theory combine to prevent representation of a weaker party The party machine, however, cannot be relied upon to bring about such a combination in more than a limited number of constituencies, and it is fairly certain that under this Alternative Vote system a reasonably proportional representation would result ; and it has the immense advantage of simplicity.

Another possible method of Electoral Reform is the scheme for Second Ballots, such as is in force in France. Under such a scheme it is necessary that a candidate in order to be elected must

secure a majority of votes cast. If at the first election a candidate obtains a majority of votes cast, he is elected and there is an end of the matter; and no doubt in this country, and so long as there are not more than three effective parties, a single ballot would suffice in a very large number of cases. But if no candidate obtains a majority of votes cast the result of the voting given to each candidate is made known, and another election is held for that constituency on a later day, say a week later. A number of voters, seeing that the candidate for whom they voted at the first ballot cannot possibly secure election, will probably vote on the second occasion for a candidate—who may be considered their second choice—more likely to secure a majority of votes cast, and in all probability some candidate will thus secure election at the second ballot. If he does not, then a third, or in theory even a fourth, ballot may become necessary, but practical voters would no doubt see to it that this was unnecessary. This system does not necessarily secure a representation proportional to the party views of the voters throughout the country, but, like the Alternative Vote, does prevent the election of any member who cannot secure an absolute majority of votes in a constituency. The great drawbacks of the system of Second Ballots are that the advantage of having all elections upon one day is largely lost, the period over which a General Election would extend being greatly increased by the need for several ballots, and that the second ballots take place in a by-election atmosphere owing to the fact that the relative strength of parties has become known upon the declaration of the first ballots. More than usually cynical bargains between parties might perhaps be likely under this system.

But whatever system of Electoral Reform is deemed best or is deemed least open to objection, it is clear that some method of Electoral Reform must be introduced if anything like representative government is to continue in this country, and if government is to be saved from becoming a mere travesty of democratic rule.

R. M. MONTGOMERY.

THE FLEMISH QUESTION

How to bind two races, two tongues in one land? This problem, which has long agitated Belgium, has lately assumed a proportion and an intensity which threatens her very existence. The charm, the gallantry of the little country have enshrined it in the esteem of all the world; its disintegration would be a grief even from the sentimental standpoint. But beyond that it would be a catastrophic menace to the peace of Europe.

To get to the root of the matter one must look back 2000 years. At the time of the barbarian invasions the savage hordes of the Franks, marching along the left bank of the Rhine and spreading along the plains to the North Sea, found their expansion checked by the impenetrable forest which covered a large portion of what we now call Belgium. The natural barrier arrested them as a dyke throws back the flood.

This accident of topography produced the following situation: to the south of the forest the tribes of Belgic Gaul, who had been civilised and refined by the Roman domination, dwelt on in comparative peace, untouched by Germanic barbarism, preserving their individuality and their language—that Latinised Gallic which is alike the mother of the French tongue and of its bastard sister-tongue, Walloon; while to the north of the forest the Franks settled down in the wide plains which stretch away towards the sea.

In the course of ages the sylvan barrier thinned and vanished, but an invisible line of demarcation mysteriously persisted. To this day the two races, entirely different in character, in language, in physique, stand aloof from one another, each on its original territory. The linguistic frontier runs now just where it ran in the dawn of history, cutting Belgium roughly in two. Rule a straight line across the map from a little above Tournay to Aix-la-Chapelle; broadly speaking, the Flemish language reigns supreme to the north of the line. I say broadly speaking, because among the mass of the people there is a minority of French-speakers, as I shall explain later. To the south of the line only French is heard; there has been no Flemish interpenetration here. Certain villages sit astride the line: on one side of a street

dwell Flemish families, on the other side French-speaking families they scarcely ever intermarry or foregather.

For centuries the two races have lived under the same government, practising the same religion, fighting in the same wars; nothing seems to have the power to weld them into unity. They are not only detached, they are hostile.

The Fleming remains, like his Frankish ancestor, fair-haired, blue-eyed, sanguine, massive of jaw, stout and fleshy of build, a copious eater, a heavy drinker He is slow and tenacious, brutal when roused, suspicious in temper, long ruminating an offence in gloomy silence He is clean, he is hardworking and thrifty, he is profoundly religious, patriarchal in his habits, and of his nature drawn to a strong and pure family life

The Walloon is as opposite in type as it is possible to conceive He is small, slight, quick, dark, always ready with a smile and a friendly word Cleverer than the Fleming, he is also more superficial, less religious he is more licentious. He is easier to live with, but not necessarily the better fellow He belongs as essentially to the Latin race as the Fleming belongs to the great Germanic family

Of these conflicting entities is the kingdom of Belgium composed

Some historians, led by the erudite Monsieur Pirenne, proclaim the existence of what they term 'the Belgian soul' That soul seems elusive indeed one may doubt whether it has ever been evolved but the Flemish soul is certainly strongly characterised, unmistakable

The Flemish soul created those marvellous little townships whose spired cathedrals pierce with beauty the monotony of the plains of Flanders like flowers breaking through a dark soil—Ypres, Malines Ghent Bruges each with its individual charm The Flemish soul greets you in those poignant bells that ring from many a fretted turret tower bells that have no equal in the world for mellow depth for crystalline mirth The Flemish soul glows under the brush of Van Eyck Memlinc, and their compeers in reds and blues and greens intense and harmonious beyond the attainment of any other school of art, it rollicks in the canvas of Breughel and Teniers it flaunts in the rich imagination of Rubens

Though somewhat slackened now in creative impulse, the Flemish soul is still very much alive, informing the race with inextinguishable vitality spanning a mist of romance across the flat, wide land whose purple distance melts into a grey sea, enaureoling even the grossest peasant with a certain beauty, as, blouse-clad and sabot-shod, he drives his lumbering bullocks in the plough.

The Walloons, for all their charm, have no such individuality. ɔ continue the metaphor, their soul is of the same essence as the ul of France, whereas the Flemish soul stands out quite distinct nong the Germanic races.

William I., in his fumbling attempt to 'amalgamate' the terogeneous parts of the new kingdom of the Netherlands sated for him by the Powers after Napoleon's fall, imposed ntch as the official tongue of Belgium and Holland alike. This actment gave the final impetus to the revolution of 1830, a volution initiated by the French-speaking Belgians, who cceeded for once in carrying along with them the somewhat luctant Flemings. The latter would have liked well enough to e their speech supreme, but they, like the Walloons, had been asperated by William's previous obnoxious measures, in the partments of finance, religion and political representation.

In the reaction against all things Dutch it was natural that ere should be a swing of the pendulum back to all things Gallic. ıe constitution of liberated Belgium under Leopold I. established French as the official language; the use of Flemish in other walks of life was to be 'optional.'

This was the beginning of the grievance which the Flanders folk have nursed for 100 years.

It cannot be denied that for a long while they had to bear many wrongs and hardships. Under a Francophile *régime* the word 'optional' had only a negative interpretation, and in many instances, especially in the law courts, this led to abuses. To succeed in any situation a knowledge of French became a necessity, and, as a natural sequence of events, the aristocracy, the higher bourgeoisie and the more important tradesmen, who, even in Flanders, had for some time past been strongly pro-French, began completely to discard the use of Flemish. The great landowners now speak it only just sufficiently for communication with their people.

The better classes as a whole are out of sympathy with the 'Flamingants,' as the devotees of the nationalist revival are called; they consider the movement a retrograde one, which at the best must bring about the atrophy of Flanders, pent up by its linguistic barrier, and at the worst may cause the disruption of Belgium.

The Fleming, on the other hand, profoundly resents the attitude of those whom he dubs the 'Frenchifiers,' '*les Fransquillons*.' To his intense race-consciousness is added a class-consciousness; his superiors are 'too grand' to speak as he speaks. The grievance smoulders in him like a hidden fire.

The Flamingants are confronted, however, by a serious internal

difficulty. There is really no one Flemish language; there are only innumerable dialects of the mother-language, which is Dutch. Each province, each town has its *patois*, varying in a remarkable degree. Natives of different parts of the country scarcely understand each other. If the revival is to be serious and successful, it is necessary to begin by unifying the speech and purging out the dialects. The Dutch grammar—the only Flemish grammar which exists—must be taught in the primary schools. With the spread of education a good deal has been accomplished in this direction, but much still remains to be done.

The Walloons have had to surmount a like obstacle. The children of their districts are taught French, which is so different from their dialect as to be incomprehensible to them without instruction.

The Walloons, however, while cherishing their *patois* for its folk-lore associations, are wise enough to realise that ignorance of French would be fatal to their own development. So one hears little or nothing of 'Walloonism.'

But 'Flamingantism' is becoming daily more of a force. The Flemish clergy were among its earliest supporters, for reasons other than patriotic. Their people, entirely Catholic, have remained remarkably innocent and God-fearing, whereas the Walloons, as a whole, are socialistic, sceptical and anti-clerical. In the mind of the priesthood the very knowledge of French spells danger; 'it is the drain in which runs the sewage of Paris,' to quote a regrettably provocative phrase uttered at a Malines Conference in 1906. 'All for Flanders and Flanders for Christ,' is their rallying cry.

Thus far it is a perfectly comprehensible view-point, and so long as the campaign remained within the legitimate limits of service to God and country it was encouraged by the Belgian hierarchy. Cardinal Mercier, himself a Walloon, led the bishops in proclaiming that the Fleming had a right to pray, to trade, and to express the needs of his daily life in his own tongue. But the great cardinal, whose wisdom was as deep as his charity, very soon detected a new and dangerous trend in the movement, and at his instigation the entire episcopate condemned with admirable promptitude and energy the abuses which were creeping in. Catholics were forbidden to join certain societies and to subscribe or contribute to certain journals for the support of Flamingantism, because beneath their veneer of patriotism and religion there lay hidden 'a menace to established authority.'

Time has revealed this menace to be two-fold. The Socialists exploit the linguistic cleavage between the upper and lower classes: it is a weapon ready to their hand! That gracious and self-sacrificing royal lady, the Belgian Queen, has been hooted and

[illegible] in the streets of Malines by Flamingant Socialists. These are, however, a minority and an anomaly in their party, for the religion of Flanders has, up to now, kept this danger in check. The Catholic Church is avowedly the worst enemy of Socialism.

But there is another tendency of greater consequence; I mean the exploitation of the race affinity.

Even before the war certain sections of the Flamingants yearned towards what they called 'Our Mother Germany.' Teutonic encouragement of this filial attitude was not lacking. In 1908 the Pan-Germanic organ *Alldeutsche Blätter* opened a subscription list for a fund for the transmutation of the University of Ghent into a purely Flemish institution, and the review *Germania* launched an appeal for the same purpose. 'Who will now hold back? This is the defence of a sacred cause!'

Such was the state of affairs before the war. In 1914 the magnificent flame of patriotism which swept the country united the Fleming and the Walloon for a brief and glorious hour. For the time it would have been possible truly to speak of a Belgian soul; yet even then, the King, in his terse soldierly address to his people, was never able to forget the dual nature of his kingdom: 'Remember, *Flemings*, the Battle of the Golden Spurs,' said he on August 5, 1914, 'and you, *Walloons of Liège*, remember the Six Hundred Franchimontois.' And the next day he declared that 'everywhere in *Flanders* and in *Wallonia* one single sentiment fills all hearts.'

The enemy, hoping to find in Flamingantism a powerful dissolvent of this patriotic union, exploited it from the earliest days of the occupation. It is interesting to note, however, that in the initial stages the Germans made a catspaw of the Dutch.

In October 1914 a Dutchman, Pastor Domela Nieuwenhuys, renowned for his Pan-Netherlandish activities, founded a Flamingant association at Ghent under the title of 'Jong Vlaanderen' ('Young Flanders'). In 1915 a similar society, 'Volksopbeuring' ('The Uplifting of the People'), was established at Courtrai under such eminent patronage as that of the Archbishop of Utrecht, Van De Wetering, and the Dutch Ministre d'État, Baron Rengers. While Domela remained a worker in the cause, Rengers and the archbishop subsequently withdrew; Germany had no further need of screening—she felt strong enough to come forward with the avowal of her *Flamenpolitik*.

It must at once be emphatically stated that the large majority of Flemish patriots, however anti-Walloon their views, indignantly refused the perfidious patronage of Germany. But it was inevitable that a minority should be found foolish enough and venal enough to play into the enemy's hands. This minority

styled themselves Activists, in contradistinction to those Passivists who repudiated action through Germany.

As a first start in his political campaign the governor-general, Von Bissing, decreed the complete 'Flemandisation' of the University of Ghent on May 15, 1916. On October 21 of the same year he presided at its inauguration with all the pomp and splendour the circumstances allowed. 'Throughout the whole country,' declared Von Bissing on this occasion, 'the opening of the University of Ghent will be hailed with joy, for it is the proof that I stand here as the representative of Flemish policy.'

This day was marred for the Germans by an inopportune and tragic encounter. By a dramatic coincidence, as Von Bissing, with a brilliant escort of soldiers, German authorities and Activist professors, was proceeding to the college buildings for the inauguration, he came unexpectedly upon another procession at the corner of the Rue des Dominicains—the pitiful convoy of those heroic Flemish workmen who, having refused their labour to the enemy, were being deported into Germany as slaves.

It is curiously characteristic of the Germans that, while laying themselves out to win Flanders for their own ends, they nevertheless continued this oppression of the people. The failure of their *Flamenpolitik* was largely due to the burning indignation caused by the deportations.

It was four days after the inauguration, when the new academic authorities took formal possession of the college buildings, that August Borms made his first public declaration. This man—the only one among the Activists whose name need be cited here—becomes henceforth the most salient figure of a sinister drama.

The Activist Central Committee, in which Borms occupied the chief place, had been in touch with Von Bissing as far back as July 1915, and had rendered valuable service to the Germans by furnishing them with secret information. The party was now to reveal itself openly as the vassal of the enemy, and the twin currents of German and Flemish politics flowed for some time evenly side by side.

In pursuance of a carefully graduated scheme the Germans proceeded at once—on October 25, 1916—to the division of the Ministry of Science and Art into two sections, one Flemish, the other Walloon. The Activists, encouraged by the warmth of Teutonic protection, became daily more daring. In the following February a meeting calling itself the 'Flanders National Parliament' assembled in Brussels, and from its own members selected forty-six to form 'The Council of Flanders.' In March a deputation of the council, led by Borms, waited upon the Chancellor in Berlin and expressed their policy. The Germans, under the delusion that the embassy represented the real [illegible] of

[illegible] an all-important step. On the 22nd of the same month the governor-general decreed the complete administrative separation of Belgium; Brussels was appointed as the seat of the Flemish Government and Namur of the Walloon Government. Nevertheless, from that hour of apparent triumph until the Armistice, the Activist Party floundered ever deeper in every slough of dissension, treachery and failure.

> Activism [wrote the Belgian Professor Van der Essen in 1917] embraces a group of people whose respective opinions are as diverse as the hues of a rainbow. It comprises some sincere men who dream of an autonomous Flanders without the domination of Germany; some visionaries who demand the creation of a duchy or a kingdom of Flanders under one of the sons of King Albert; some traitors who work for the incorporation of Flanders in the German Empire; some adventurers who are only looking for good berths in a new organisation; some Pan-Netherlandists who cherish the secret hope of an ultimate reunion with Holland; some desperadoes who, under the impulsion of a kind of delirium of persecution, hate the Belgian Government.

The impossibility of defining a programme for such a heterogeneous party can easily be conceived. 'The traitors' alluded to by the professor contrived early in the movement to obtain a certain supremacy. The programme of Jong Vlaanderen contains the following demands:

The extirpation of the French tongue.

The establishment of Flemish as the vehicular language in all instruction, with German as the 'second language.'

The suppression of the name of Belgium.

The complete separation of Flanders and Wallonia, and the federation of the State of Flanders in greater Germany.

It was this element in Activism which addressed congratulations to Hindenburg on his victories, and which at a great meeting in Brussels in November 1917 proclaimed the deposition of the Belgian Government, then at Havre, and of the reigning house of Saxe-Coburg; and which, in a final shameful effort, founded the 'Frontpartij'—an association whose aim was to corrupt the army in the field and incite the soldiers to desert.

They failed. They failed with their fellow countrymen, who, under the dual leadership of their heroic king and their heroic cardinal, remained in an overwhelming majority unswervingly loyal and patriotic. So great was the indignation against the traitors that Activist meetings had actually to seek the armed protection of the Germans.

They failed with the Germans, who in the hour of victory always evaded any definite promise as to the future autonomy of Flanders, and who in the hour of defeat most cynically abandoned them.

Flanders, a mere pawn in the game, was [illegible] sacrificed by Germany when the pressure of the [illegible] began to make itself felt. The vice-chancellor, Von [illegible] declared at Stuttgart, in September 1918, that Germany was [illegible] to restore the integrity of Belgium.

Hopeless and panic-stricken, the Activists immediately sought to cover their own tracks by an alliance with the Passivists, who, naturally, refused their overtures.

There was nothing for it but to follow their faithless masters in ignominious flight. The archives of the Council of Flanders were hastily thrown into cases and despatched to Germany, and passports were granted to the most notorious Activists to enable them to escape from the just reprisals of those whom they had betrayed.

'Flanders, freed from Wallonia, will certainly serve the interests of Germany,' wrote Von Bissing to the Kaiser in 1917. And in the same year the chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, wrote to Hindenburg as follows: 'The fate of Belgium depends on the final success of our arms; but, whatever happens, a Belgium in which the Flemish majority is delivered from the yoke of the Walloon minority with its tendency towards France will be more easily made useful to German interests than the Belgian State under its present constitution.'

How hardly these hopes died is proved by the following decree of the governor-general, Von Falkenhausen, on the very eve of the evacuation of Belgium, when it was no longer possible to cherish illusions as to the issue of the war: 'I decide that a sum of ten millions of francs, taken from the funds of which the German civil administration disposes in Belgium, shall be deposited in the Reichsbank in Berlin. This sum shall be used for the development of Germanism in Belgium after the war.'

When King Albert returned in triumph at the Armistice the whole country was at his feet. The alarming prognostics of certain politicians seemed entirely falsified; instead it appeared for the time as though the victories which had pressed the invader back beyond the frontier had swept away also the jealousies and dissensions that had once divided the land. But after a while it became obvious that an evil seed had indeed been sown and was being assiduously cultivated. How truly may Belgium say, surveying the cockle among the wheat in the ruined harvest of her peace, 'An enemy hath done this.'"

The Flemings have never forgotten that some twelve years ago there was given to them the fallacious hope, the bright promise not only of dominion over the hated Walloon element, but even of a glorious independence. What they have forgotten or ignored

over are the circumstances in which the promise was made and the character of those who made it; for the war, with its heroism and its woe, is fading daily out of memory.

They have no longer a real grievance. Since 1918 successive legislation has removed any injustice from which Flanders may previously have suffered. The rights of the Flemish-speaking population are now safeguarded in the army, in the schools, in the university, in the civil service, in the courts of law. But the Flamingants are not yet content. The more they receive, the more they desire. Equality of language no longer satisfies them; they claim supremacy; in fact, like the members of Jong Vlaanderen, they demand the total abolition of French. Flemish is the vehicular language in their schools; according to them, French should not be considered the necessary second tongue, but placed on the same par as 'foreign languages,' such as English and German. On occasions their pretensions really pass from the sublime to the ridiculous, as when they profess themselves insulted if, in the bilingual indication of street and railway station, the French name appears above and not beneath the Flemish name.

This intense nationalism is systematically wrought upon by the 'Frontists,' as the Activists now officially call themselves; for unfortunately that party which was only temporarily scattered by the Allied victory soon coalesced once more, and is now an active virulent minority among the Flamingants, as of yore.

The chief Activist leaders were heavily sentenced as a result of the trials for high treason instituted after the war. In 1919 Borms, who had had the temerity to return to Brussels, was arrested at his own house, tried, and condemned to death upon counts too numerous to detail here. As the death penalty does not exist in Belgium, this was equivalent to penal servitude for life. But he and his fellows had always counted on ultimate clemency, and not in vain. Even in the midst of their panic at the German retreat one of the Activists had declared: 'Our amnesty will come later, from the Belgian Government itself.'

For some time past the Socialist and Flamingant deputies have been united in a clamour for the remission of the sentences on political prisoners. The debate on the subject was proceeding in the Belgian Parliament when the Frontists brought off a coup so audacious as to be well-nigh incredible.

Towards the close of 1928 there was a bye-election at Antwerp, one of the sitting members and his substitute being both deceased. It was understood that, according to precedent in such cases, the seat would not be contested, and that, as the late member had been a Liberal, a new Liberal member would be returned unopposed. The chief political parties had notified their abstention, when the Frontists unexpectedly set up their candidate. The

country was shaken to the core by conflicting passion when it became known that this candidate was no less a person than August Borms. The issue was thus strangely falsified: the contest became one between Catholic and Liberal (which on the Continent means Anti-clerical), and between Flamingant and Fransquillon. The Catholic Party, who had no time to bring forward a candidate of their own, issued an order to their adherents to hand in their voting papers—since voting is obligatory—blank. Unfortunately there were other and sinister forces at hand to influence the largely illiterate Catholic Flemish-speaking electorate. It was easy enough to transfigure Borms in their eyes as a martyr in the Flemish cause and to represent the election as a kind of referendum in favour of the amnesty. It was a lightning campaign of falsehood. On the evening of Sunday, December it became known that Borms had been elected by an over-whelming majority. Analysis of the poll revealed that while some 22,000 blank papers had been deposited, 83,000 votes had been recorded for Borms. The Liberal candidate received under 45,000 votes.

The country was instantly rent by violent dissensions. A procession of Antwerp students marched through the streets of Antwerp bearing a streamer 'Down with the King! Borms shall be King in his place!' Six hundred students at Louvain organised a similar demonstration, ending up by a meeting beneath the walls of Borms' prison. These disgraceful occurrences produced a drastic condemnation from the hierarchy forbidding students of the Catholic University to take part in disloyal and 'separatist' demonstrations; and indeed the great majority of the students themselves were not slow in vindicating the honour of their class. A few days later a procession of them, 100 strong, marched through Brussels amid the acclamations of a huge crowd manifesting their hatred for the Frontists—the 'Flamboches' as they contemptuously term them—by many a curse and gibe.

The election was a 'gesture' by the Frontists, for, being a condemned traitor, Borms could not, of course, take his seat. The Parliament indeed proclaimed it null and void and, as it had the constitutional right to do, declared the Liberal candidate to have been duly elected to represent Antwerp.

A partial amnesty was accorded almost immediately to Borms and his comrades. A safeguarding clause excluded from all civic rights those liberated prisoners who had been condemned to more than ten years' penal servitude; nevertheless the act of clemency seems, in the circumstances, regrettable. However, in the view of a large section of loyalists, Borms in prison acquired the dangerous halo of a political martyr, whereas Borms liberated

would, they considered, soon fall to the level of his own mediocrity. The opinion is disputable.

As a matter of fact, Borms, after a not very fruitful Activist campaign in Holland, has recently been engaged in making a series of triumphal entries into various Flemish towns These '*joyeuses entrées*,' as the old Belgian phraseology has it, are magniloquently reported in the Flamingant Press ; the 'Fransquillon' newspapers pass them over in silence.

The revelation that the author of the *Forgery of Utrecht* was deeply immersed in Activism has thrown a fresh and not too pleasant light upon the movement

The elections of last May presented no spectacular incident such as the candidature of Borms, yet the results have inspired Belgian patriots with avowed anxiety The Socialists fought a losing battle, indeed, against the Catholics and the Liberals ; this was a triumph for 'the parties of order' But there is a black spot The Frontists increased the number of their seats in the Chamber from six to eleven, they won three seats in the Senate, which brought them for the first time into the Upper House, the proportion of votes obtained by them in every constituency where their list was offered was substantially larger than in 1925

On the surface it would appear as if eleven seats out of a total of 187 were not an alarming figure, but there are strong currents beneath the surface

If the bishops had not, just before the elections, issued a fresh and drastic condemnation of the policy of separatism, it is certain that the Frontist advance would have been very much greater The episcopal embargo gave pause to many Flemings, who, largely ignorant of the darker side of Activism, are naturally drawn to the 'Frontparty' There is an ever-growing danger that these may forsake the 'Catholic' Party, whose nationalist programme is now too moderate for them, and throw the weight of their overwhelming majority on the side of the Frontists, the party of disruption

This, then, is the situation in which Belgium finds herself to-day. What can be the solution of the dilemma ? Dangers seem to shadow every suggested plan

The aggressiveness of the Flamingant Party—the moderate section of which is carried away, like our own Labour Party, by the greater impetus of the extremist minority—seems to preclude the maintenance of the *status quo ante* These demand some

form of separation, either complete independence or the creation of two federalised States—Flanders and Wallonia, with the centre of government at Brussels. In this case, would the bond be strong enough to hold? Would there not be a natural pull towards racial affinities: Wallonia drawing towards France, and Flanders towards Holland or Germany?

It is noteworthy that there is no desire on the part of the Walloons to merge themselves in France, except as an alternative to Teutonic domination; whereas, as Monsieur Henri Charriaut has justly observed, 'Flamingantism is indeed a form of Pan-Germanism. Directed against the French spirit, it has favoured the Germanic element whether its promoters have willed it or not.'

A further difficulty arises from the fact that in Flanders a portion of the population has become, from motives of expediency or of patriotism, either entirely French-speaking or at least bilingual. Although Flamingantism is no doubt increasingly powerful, there is [illegible] in the north, a strong opposition. As the distinguished Belgian [illegible], Monsieur Ferdinand Neuray, wrote recently: '[illegible] that road lies civil war and ruin. The people of [illegible] the Walloons will never submit to the imperialism of the Flamingants. If Belgium is cut in two, their autonomous [illegible] six months.'

It would seem [illegible] that the Powers, in the interests of the peace of Europe, [illegible] countenance the disintegration of Belgium [illegible] State, and the barrier must hold. It would be [illegible] the League of Nations.

The [illegible] the definite evolution of the Belgian [illegible] in both political camps are striving [illegible]. There exists a National League for Belgian [illegible] good work; the royal family never spare [illegible], and certain sections of the Press have [illegible] making an effort to allay bitterness. A recent [illegible] *Nation Belge* contained this pregnant phrase: 'It [illegible] that Flanders, *the real Flanders*, in contradistinction [illegible] foreign element, should feel herself to be [illegible].'

This [illegible] which, if amplified, should lead to national harmony.

Marie-Louise de Meeûs.

THE VALUE OF CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT FOR RELIGION[1]

He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. ... Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loath should be poured into them. (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* I. i. 1.)

It was thus that Richard Hooker began the first of his eight books *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which he explained and defended the "received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England" against the attacks of those who desired their subversion. And if in our own day the attacks come from a quarter very different from that from which they came in his day, it is against the same charges of serving the time and speaking in favour of the present state that the defender of that received discipline will have to contend. If, however, it can be shown that the present difficulties or defects of the Church of England, so far from being remedied by disestablishment, are likely to be seriously increased by such a course, his defence, whether popular or not, will at least be well founded.

No attempt can here be made to discuss the relations of Church and State in general. Such an undertaking would raise questions, both of theory and of policy, of the utmost difficulty. I will only remark that no one who is not prepared with some views of the nature of the Church, or again of the nature of the State, is likely to discuss profitably the nature of the relation which exists between them. Here I shall limit myself to certain

[1] The reader is referred to the article "Disestablishment by Consent," by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Durham, which appeared in the January number of the Review.—Editor.

considerations which have at least a practical importance at the present time.

The grounds upon which a defence of the established position of the Church of England is usually made to rest are primarily two. It is contended first that it is greatly to the benefit of the State to be in close alliance with the Church, because thereby civil policy and [illegible] are secured against becoming merely secular in nature [illegible] and are governed, at least in a measure, by [illegible] considerations. And it is contended [illegible] Church is assisted in its material well-being by the endowments which Establishment secures and disestablishment would at least seriously decrease. These considerations are of [illegible]. It is due at least in a considerable degree to the established Church of England that this country is [illegible] evils of an anti-religious civil policy and an [illegible] in political life, two evils of which it would be [illegible] whether the one or the other is the more inimical [illegible]. It is true also that the Church is [illegible] endowments which it possesses. This [illegible] is usually discussed with reserve [illegible]. But if endowments are regarded [illegible] of the clergy but as property held in trust [illegible] its individual ministers for the furtherance [illegible] to apologise for their existence. [illegible] would be not only great folly, but [illegible] quite inexcusable.

Th[illegible] would weigh very heavily with anyone [illegible] of Disestablishment; but it is not to [illegible] attention. Important as they are, there [illegible] upon which Church Establishment must be [illegible] less frequently adopted but not less [illegible]. [illegible] is of value, not only to the civil [illegible] for the material well-being of the Church, [illegible] of religion itself. I wish to maintain that [illegible] interests of the Church itself that the Establishment should be preserved; that it is untrue that the liberty [illegible] of the Church (as the phrases now go) requires [illegible]ment; and further that liberty in spiritual things is [illegible] threatened by the present measure of civil control.

In all discussion of the position or policy of the Church of England there is one question which should take precedence over all others. What course of action, or what kind of ecclesiastical constitution, is for the greatest religious well being of those whom it will concern? Is the maintenance of Establishment on the whole for the good of the religion of Church and land, or will the

cause be served better by disestablishment? It is important, in answering these questions, to take into consideration not only the number of persons who, in either case, will be affected, but also the kind of religion which each course is likely to promote. But then every other consideration, whether of doctrine, of ritual, or of ecclesiastical order, must be made subsidiary to this.

William Paley, in a classical discussion of religious establishments (*Moral and Political Philosophy*, Book VI., ch. x., 'Of Religious Establishments and of Toleration'), which should be studied by all whom this subject concerns, rests his whole argument upon the principle that 'a church establishment is founded in its utility.' The promotion of the general good, and so of the general religious well-being, is, in all questions of Church order, the determining consideration. How shall we best promote true religion? Paley's term 'utility,' and the equivalent phrase 'that which conduces, by its general tendency, to the public happiness,' may be open to criticism upon several grounds; but fundamentally his position is sound. And it may be the more readily accepted if his further contention be admitted, as history requires. 'It cannot be proved,' he says, 'that any form of church-government was laid down in the Christian, as it had been in the Jewish Scriptures, with a view to fixing a constitution for succeeding ages.' If by 'utility' is meant 'conducive to the interests of religion,' then 'a church establishment is founded in its utility.'

Much of the hostility to the established position of the Church of England derives its strength from a conviction quite inconsistent with the principle here laid down. It is held that the measure of control now exercised by Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs, and the other legal and administrative consequences of Establishment, necessarily involve an infringement of the spiritual authority and independence of the Church. Such a contention appears to involve the assumption that the antithesis of sacred and secular coincides with that of ecclesiastical and civil; that civil control of, or interference with, ecclesiastical affairs is necessarily the usurpation of spiritual authority by the civil power. And the term 'secular,' here applied to the civil authority, is usually understood to mean worldly or material, either in a sense positively bad or at least in a sense excluding spiritual interests. But this assumption is seriously misleading. On the one hand, it is not true that the acts of the civil power are merely secular. 'The parliament,' said Hooker, who knew better, 'is a court not so merely temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool' (*Ecc. Pol.*, VIII., vi. 11). 'A gross error it is,' he says in another place, 'to think that regal power ought to serve for the good of the body, and not of the soul; for

men's temporal peace, and not for their eternal safety: and if God had ordained kings for no other end and purpose but only to fat up men like hogs, and to see that they have their mast?' (*Ecc. Pol.*, VIII., iii. 2). And to-day, when the civil power is responsible for so many tasks which, like education, are essentially spiritual, it is absurd to identify the civil with the secular. On the other hand, it is no less erroneous to identify the ecclesiastical with the spiritual. They may, indeed, at times even be opposed. But, leaving that aside, it is absurd to identify them. In the first place, the spiritual cannot be immediately identified with the religious. The best in morals, in art, in science or learning, is indubitably spiritual; but it is not directly religious. And, in the second place, if attention is confined to the religious sphere, and if it is considered from what quarters guidance in religion comes to-day, the answer cannot be that it comes only from the religious societies of the country; still less that it comes only from the clergy or from the ecclesiastical assemblies. Much of the most vigorous religion of the present day is connected somewhat loosely with the Churches which in a great measure have fostered it in the past. It is therefore doubly false to assume that whatever conflicts with an ecclesiastical policy or decision is therefore in conflict with the spiritual interest, or that civil control in religious matters is necessarily an infringement of spiritual rights.

It is only when these distinctions are clearly apprehended that it is possible to examine profitably the claim that it is in the ecclesiastical assemblies of the Church, in its bishops and other clergy, that 'inherent spiritual authority' alone resides. This is not a doctrine which can claim to represent the tradition of the Church of England as a whole. There is no such 'inherent' spiritual authority in bishops or clergy. Authority in religious matters is not different, either in source or in kind, from authority in those other spheres which, like religion, are essentially spiritual. Authority in religious matters resides in whatever most adequately promotes or represents the highest religious interest of the country; whatever does so is, for the time being, a seat of spiritual authority; and whether this be lay or clerical is in itself immaterial to the question. That the leaders of the Church possess no spiritual authority I am far from asserting; but, so far as they possess it (and it is a question of degree), it is not by reason of any inherent power which they possess, but by reason either of their personal qualities or abilities, or of the position which their office gives them in the society of the Church, as its officials and representatives. The authority which the Christian of the Church of England finds in his Church he finds in its tradition, its society, its common worship, as embodied in the

actual life of the congregations and parishes of the country, and only in a secondary and derivative sense can he be said to find it in its bishops or assemblies. The phrase '*inherent* spiritual authority' is a misleading phrase, adapted rather to inflame the mind than to illuminate the complex problem of where, in a modern community, the seat of authority in spiritual affairs is to be found. It is certain that it is not to be found only in the ecclesiastical assemblies. And it is wrong to assume that action by Parliament becomes an infringement of that authority whenever it reverses some ecclesiastical decision. The question of importance is, what system of polity, civil and ecclesiastical, will best promote the true spiritual interest which it is the function of both to serve?

It was the view of Hooker that 'The parliament of England together with the convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm; it consisteth of the King, and of all that within the land are subject unto him: for they are all there present, either in person or by such as they voluntarily have derived their very personal right unto' (*Ecc. Pol.*, VIII., vi. 11). And he held that its 'power in making laws' might extend even to 'laws concerning the most spiritual affairs of the Church' (*Ecc Pol*, VIII, vi 12); though the normal method of procedure would be for the convocation to advise and for the King in Parliament to approve But the actions of all, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are subject to law which is everywhere supreme. 'It is neither permitted unto prelate nor prince to judge and determine at their own discretion, but law hath prescribed what both shall do' (*Ecc. Pol*, VIII., viii. 9). In this theory there is nothing inconsistent with spiritual independence. That the King is in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme involves no control of the sacred by the merely secular; any other form of polity, because less truly in the interests of spiritual well-being, would, in his view, be less truly an embodiment of spiritual authority For the ideal, as Hooker envisaged it, was that 'there is not any man of the Church of England but the same is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England'; so that 'no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other' (VIII., i. 2). 'The Church and the commonwealth therefore are in this case personally one society, which society being termed a commonwealth as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regiment, a church as it hath the spiritual law of Jesus Christ' (VIII., i. 4). The ideal is not an alliance or concordat between Church and State, but that of a Christian commonwealth, which is 'personally one society.'

It is true that this ideal has never been realised to the full; and the factors which have contributed to, or marked, its partial failure are principally two. In the first place, the growth of parliamentary government, as contrasted with government by the King, placed supreme power in the control of Parliament, even in ecclesiastical affairs; and no longer was it true in the same sense that both Parliament and Convocation exercised their functions subject to the King. And when, at a later date, Parliament ceased to be composed entirely of members of the Church of England, the system was evidently in some degree anomalous. In the second place, other religious bodies, distinct from the Church of England, became increasingly prominent and independent; and the existence of these bodies, even if in a true sense their members remained non-conforming members of the Church of England, made the ideal of Hooker in some measure an unreality. There are those who would maintain that it is an anachronism even to entertain that ideal at the present day. But with this I cannot agree A system does not cease to be real and operative because it contains anomalies or imperfections; that would make every system of government impossible. The ideal of a commonwealth in a fundamental sense Christian need not be surrendered; the alternative to it, a secular State, does not exist in this country, and it is not desired. And though the Church of England, as by law established, represents the religion of England both incompletely and imperfectly, it nevertheless represents it really, and much more really than does any other society. The ideal itself, I think, is the true ideal and should not be lightly surrendered, particularly at a time when the attractions of sectarianism are diminishing. It may still be maintained, I believe, in the words of Bishop Thirlwall, 'that in the happiest state of things, that in which each [sc Church or State] best fulfils the purpose of its institution, the very same persons who, in one view, constitute the State, in another view, constitute the Church; and that, as the head is not the body, so the ruler, or governing power, is not the State, but the representative and organ of its mind and will; and the Clergy, or ministering agency, is not the Church' (Charge of 1869, *Remains*, ii. 206). Moreover, it is not without significance that there is at present no considerable desire in any quarter that Church Establishment should be made to terminate, with the single exception of a group of persons within the Church itself.

From what has been said, it must be concluded that the cry of 'liberation from secular control,' based upon the assumption that the present position of the Church is 'humiliating' or 'intolerable,' is seriously misleading in its suggestion. It must now be argued that the true spiritual liberty is in fact secured

best by the maintenance of the Establishment, and by the measure of civil control which it involves. Liberty in spiritual matters is of the first importance. But what is this liberty which it is essential to conserve? Is it power to pursue unhindered some ecclesiastical policy, or to pass measures (even of liturgical revision) in the assemblies of the Church? Such power may be valuable, or it may be the reverse; but, in either case, it is not in any fundamental sense 'spiritual liberty' at all. The liberty which is of supreme importance, to which almost every other consideration must give way, is liberty for independent thought and action within the Church. Liberty *within* the Church, if I may so express it, is of incomparably greater importance than liberty *for* the Church. And can it be seriously maintained that this true spiritual liberty would be conserved or increased by a policy of disestablishment? There can be little doubt that in a disestablished Church it would be seriously curtailed. It has been the established position of the Church of England, with its consequences of the supremacy of law, of the civil appointment of bishops, of the civil courts as the supreme court of appeal, and of the security of tenure possessed by incumbents, which, more than anything else, has secured to members of the English Church a spiritual liberty such as has been enjoyed by no other Church in Christendom over so wide an area and for so long together. But, it may be replied, these consequences of civil courts and civil appointments are a serious scandal, they involve a sacrifice of principle in that they place in the control of the secular power an authority which should be purely spiritual, and this no Christian can tolerate. But such a contention I have already rejected. If, I repeat, this system really fosters and interprets the true needs of religion, if, on the whole, the true spiritual liberty is secured by its maintenance, then this system is the truest embodiment of spiritual authority—a truer embodiment than is afforded by any other system, be that other never so spiritual in name or in pretension. And if it be contended that this is a resort to mere expediency, again the contention must be repudiated. It is not expediency, in any sense inconsistent with the strictest principle, where the highest end is throughout given primary place and importance. Rather, it is compromise with principle when a system is put before the values which it is instituted to conserve, for it is then that the end is sacrificed for what is valuable only as a means.

But, as I observed earlier, a system of Church order is tested not merely by its success in promoting religion, but even more by its capacity to foster the best religion; for religion, like other things, may sometimes be bad instead of good. A sure test of the quality of a religion is the extent to which it is in harmony

with the rational and the moral; a religion out of contact with these will inevitably be degenerate. But this harmony will not be preserved unless religion is in constant touch with the moral and intellectual activities of the civilisation in which it exists. The Establishment has been a most important influence in maintaining this contact; and to remove this influence would be specially serious at the present time. There is a tendency in certain quarters to develop and encourage a type of piety which is narrow and specialised, even if also fervent and devout—a type of piety out of contact with the broader movements of culture. This dangerous tendency would probably be assisted by disestablishment, and it would certainly be assisted if disestablishment were carried through on the basis of the issues raised in the recent controversies; indeed, it is significant that it is from those circles where this kind of religion is most encouraged that the demand for disestablishment is commonly most in evidence. I will venture, in this connexion, to quote a passage of some length from the great charge delivered by Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's in 1869. Much of the charge had been occupied with a discussion of the policy of those who, on the ground of the spiritual liberty of the Church, had advocated such reforms as 'Diocesan Synods, General Councils, change in the Court of Appeal, Reform of Convocation' The bishop then proceeded to review as a whole the motives of the party desiring these changes. His words, if written for a different occasion, apply without change and with a singular exactness to the present agitation for disestablishment. He said

The various projects we have been reviewing . . , however independent of one another they may appear in their origin, are really parts of one movement, and are directed toward a common object, and, when we bring them together, so that they may throw light on each other, it seems impossible to doubt what that object is It is evidently to recover the position in which the Church, as identified with the Spirituality, stood before the Reformation, in the period to which so many of our clergy are looking back with fond regret, as to a golden age which, if it were permitted to man to roll back the stream of time and to reverse the course of nature and the order of Providence, they would gladly restore. It matters nothing how many or how few of those who are furthering this movement are conscious of this tendency, if wholly unsuspicious, they would not be the less efficient instruments in the hands of those who see further, and with a more definite purpose But the present union between Church and State, a union in which, happily, the Church is not identified with the Spirituality, opposes an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of this object. Few, probably, even among the leaders of this movement, desire to see this obstacle removed by a rupture and separation between the two parties. But there may be some who indulge a hope that, by continued agitation, they will be able to bring about a modification of the terms of the union according to their wishes, so as to free the clergy

from the control of the State in ecclesiastical matters, while they retain all the advantages which they derive from its protection and support. Buoyed up with this hope, they may use very strong language, and urge their followers into very rash councils, in the belief that, even if they fail in their attempt something may be gained, and no harm be done. But, as I just now observed, such agitation is not harmless because it is impotent and useless. It is not a light evil that men should be taught to consider themselves as living in 'galling fetters' and an 'ignominious bondage,' if this is not a true description of their real position (*Remains*, ii. 141).

I do not here consider whether some modification in detail of the present form of the Establishment may be required to meet the changed conditions of the present day. And I do not wish to discuss the details of the recent conflict about the Prayer Book, which has caused the demand for disestablishment to be again heard. But, in conclusion, and following upon the extract from the charge which I have quoted, I will make one observation upon the issue of that conflict It may fairly be said that, on the one hand, the revised book, in its general character and intention, marked the dominance in the councils of the Church (not, I think, amongst its rank and file) of the school which is the successor of that party which Thirlwall had in mind: it may be called, perhaps, the school of Bishop Gore, or of the book *Lux Mundi* (1889) On the other hand, the rejection of the book by Parliament marked the repudiation by the nation as a whole of the ideal of that school. Hence the vote was not directed against religion, nor against the Church, but against the ambitions of a particular school It was a vote taken in the cause of the traditional position of the Church of England, and of the type of piety which has been fostered within it. It was directed only against a *certain kind* of religion, and a *certain conception* of the Church. Consequently, Parliament, in acting as it did, and whatever the various motives of its members, acted on the whole for the maintenance and well-being of the Church of England. That being so, to speak of 'usurpation' or 'bondage' or 'an intolerable humiliation' is seriously to misjudge the position and to use words which can only mislead those whom they are intended to influence. Such language is rather evidence of personal exasperation and disappointment than a true indication of the nature of the situation. The result of the recent conflict is rather evidence of the value of the Establishment. To abolish it on the present issue would almost certainly involve disruption; whereas its preservation is for the good of the State and also for the spiritual breadth and well-being of the Church.

J. S. Boys-Smith.

ANOTHER VIEW OF 'THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE'

The Nineteenth Century for May contained two articles on the work and influence of country clergymen in their parishes which were full of interest and suggestion and a considerable amount of truth. But the general note of the articles was so pessimistic and so depressing that room may perhaps be found to record the very different emphasis with which one such clergyman can review the experience of twenty-five years in a remote village of 300 people

The two articles are of a remarkable consistency · all the more striking because, as the editor tells me, they were sent to him unexpectedly and independently, and by a coincidence were read by him consecutively Cause and effect are set out quite plainly. The village clergyman is told that he is to expect little from his flock; they are a debased and worn-out stock. New blood is the chief hope for the country; in a rural community the level of initiative and intelligence is low Country people, we are told again, have no use for the church in itself—a little charity is about all they have ever got out of it, as for the church services, they have always been more or less incomprehensible, and are fast becoming more so.

It is assumed that it is the duty of the clergyman to adjust his view of religion and his public ministrations to the taste of his parishioners, the alternative to this is selfish insistence on his own particular fads. If the clergyman is not to be 'a redundancy,' it will be because he is attractive as a man, treats all alike, and is useful in the social activities of the village. In the June number of this Review Mr Lockhart made a gallant defence of the work of the High Church school in the villages, and the purpose of this article is to add what I can to his statement of the case.

Two recent writers have given us penetrating studies of the character of country people In *Precious Bane* Mrs Webb describes Shropshire peasants actuated by no religious motive at all. Mrs. Skrine, with wonderful delicacy and insight, paints fo

as Shepherd Easton's daughter practising her religion with the most attractive innocence and simplicity and joy. I am sure that Mrs. Skrine's picture is on the whole more true to life. Mystics are not very rare among country people. A religious setting for life is part of the atmosphere of a village; the fundamental realities of God and judgment and redemption are not questioned. With respect to the rising generation, modern fashions as to neglect of Sunday and moral laxity are no doubt not without strong influence; but it is not uncommon to find young men and young women who have used the advantages of a wider outlook and a better education to understand their religion more thoroughly and to practise it more intelligently. I do not think it is at all a disadvantage that the majestic language of the Liturgy should be in detail sometimes incomprehensible; mystery is an element in all true religion; the wisest of us have no adequate language in which to express what we believe, or to articulate our adoration. The old-fashioned phrases and picturesque suggestions of the unrevised Prayer Book seem to me to match very well with the old cottages of our people, just as the bald and crude modernity of the 'proposed book' invites comparison with the 'council houses,' ill-placed, ill-built, ill-arranged, uninteresting, hideous, which are the despair of all lovers of rural beauty.

'The decline in church attendance has kept pace with the advance of ritualism, or what may be called churchiness, in the Church of England'

Perhaps; but it is certain that the attendance at church is not more unsatisfactory than at chapel, and equally certain that the attendance at 'ritualistic' churches is by no means less than at churches where the services are few in number, and are done with the extreme minimum of ceremony. So far as my own knowledge goes, by far the largest village congregations on Sunday mornings are at churches where the service is the Eucharist sung, with vestments for the priest, and lights, if not always incense, for the altar But, of course, such churches are relatively few in number, and to some extent attract worshippers from outside the parish.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that country people cannot use what are called Catholic practices as media for the expression of their faith. I have had to deal very intimately with the personal religion of a good many men and women of all classes, and I have found few in the religious orders, or among the worshippers of great London churches, who come to confession with more simple and sincere penitence, or who receive communion with deeper devotion and happiness, than some of my village flock. No doubt fussiness and elaboration and posing are

intolerable to a country congregation, but villagers [illegible] proud of their church, and they are glad to see it beautiful.

No homes in England are more charming than our [illegible] cottages, and the accurate taste of those who live in [illegible] love them will commend the colouring of the church throughout with the familiar whitewash, as a background for a very few solemn and brilliant ornaments, a great altar, a fine window, a good picture, the rood in the chancel arch. The Sacrament reserved for the sick has been a very conspicuous part of the equipment of every parish church in Catholic Christendom for 1000 years, and it was among the most outrageous of recent proposals, backed, I am told, by the highest authority in the Church, that our magnificent village churches should be permanently deprived of this privilege.

I remember in a northern parish a farmer reduced to speechless fury by the repeated efforts of the rector to explain and commend the eccentricities and intricacies of the 'English Use.' The rector, though a learned man, was no better than a fool to think the mentality of the farmer was capable of being interested in such recondite and yet trivial discussion. The rector should arrange the services so that each as far as possible may be a perfect work of art—that is to say, each detail should be very carefully ordered; the singing, the preaching, the reading, the ceremonies, each should be done as well as possible, but it is as stupid to discuss such matters in the pulpit as to debate about the plates or the table-cloth or the cooking at a dinner party. The services should be short, and while many more frequent opportunities should be given, the rector will be wise if he insists for the majority of his flock on attendance at church on Sunday morning, and reception of the Sacrament at least three times a year.

Village people are not in the least adverse from ceremonial. They love a wedding or a funeral or a baptism, and take their part with dignity and grace. The rector should be ready to allow all the honours of the church, music, a cope, lights, just as readily for the wedding or funeral of a poor person as for the squire, and this will be very much appreciated.

Mr. Baldwin has written of 'the stupid urban view of the countryside as dull' You do not get to understand villagers in a day or a year, but when you know them well you will say there is no finer stock in England No doubt they are without the impudent charm of the London gamin: they are slow and silent; they are cautious and reserved, but Thomas Hardy saw how deep these still waters often run. You must approach village people with humility and respect, and then you will find them full of interest and attraction The mechanical routine of the

[illegible]

In his great books Baron von Hügel contends again and again that what is deepest in religion is adoration. The village priest preaches what he believes much more effectively by what he does than by what he says, and here we have the explanation which country people are quick to understand, of prayers said daily through the year in cold and nearly empty churches. The labourers will not be unimpressed as they see the parson on his way to church as they set out to work, and the parson will go to his school and to his visiting with the serenity and strength he has won in times spent with God.

If the village priest makes the most of his opportunities, there can scarcely be a more full or more useful life than his. Every day he has probably the happy chance of teaching the children in the parish school; it is their only opportunity of learning from a teacher of more or less wide and liberal education. So the parson does not keep very closely to the 'Diocesan Syllabus.' He interests the children in local history and local saints; he makes alive for them the world into which Christianity came, the world of the Empire to which St Paul preached. If a boy is to be coached for the Air Force, or a farmer's lad to be taught Latin to prepare him for a grammar school, the parson is the man for the job.

The village priest should be recognised as the servant and friend of all in the parish. He must be entirely regardless of the distinctions of class. He should live with the simple dignity of a poor gentleman. He should be constantly among his people, not only when they are sick, but when they are well.

Most of all, the village priest must be a man with a message. He must be obsessed with the ideals of the Ordination Services of the Church of England. He must have the highest hopes for his people. He must have the deepest sense of their preciousness in the sight of God. He must be quite sure that what he has to give them is a blessing which will enrich and ennoble and irradiate life in this world, as well as lead to happiness in the world to come. He must be sure of the facts of the faith, otherwise he has no business to be a priest.

It is really absurd to suggest that country people are less accessible to the appeal of religion than the inhabitants of Mayfair or Middlesbrough, but religion must be offered to them with gentleness and charity and respect, not with scornful condescension, as to a degraded race.

When we have done our best there will still be many we have failed to touch. This is probably inevitable. The late Bishop of Oxford said very wisely to a conference of priests 'there cannot be a more perilous motive in the world than the motive of commending ourselves to any and every one about us, to convince them of the reality of our ministry. I know well enough in my experience as a schoolmaster that the schoolmaster who is most deluded is the man who confidently tells you he has got hold of all his boys, he has commended himself to any and everyone; it is certain that all his boys have got hold of him.'

The Curé d'Ars has not been dead very many years. His story is the brilliant example of how a dissolute and indifferent country parish may be on the whole converted to Jesus Christ by a priest of no great gifts, but of ardent devotion, boundless charity, and utter self-sacrifice.

J. F. Briscoe.

MIGRATION OF HISTORICAL MSS.

THIS country has long been justly proud of the mass of original material available to throw light on our history in its various aspects from pre-Norman times down to the present day. Owing to our comparative immunity from foreign wars and civil disturbances on our own soil, we have not suffered losses or even wilful destruction of ancient records to the same extent as other countries. But, though proud of our advantages in possessing such rich materials for the understanding of the growth of our institutions and social conditions, we are at last beginning to realise that, unless we take more heed of some of these priceless possessions, we are in danger of seeing them disappear from our shores, even disappear altogether from the ken of scholars best able to use them, into the *morgue* of some foreign collector's repository. Already, especially within recent years, some most valuable collections, as well as single documents of historical importance relating to almost every period of our national life, have left the country for good, in some cases without leaving a trace of their present whereabouts. Even in the most favourable circumstances, when their present abode is known and accessible to students, they are obviously not so conveniently situated for purposes of comparison with cognate or contemporaneous documents already housed in our national archives, such as the British Museum and the Record Office. Nor is the sentimental value of retaining such memorials of our past to be despised. If national pride is of any worth in spurring on a nation to emulate or improve on the achievements of its own past, nothing tends to foster that pride so much as a pious reverence for the records of such achievements. It is a disgrace to a nation willingly to see such records pass into other hands for money. We have long realised this about great pictures, even if they belong to private collections, and we resent and do our utmost to prevent historical buildings being sold and taken abroad to be re-erected in incongruous surroundings. Historical documents make a less obvious appeal to popular imagination: nevertheless they are an equally, if not more, important element in the formation of our national character and deserve at least as much national attention.

What can be done to prevent further losses of these precious documents? In attempting to answer this question, it is convenient to divide our records roughly into three classes:

(i.) The national records housed in the Public Record Office or in other repositories under the control of the Master of the Rolls; with these also may be classed such records of the past as have found a home in the British Museum.

(ii.) Local records in the custody of the most heterogeneous collection of authorities, such as county councils, municipalities, bishops, cathedral chapters, archdeacons, parish priests.

(iii.) Records in the custody of private owners.

With regard to (i.), save for the hand of God or extraordinary carelessness of the guardians of the Record Office and the British Museum, the documents there deposited are as reasonably safe from loss as anything within human control can be. In the British Museum the only historical records to be found are those presented by or bought from private owners, and once within the British Museum nothing can leave its portals except by Act of Parliament. As for the essentially national and public records, for nearly a century the Master of the Rolls, acting mainly through his Deputy-Keeper of the Records, has had power to secure their custody and preservation, their proper arrangement and the provision of adequate lists of them. Most of these documents are kept at the Record Office, others are lodged in other repositories: all are equally accessible, within certain limitations, to students. The last time that the Record Office system was investigated was in the years 1910-19 by a Commission presided over by Sir Frederick Pollock. Certain defects in the system were then reported upon, the most serious perhaps being with regard to the Master of the Rolls' power of destroying papers apparently useless or duplicated, the Commission itself being instrumental in rescuing from destruction some valuable Customs records; useful suggestions were also made for facilitating the work of students in respect of arrangement and catalogues of the documents: altogether, by its exhaustive investigation of the system of securing, preserving and rendering easily accessible the enormous masses of public records within the charge and custody of the Master of the Rolls, the Commission did most valuable work in improving the efficiency of the archives service and in drawing renewed attention to the matchless collection of records that form the nation's heritage. Indeed, with an almost continuous succession of records from Anglo-Saxon days to our own, no other nation can approach ours in first-hand evidence of its constitutional growth. Leaving out of account the pre-Conquest charters, Domesday Book itself is still an unexhausted mine of

[illegible] and the [illegible] conditions of both Anglo-Saxon and early Norman times. Even such giants as Stubbs, Maitland, and Vinogradoff have not extracted all the light on the gradual development of our legal system and institutions to be discovered in the charters, writs and legal proceedings of which the Master of the Rolls has charge. From the series of Pipe Rolls, unbroken from 1156 to 1832, and from the other subsidiary accounts which Professor Tout has recently put to such good use, our whole financial system for the last nine centuries can by persistent study of such evidence be deduced.

But impressive as are the bulk and importance of the national records thus preserved as a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ for the nation, there remain gaps in our knowledge which have to be supplied from other sources than those within the control of the Master of the Rolls. These are to be found in the other two classes already enumerated—(ii.) local records, and (iii.) records in private custody; and it is as to the security of these, especially class (iii.), that there is still cause for justifiable anxiety.

(ii.) Local records, though not so comprehensive in their scope as those in the Record Office, are increasingly being recognised by historians as of hardly inferior value for understanding the social and economic condition of the people in various stages of its history. How the townspeople and the peasants in the scattered villages lived, what were their rights and how they secured them, the ebb and flow of population in different localities, how the poor were maintained, how land was allocated, how petty disputes were settled locally, how the gilds supervised their crafts and the merchants their trade, what class of men entered the Church and how they performed their functions: all these matters of vast importance in the life of a nation can best be gathered by laborious searches in a multitude of these local records. Yet it may almost be said that it is only since the beginning of this century that the importance of carefully preserving and making easily accessible such local records has begun to receive general recognition. Scattered as they are about the country under the nominal tutelage of the most diverse civil and ecclesiastical authorities, there was no safeguard that any of these authorities took seriously their responsibility for these treasures. In 1902 a Treasury Committee, presided over successively by two eminent historians, Bishop Creighton and Lord Bryce, reported, after careful inquiry, on the methods adopted by those legally responsible for preserving and giving access to local records. This report was disquieting from the number of abuses revealed in these methods. There being no system of supervision over the various authorities concerned to ensure that they cared adequately for their records,

many of them, being more concerned in their immediate [illegible] trative work than in preserving the annals of the past, have neglected the latter duty. In several cases, for example, the municipal records have actually been destroyed to make room for the growing mass of papers on current business; such was the fate of the old records of Abingdon, destroyed by the corporation as late as 1870. Numerous instances have occurred of loss or dispersal of local records from the not uncommon practice of entrusting town clerks or local solicitors with the care of them in their private offices, where they are apt to be forgotten and, on the break-up of a firm, dispersed as waste paper or for whatever they would fetch at the bookseller's. In this way the records of Dunster have been sold; Salford and Winchester lost many of their records, including court-leet proceedings and even charters, though fortunately some of these were rescued from the sale-room by patriotic citizens; a rate-book of St George's, Hanover Square, for 1726 was advertised for sale in 1901; enclosure awards, often invaluable for local as well as for general economic histories, have in many cases disappeared, one case on record being that of an award pawned by a drunken overseer to a publican. Ecclesiastical records have been no more immune from such losses. Cathedral chapters, being continuous bodies, have generally been fairly careful, but even in their case there are exceptions, such as that of records belonging to Wells being used within the last century to light fires, or of documents belonging to the chapter of Westminster being sold by their solicitors to a paper-maker for conversion into pulp. Bishops, being more transitory, were more careless, so the Committee of 1902 reported, with their archives, some of them being bundled into chaotic heaps and so practically useless for reference. Parish registers have, at least since the Reformation, had an almost sacrosanct position as for a long time containing the only records of local births, deaths and marriages, but even parish priests have not proved impeccable guardians In two notorious law-suits in recent years it appeared that parish registers in various parts of the country had been tampered with to the extent of fifty false entries; while there have been other cases of registers rescued from a dunghill, converted into wrapping-paper or kettle-holders, mutilated by damp, decay, fire, rats and mice. The Committee also relate the story of a vicar's daughter destroying a chestfull of old parish deeds and being stopped only just in time from so proceeding with another chestfull.

How serious such careless handling of local records may be is well brought out in the concluding paragraphs of Lord Bryce's Committee report, which draws attention not only to the increasing value of local records for the general historian, but also as a

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[illegible] attention to the best forms of local patriotism. To quote an appropriate passage:

> It is a conspicuous feature [says the report] of the new methods of historical enquiry that they make far more use of local materials than did the writers of earlier days. As history has extended its scope, as it has come to embrace everything which can elucidate the life of the past, instead of confining itself to battles and sieges, to court intrigues and parliamentary struggles, so has the incomparable value of the details of the economic and social life which went on in each part of the country begun to be more and more clearly recognised. These details present a living picture of the minds and habits, of the temper and tastes of the people, which cannot be collected from the high documents of State; and just as no historian can afford to overlook them, so no historian can so well form and train his historical capacity as by studying them first hand in the documents where they are incidentally, and because incidentally, all the more faithfully recorded. . . . Nor need it be deemed fanciful to add that the study of local history may have a practical value for the people, as well as a scientific value for the scholar. Whatever helps to stimulate the interest of the inhabitants of a town or district in the fortunes of their dwelling-place in the past may be expected to quicken their local pride and local patriotism, because it presents in a higher light the community to which they belong, helps them to realise what they owe to those who went before them, helps them to feel what enduring results their own public action may have for those who come after them.

(iii.) Records in private custody are of the most miscellaneous character and in some respects not the least important among our historical documents. For, in addition to private family correspondence, which often from their informality throw a light not to be obtained from formal and official documents on the intimate life of times past, there are to be found in numberless garrets and muniment chests of country houses deeds and papers which seem more properly to belong to local or even national archives. In earlier times the rules now in force about State papers remaining the property of the King were evidently not invariably regarded, and Secretaries of State and other officials often took away with them, after the expiry of their terms of office, most of the papers relating to their activities. Thus it has come about that, to understand our foreign policy in previous centuries, the diplomatic correspondence in the Record Office has frequently to be supplemented by papers to be found in such private mansions as Hatfield House or Welbeck, or in the Stair, Lansdowne, Fortescue, Stanhope, Polwarth, Townshend, Dartmouth, Carteret, and many other collections—many of them still in private hands. Local charters, deeds, records of legal proceedings and awards are also to be found in the possession of landowners, whose ancestors, by obtaining control over them, no doubt at the time ensured their preservation; many other such are probably still hidden away in unknown repositories.

Some private owners, with an enlightened sense of their public responsibility in regard to these papers, have expended time and money in having them cared for and catalogued and make them accessible to students: best of all, many have allowed them to be reported on by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Others, unhappily, are less public-spirited. Some jealously guard valuable documents from the eyes of any save themselves and a few personal friends. Others are so little interested in their treasures that they allow them to rot away uncared for, or even destroy them to save the space they occupy. Such losses are often little short of a calamity. The descendant of a famous eighteenth century Secretary of State is reported in the middle of the last century to have made a holocaust of all this ancestor's private papers that he possessed, as well as those of previous ancestors who played an important part at the time of the Restoration, on the ground that 'nobody would care about the old ——'s in the future.' The makers of toy-drums, jam-pot covers, bindings for card-cases, blotters, and such like bric-a-brac also seem to find a ready source of raw material in old parchment deeds and charters sold to them by owners indifferent to the historical value of such possessions. Mr. Barnard, F.S.A., for example, recently quoted a letter from a Wiltshire antiquary 'instrumental in rescuing 8 cwt. of old deeds, the turn-out from a lawyer's office at Bradford-on-Avon, which a rag and bone merchant bought for 2*l*. 10*s*. and which we have repurchased for 12*l*.,' among these rescued deeds being a feoffment of the thirteenth century and several dating back to Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Even more remarkable is the story of how many of the manuscripts in the collection accumulated by David Laing in the last century came into his hands, a collection which now forms one of the most valuable possessions of Edinburgh University Library. It appears that Laing likewise obtained many of his most precious documents by an understanding with waste-paper merchants of Edinburgh who got such documents cast out as rubbish from old Scottish houses for trifling sums. Some of Laing's receipts for payments made to Adcock, one of these merchants, still survive, *e.g.* that for 20*s*. in payment 'for about 5 lb. weight of old deeds, sasines, etc., above mentioned.' Laing was not, however, always fortunate. He once saw in the rubbish-buckets outside the Parliament House some obviously valuable deeds, and being an honest man went inside to warn the clerks of the value of what they were throwing away; but on coming back he discovered that another, less honest, connoisseur had already taken his pick of the lot.

But the loss of valuable documents from private collections to the rag and bone sellers or the makers of jam-pot covers are

probably comparatively rare nowadays, since within the last quarter-century the market value of historical documents has become greatly enhanced by the collectors' increased appreciation of their intrinsic value. The danger now is chiefly in the temptation of high prices offered by purchasers, mainly American, for single documents or whole collections of importance. These high prices induce owners to allow their most precious records to be disposed of at auction sales and scattered, sometimes to unknown parts of the earth, where at best they are inconveniently placed for scholars of every nation interested in the history they illustrate, while at worst they entirely disappear. Two instances of such migrations may be instanced. Some years ago a distinguished Manchester historian wished to consult an important mediæval charter known to be among the Bridgewater Trust papers, that belonged to the Earl of Ellesmere On writing to the earl's solicitor for permission to inspect the charter he was told that the whole collection had been sold some time ago to an American, that there was not even a list left of the documents sold, and that their present domicile was unknown. In fact the collection had absolutely disappeared from ken. At last, however, it is known that the purchaser was a Mr. Huntington, an American railway magnate, on whose death, some four years ago, his trustees placed these and other important English manuscripts that he had purchased—including muniments of the Earl of Huntingdon, some Battle Abbey charters, documents from Stowe House dating from 1170, and various other still uncatalogued collections—in the care of an enlightened English librarian, who has informed the world, through the Master of the Rolls, that they were being arranged in a library for research students at San Marino, in California. The other recent instance of a large and most important collection transferred bodily to America is that of the Shelburne manuscripts, sold by the late Lord Lansdowne to Mr. Clements, an American who presented them to the University of Michigan The 163 volumes of this collection contain many documents about early colonial history, which might naturally, perhaps, find a home in America. Besides these, however, the collection includes diplomatic papers for the period of the Seven Years' War and afterwards, for the negotiations leading to the Treaties of Paris in 1763 and of Versailles in 1783, Cabinet and Treasury minutes, reports on East Indian affairs, and valuable statistics and memoranda collected by Shelburne on national trade, customs duties, exports and imports. Since many of these documents were probably acquired through Shelburne's connexion with the public service, it would seem most appropriate that their permanent home should be in England. We may indeed be thankful that henceforward there is ample security that both

these great collections will be adequately safeguarded, arranged and catalogued, and also made accessible to students. Nevertheless, it is a distinct disadvantage that those who wish to consult them should have to make the long journeys to such remote places as Ann Arbour or San Marino, a disadvantage which applies almost equally to American as to English research students in English history. For the basis of all such research must always be found in the great national collections in London; even those who wish to consult such cognate documents as may be found in the Clements and Huntington libraries would prefer, for purposes of comparison, to see them within reach of the British Museum and the Record Office.

Even so, these are favourable instances of migration. In a recent report the Historical Manuscripts Commission state that already many of the collections analysed and extracted by them have since been dispersed and are untraceable; and if that is the case with such comparatively well-known collections, how much more is it likely to be the case with others less known and possibly equally important. Such collections are often sold privately to an unknown purchaser, and even at auction sales the ostensible purchaser is frequently merely an agent. What, for example, has become of the many important papers and letters from or relating to Chatham, Shelburne, and other great men of that period, which were dispersed at the Townshend sale in 1915? Recently some manuscript Journals of the House of Commons for the sessions of 1621, 1624, and during the Long and Revolution Parliaments were being offered for sale by a bookseller; Sotheby's were offering the court rolls of three Lincolnshire manors; a bookseller in the Midlands was advertising some fourteenth century and later deeds relating to Chertsey, West Horsley, and other places in Surrey. These documents, some obviously of prime importance, have no doubt found purchasers, but who they are, and where they live, nobody perhaps can tell.

The fate of the Melville papers is a good illustration of the loss from dispersal of family collections. On the death of the last Lord Melville it was decided to sell the family papers, not, however, *en bloc*, but in driblets. Portions of the collection have been offered for sale at Sotheby's in 1924, in 1926, and in 1927, while another portion still remains stored, so it is said, in an Edinburgh auction-room. Some of the papers are still being quoted in booksellers' catalogues, sometimes with, sometimes without, a note of their origin. Others have found a permanent home in the Huntington and Clements libraries in America, at the British Museum, and in the Signet and National Libraries in Edinburgh. The trustees of the nation's library are naturally anxious to acquire as complete a collection as possible of papers so important for

Scottish history, especially during the Dundas period; but it is now necessary to wade through catalogues from all parts of the kingdom to obtain isolated papers at enhanced prices; and anyhow, much of the value of the original collection as a homogeneous whole is irretrievably lost.

Enough has been said to show that the public has urgent cause for anxiety as to documents of national interest both in the category of (ii.) local records and (iii.) private collections. What, then, can we do, and do quickly, to find a remedy? There are obvious differences between the two categories which call for separate treatment.

To deal with (ii.)—*local records*—first. Here cases of loss or destruction have no business to occur, since all such records are legally lodged in the custody of certain authorities, and whatever losses do occur are due to the neglect or carelessness of these authorities. It is true there are sometimes excuses for neglect, inasmuch as the primary business of most of these authorities is not the preservation of archives, but some administrative function; very few of them have proper repositories for storing archives, funds with which to build and equip such repositories, or a staff to deal with their contents. In this last respect we are sadly behind almost every other nation in Europe. In France, for example, not only are the chief national records, like ours, directly under the State, but the departmental records also belong to the State and are under the supervision of trained State officials, while even the records of municipalities and communes, though nominally under the charge of those bodies, are inspected and often catalogued by State archivists. Moreover, the researches of students into all these records are greatly facilitated by the uniform system of numbering each class—*e.g.*, town council minutes are everywhere classed under the heading BB, ecclesiastical chapter records under G, and so on. As Paul Meyer, the late distinguished director of the École des Chartes, told the 1902 Committee, while there might be drawbacks to the centralised system of France, 'where the hand of the State is universally felt . . . it has at any rate the advantage of securing regularity and uniformity in administrative affairs'; and, it might be added, in the case of archives, of ensuring far greater security against their loss by negligence or ignorance.

On these lines, indeed, the Committee of 1902 reported. They urged the establishment of adequate and fireproof local record offices, where the local authorities might store their records; that these offices should provide all the facilities needed for research; that each such office should be in charge of trained and salaried custodians and should be periodically inspected by archivists from the Record Office staff. The alternative of bringing most of

these local records into some central repository was very wisely rejected by the Committee, partly from considerations of space, but chiefly from the importance they attached to encouraging local pride and local emulation in the care and use made of their records.

For a long time, however, this report appears to have had no result in effective action; and, *more Anglicano*, it is only almost accidentally and primarily for a somewhat different purpose that a start has at last been made in establishing these local record offices. By the Law of Property Amendment Act of 1924 it was enacted in one of the schedules that for the future all manorial documents, hitherto regarded as the property of the lord of the manor—namely, court rolls, surveys, maps, terriers, books relating to boundaries, wastes, manor customs and manor courts—should thenceforward be under the 'charge and superintendence' of the Master of the Rolls. Lords of the manor might keep these documents if they preserved them properly, but if the Master of the Rolls observed any neglect of this proviso, he might order them to be transferred either to the Record Office or to some local library or museum which would undertake the responsibility; on his side the lord of the manor might voluntarily hand them over for safe custody: it was also enacted that reasonable access to these documents should be granted to students.

The effective enforcement of such a proviso obviously depended on the interpretation put by the Master of the Rolls for the time being on his duties. If he took them seriously he would not only have to find out where all these manorial documents were and inspect them, if necessary, but also to provide at least one suitable repository in every county of England and Wales to house the neglected documents. Fortunately Lord Hanworth, the present Master of the Rolls, took up these new duties in earnest. First he set about compiling a list of extinct and existing manors, the total number in England being roughly computed at 18,000 to 20,000: of these he has already in four years obtained particulars of no less than 9000, particulars which may be seen at the Record Office. This list in itself should prove most valuable to historians. Next he set about securing local storehouses for the documents entrusted to him or claimed under his new powers; and he has succeeded in arranging for suitable storehouses, such as public libraries, museums, offices of archæological societies, etc., in all but four of the English counties. With this accommodation at his disposal he felt justified in appealing to lords of manors voluntarily to deposit their records and in enlisting the support of the Surveyors' Institute and of local societies in backing up this appeal. As a result many of those appealed to have come forward to deposit their documents in such repositories: in

Sussex alone, for example, four great landowners—the late Lord Portman and Lords Abergavenny, Leconfield, and Gage—have presented their most valuable manorial records to libraries in Hove or Lewes. But the results of Lord Hanworth's public spirit in dealing with his special problem go even further than this. His periodical letters to *The Times* reporting on the success that has met his efforts are calculated to stimulate a deeper interest in the preservation of all our local records, and have encouraged local societies to help him in a work which they also have long had at heart and to extend their activities on similar lines to other classes of semi-public or private documents. Lastly he has, after more than a quarter of a century since the 1902 Committee reported, secured repositories which, no doubt, will eventually become the homes of many others of our local records and so secure their permanent safety and accessibility. It is to be hoped also that, by the influence and example of the trained inspectors, he will have to send out to investigate manorial documents carelessly guarded, a habit may grow of utilising their experience and advice in preserving and cataloguing other classes of local records. At any rate, it is a matter for congratulation that, largely through the efforts of Lord Hanworth within the last four years, a substantial beginning has been made in carrying out the spirit of the 1902 Committee's suggestions. Thereby local records repositories have been inaugurated, which may gradually come to be regarded as the natural resting-place for all local records ; county librarians have been encouraged to accustom themselves to arrange and make accessible documents of primary authority, in fact to train themselves to be archivists ; the system of inspection by trained officials under the Master of the Rolls, begun within the limited field of manorial records, may gradually be extended to other branches of county and other documents : above all, something has been done to awaken popular interest in the preservation of our documentary treasures.

There remains the most difficult problem of all, the preservation of (iii.) those records, many of them of first-rate importance, which are still in private hands. The problem is difficult, because few propose seriously, even were it possible, to take away forcibly what is after all the private property of the owners or to prevent them by law from disposing of this property. The best that can be hoped is that by the creation of a more enlightened interest in the study of national and local history through first-hand evidence owners may feel impelled to make their treasures more accessible, or, if they feel bound to part with them, at any rate to give the first offer of them at a reasonable price to the nation or to some local body ; and, in the last resort, if they must send them abroad, at any rate take steps to make known the name and abode of the

purchaser, so that they may not entirely disappear [illegible]. If public opinion were so awakened it should be impossible [illegible] such collections as Lord Lansdowne's and Lord Ellesmere's to leave the country without the chance of their being secured for the nation.

Fortunately there are already several agencies at work doing something to stir up the public apathy. The Historical Manuscripts Commission should be a powerful agent in this respect. It has been in existence for some sixty years, and within that time has issued nearly 200 volumes of selections from the records in private or semi-public possession, enough to reveal to anyone with a cursory knowledge of their contents the extraordinary richness of historical material lying hidden in the country houses of England. The volumes also do this further service of preserving much of the information contained in those originals which are afterwards sold out of the country. But unfortunately, in the pursuit of its good work, the Commission is seriously crippled for funds. In the year 1920–1 its grant from the Treasury was a mere 500*l*., less than a third of the sum granted before the war, when prices were much lower; and, though 200*l* more has been doled out to it in the last few years, the Commission reported in 1926 that at least 1000*l* per annum more was required to catch up with its urgent tasks. It is all the more important that the work should be supported now that so many collections are being dispersed, since, as pointed out in the same report, the historical value of family papers that represent a natural and serial accretion through many generations is apt to be destroyed by dispersal, even when the dispersed papers are not lost to sight.

Some useful work is also being done by voluntary institutions and societies devoted to historical learning Part of this consists of printing documents or other extracts from family archives, or of persuading their owners to deposit the originals in some public library, without necessarily parting with the technical ownership. A certain inducement can be offered to owners who take this course in the fact that family manuscripts so deposited are not charged any succession duties, however valuable they be, a concession which is perhaps not enough known.

The Institute of Historical Research, which already during its brief existence has done excellent work in co-ordinating and encouraging historical research, chronicles in its bulletin all the sales of private historical collections of which it can obtain information, so that they may, if possible, be traced to their new homes. Unfortunately the information obtained is generally too meagre to be of much good, since purchasers are prone to veil their identity under an agent's name, but an attempt is being made through the auctioneers and booksellers to persuade purchasers

to be [illegible]. Again, as a result of several joint and individual letters to *The Times* from historians in July and October, 1924, calling attention to the alarming drain of historical manuscripts from the country, a sub-committee of the Anglo-American Conference of historians was appointed to make suggestions to avert the danger. One of the interesting features of that sub-committee and of the discussions preceding it was that American scholars seemed almost as anxious as we are ourselves to keep manuscripts relating to English history in this country, since it is really almost as difficult for American students to pursue such manuscripts to their lairs scattered through the length and breadth of that great continent as it is for our own. Moreover, they have in any case to come over to this country to consult the national manuscripts. The sub-committee submitted a short report mainly endorsing what was already being done by local societies and encouraging them to further efforts in helping to obtain accurate information about historical manuscripts in their district and calling attention to the necessity of safeguarding them; urging booksellers and auctioneers to obtain all information possible as to purchasers for record; suggesting that the Historical Manuscripts Commission should publish lists of such private manuscripts as they know of; and that, as an inducement to owners, the Treasury should be asked to remit estate duty on all historical manuscripts, not only if deposited in public custody, but also if merely scheduled by the Commission.

But perhaps the most valuable suggestion was one adopted from the proposals of various historians who wrote on the subject in 1924 that

> it is desirable that a committee be set up on the lines of the National Art Collections Fund This committee should be in touch with the local historical and kindred societies, and be prepared to purchase, or assist in purchasing, important manuscripts offered for sale. The fund might be built up from annual subscriptions of, say, one guinea, as a nucleus, while for the purchase of any particularly important and expensive manuscript a wider appeal might be made and an *ad hoc* fund raised. The mere fact of the existence of such a committee would probably prove an incentive to owners, forced to sell valuable manuscripts, to offer them in the first instance to a body which would secure their preservation for the nation.

It is to be hoped that this suggestion will be acted upon as soon as possible. Time is passing, owners are finding themselves more and more in need of funds to pay for heavy war taxes, and the comparatively recent discovery that there is a sure market for their manuscript treasures among our richer cousins beyond the Atlantic is offering a new temptation to sell them. It has been suggested that no move in that direction should be taken by those best qualified to inaugurate such a committee till the Royal Com-

mission on National Museums and Galleries has issued its final report. But this may take some time, and there seems no adequate reason for the delay. Meanwhile offers of support or suggestions for the formation of such a society would be gladly received by the Director of the British Museum, who is taking a keen interest in the project. It will undoubtedly take a considerable time to work up such a committee and make it the vivid force that the National Art Collections Fund has now become. Even that undertaking had its initial difficulties, overcome largely by the zeal and devotion of its present chairman, Sir Robert Witt; and yet it is obviously easier to awaken public enthusiasm for a tangible object such as a great picture, which appeals to thousands, and to secure which for the nation some of the richest art lovers are willing to subscribe. Historical manuscripts, except for some exceptional plum such as a log-book of Nelson's or a manuscript play by Shakespeare, if such could ever be unearthed, make no such widespread appeal, and historical scholars who care most for them are notoriously an impecunious race. So, obviously, much patient spade-work will have to be done before such a committee can even be started. Perhaps it would be best if some already existing and well-known society would undertake to initiate it, a society such as the Royal Historical Society, or better still the British Academy. There is this to be said in its favour, as compared with the National Art Fund, that its expenditure would not be so great. The manuscripts we desire to save would not be so expensive as a Rembrandt or a Hogarth; moreover, as in the case of its prototype, a great deal of its activity would consist in influencing the Treasury to open its purse-strings rather wider for a national need and in keeping touch with generous millionaires who, as soon as they heard of the need, might be willing to help a national object.

BASIL WILLIAMS.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRENCH IVORY COAST

THE proposed transfer of the seat of government of the Ivory Coast colony from Bingerville to Abidjean, the southern terminus of the Bouaké Railway, has given rise to an interesting discussion in French geographical circles When the newly-formed colony was first established its natural capital was Grand Bassam, on the south shore of the lagoon at the mouth of the Akba; but later the Government transferred its headquarters to Bingerville, on the north shore, the town having been so named 'in honour of the first explorer of the colony, M. Gustave Binger.'[1]

Now the truth is that M. Binger, though justly famous as a great traveller in West Africa, was neither the first explorer of the Ivory Coast nor the explorer whose work can with any accuracy be said to have laid the foundations of the colony. The explorer who above all others ought to be remembered as the founder of the colony was Marcel Treich-Laplène, and those geographers and others in France who know the history of the colony are proposing that on the transfer of the capital to Abidjean the town should be renamed Treichville.

There are of course objections to changing the original name of a town in this way, but the special circumstances to be considered provide a very good reason why in this particular case such objections should be overruled. English readers will perhaps find interest in a brief account of the work of the young Frenchman whose name, forgotten for many years after his death, it is now proposed to perpetuate in the name of the new capital.

Forty years ago, during the feverish struggle between European nations to win spheres of influence in the 'dark continent,' this young man frustrated our attempts to extend our protectorate westwards from the Gold Coast towards the establishments at Sierra Leone, and made the Ivory Coast secure for France. Certainly if these activities of ours had not been counteracted, as they were in fact in the very nick of time, the French Ivory Coast colony would never have come into existence. Who knows

[1] Pierre Mille in *La Côte d'Ivoire*, Exposition Universelle, 1900.

[illegible]

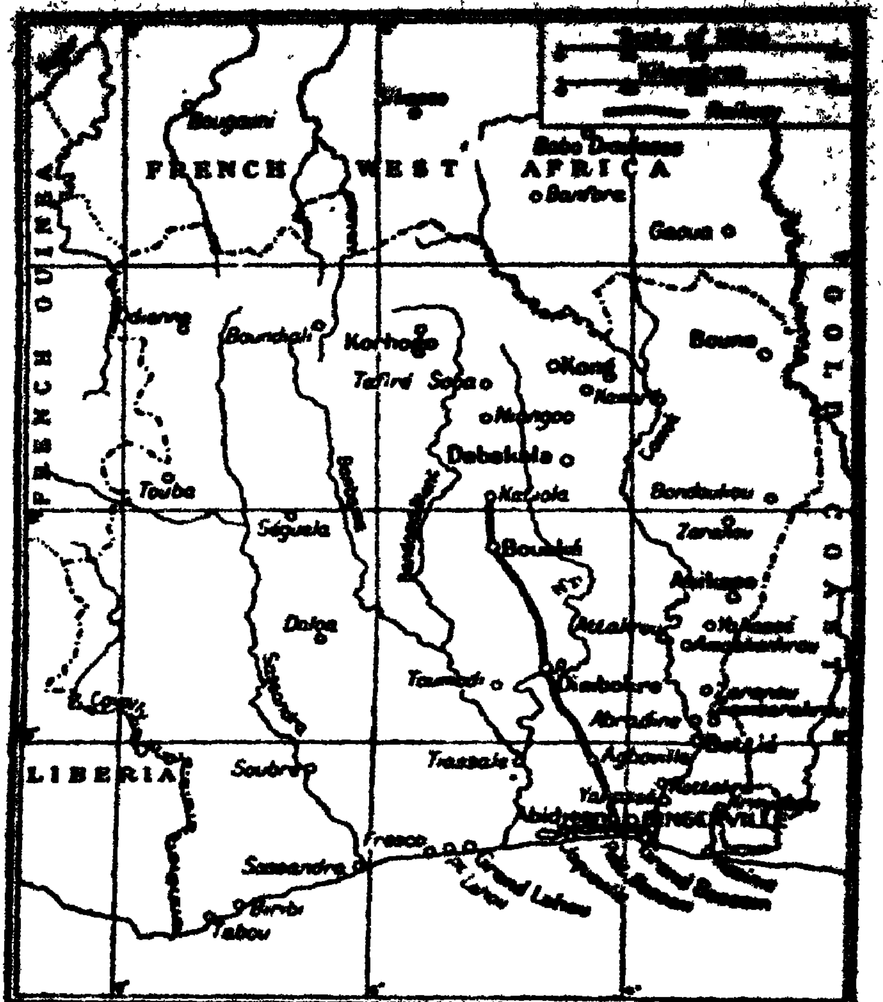
[illegible] her dominion over North-West Africa?

The French had in very early days begun to exploit the Ivory Coast. Sailors from Dieppe fetched thence as early as the fourteenth century the ivory for the ancient industry of ivory carving which still lingers in that seaport town, and of which many fine specimens are to be seen in the old castle. During the seventeenth century commercial relations with the native kings had been established by Dieppe merchants all along this coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast Castle. They had competitors in the English, Dutch and Portuguese, and in course of time certain sections of the coast began to be recognised as falling within the influence of one or other of these nations. We can claim to have had an interest in the Gold Coast from 1667, and in Sierra Leone from 1787. It was not, however, until 1842 that Bouet-Willaumez established the protectorate of France over the coastal stations of Assinie, Bassam, Lahou, Fresca and Birihi, towns situate along the seacoast of what is now the Ivory Coast colony. Important stations were then established on the coast by French merchants—Regis, of Marseilles, and later Verdier, of La Rochelle. The latter settled at Grand Bassam in 1867, and his vessels plied from port to port from Liberia to Cape Coast Castle.

For long, however, there was no thought of penetrating into the mysterious interior, and after the Franco-German War the French Government for some years lost all interest even in the coast. But, as Sir Harry Johnstone says, '*In 1880 a new interest was shown in West Africa, part of the growing feeling encouraged by Gambetta and Jules Ferry that France might seek compensation for her disasters on the Rhine by the creation of a great colonial empire in Africa.*' [2] There now began a series of explorations by the French into the Sahara from the Senegal towards the Niger, with the idea of uniting the French possessions in Algeria across the Sahara with Dahomey and the Ivory Coast in the south. Then began the race for capturing the 'hinterland' of the Guinea Coast, in which Britain, France, and Germany were the competitors.

The competition between Britain and France came to a head after 1883, when a Franco-English Commission failed to agree to a delimitation of the frontier east of Assinie, the settlement of which depended on agreement as to the exact extent of the rule of King Amatifou, who had accepted French friendship and protection forty years earlier. After the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, which settled certain spheres of influence, the French, hurrying to realise their dream of a vast colonial empire, were

[2] *The Opening up of Africa*, p. 209.



Leone and the Niger and blocked us out of any extension of territory there. They pushed with feverish activity into the country north of the Gold Coast, and by a series of diplomatic conventions gradually acquired such control in these regions as to prevent any further expansion on our part. A Convention of 1892 circumscribed Liberia to the north, the Convention of January 25, 1895, closed Sierra Leone, united French Guinea and the Ivory Coast to the Sudan and to Senegal, and the treaty of

June 1898 joined up the Ivory Coast and Dahomey behind the Gold Coast, extending Dahomey to the Niger and from the Niger to the Chad. These were the principal stages of the growth of French supremacy in West Africa.

It is the earlier part of this story—the part that concerns the fate of the Ivory Coast—that we desire to elaborate. After 1883 our attempts to extend British influence westward from Appollonia were watched with jealous eyes by the French. It was at this time that Treich-Laplène accepted the post of representative of the Maison Verdier at Assinie and Grand Bassam. After two years of successful work in the settlement he was appointed deputy-resident of France at the Ivory Coast. His superior qualities of character soon gained for him an ascendency over the native mind, and he won the respect and esteem of the neighbouring chiefs, especially of old King Amatifou. On the death of Amatifou in 1886, however, the English sought to secure the friendship of his successor Akasamadou, and to force him to a decision we closed the route between Assinie and Coomassie. The peoples of the interior, Abron and Bondoukou, were thus cut off from the French ports, and had either to enter into commercial relations with the British through Cape Coast Castle or to do without the European goods they desired. If this had brought the chiefs of Abron and Bondoukou to ally themselves with us, the expansion of the French colony northwards would have been doomed. Treich-Laplène wrote in haste to the French governor of the Senegal, and to M. Verdier at La Rochelle, to urge the dispatch of an expedition at once to counter the English manœuvre. In April 1887 the governor authorised the proposed expedition. 'There is no time to lose,' he wrote to M. Verdier; 'I desire you, as it is so urgent, to send Treich-Laplène on a mission to the Kings of Abron and Bondoukou; he will be authorised to pass treaties of alliance.'

Without waiting for the rainy season to close, Treich-Laplène set out on May 2, 1887. I must pass over the troubles and difficulties with which he had to contend. He was exploring a region of dense forest in the least known part of the West African littoral. Natives living more than 30 miles from the coast had never seen a white man. He found, however, evidence that the nearness of the English conquerors of Coomassie was everywhere feared. At Bettié he succeeded in persuading the king, Benie Quamie, to accept the protection of France, following the example of his late friend King Amatifou; the treaty of May 13, 1887, settled the supremacy of France over the river Comoe or Akba, and opened the route to Kong in the far north. The explorer passed on and secured a similar treaty with Amoacou, King of Indénié (June 25, 1887), but only after a prolonged palaver, for

the influence of a party of natives, subjects of the Gold Coast, travelling in the district, had to be overcome. This treaty was also signed by the chiefs of Yakassé, Bondi, and Attakrou. Treich-Laplène now learnt that an English mission from the Gold Coast was following a route parallel to his, and, being by this time too ill to move other than slowly himself, he sent such a message to Adjimin, King of Bondoukou, as succeeded in securing his friendship and a promise that he would not treat with any other European Power. Treaties with Alangoua, Cottocrou, and Yakassé were concluded on the return journey, and these brought the left bank of the Akba decisively within French control, as the treaty of Bettié had determined their control over the right bank.

Our attempt to spread westward and cut off the French was thus frustrated, while the supremacy of French interests in the Ivory Coast was secured. That Treich-Laplène knew the true value of his work is evident from his report to M. Verdier: 'The road to Kong is now secure, and France will possess in the near future, apart from a few patches, the whole of North-West Africa.'

Where during this critical period was Binger? He had not yet set foot in the Ivory Coast. He had set out in the spring of this year (1887) to cross from Senegal to the Niger bend, intending then to turn south to reach the Gulf of Guinea. While he was endeavouring to carry out this project the English, as we have seen, were working to get the native kings of the regions to the south to accept the Union Jack. Binger knew of this, for one of the reasons he gives for not beginning his exploration from the south was that 'it was impossible to reach Assinie or Grand Bassam except by English ships, and it was inconvenient to call attention in this way to my project of penetration towards a region so long coveted by England.' He had other reasons for not undertaking the journey that Treich-Laplène so successfully accomplished: explorations towards the interior starting from the Gulf of Guinea had always failed; too little was known of the available routes; it was difficult to recruit an escort of reliable men; and, as it was impossible to make use of animals as carriers, he would be obliged to trust to 'blacks,' who, if they mutinied, would compel him to turn back.*

Having on these grounds decided against attempting the journey from the south, Binger lost the opportunity of becoming the first explorer of the Ivory Coast, losing at the same time the chance of securing the very treaties on which the integrity of the colony depended. The credit of that achievement, the credit of having seen the necessity for instant action and of accomplishing

* *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, i. 3.

the urgent task of forestalling the English, belongs to Treich-Laplène alone. Even if the story stopped here it would be sufficient to show that the first explorer of the colony was Treich-Laplène, and not Binger; but there is much more to be said.

Binger, having set out from Senegal, reached Bammako, on the Niger, in June 1887; he was not heard of again till May of the following year, when he was reported killed. The patriotic M. Verdier, who had met Captain Binger in Paris, had promised him that in October 1888, when Binger hoped to have reached Kong, in the north of what is now the Ivory Coast colony, he, Verdier, would send him help for his journey southward. M. Verdier's intention was that Treich-Laplène, with a convoy of provisions, should take the very route that Binger had shrunk from taking, and should do this to make easier the explorer's descent to the coast. When, therefore, later on the news of Binger's death was contradicted, Treich-Laplène set out, in September 1888, with the promised provisions *en route* for Kong, armed with authority to sign treaties of alliance with native kings on his way. At Bondoukou, but only after a prolonged delay in that most unhealthy country, during which the young explorer contracted fever of which he nearly died, he secured a definite treaty of alliance with Adjimin, King of Abron and Bondoukou (November 13, 1888). Adjimin's delays were due to his fear of reprisals from the English, whose activities in Ashanti from 1873 were well known to him. The treaty promised French protection to Adjimin and guaranteed free trading facilities between the peoples of Assinie, Bassam, Indénié and Bettié, and the subjects of Abron and Bondoukou. This was the final blow to English hopes of expansion towards the west. Our Captain Lethbridge, who had been sent forward with a view of counteracting the French efforts, arrived at Bondoukou just a week too late. Treich-Laplène, though worn out with fever, had already hurried on to Kong. At Kawaré he met the principal chiefs of the Kong district, and with them drew up the heads of a treaty which he succeeded in persuading them to sign on December 24, 1888. He was now sure of Kong, and he had the good news brought to him that Binger had reached Bondoukou. Treich-Laplène went on to Kong as arranged, arriving there on December 25, 1888. King Karamokho Oulé met him, accepted the tricolour, and promised to sign the treaty of alliance. Treich-Laplène, however, asked that the ceremony of signing might be left till the arrival of Binger. The latter reached Kong on January 5, 1889, and found the French flag hoisted in the great square. The treaty prepared by Treich-Laplène was signed by Binger and Karamokho Oulé, Treich-Laplène signing as a witness. Colonel Monteil, himself famous as an explorer, speaking at the unveiling of a statue

erected to Treich-Laplène in his native town of Ussel in 1896, describes this incident :

> Le 26 Décembre, 1888, l'explorateur (Treich-Laplène) parvint à Kong, où il fut bien accueilli par toute la population, grâce à sa nature d'élite, qui attirait de suite toutes les sympathies. Il eut la grande joie d'établir les traités proposés par la France, et cependant, toujours modeste, il laissa les honneurs de la signature à M. Binger, qui venait lui-même d'atteindre Kong.

The credit, therefore, of having negotiated the principal treaties which secured the colony to France belongs to Treich-Laplène. When Binger and he commenced their journey southward the former fell so ill that he had to be carried in a hammock. He himself describes in his book quoted above how everything fell on Treich-Laplène, who, in addition to lavishing on the elder explorer almost maternal cares, kept watch over every detail of the march, and took sole responsibility for the expedition. Yet the two treaties with the Kings of Djimini and Anno made on the journey south were signed by Binger, with Treich-Laplène as a witness.

The two explorers arrived at Grand Bassam on March 20, 1889. Binger had performed a magnificent feat : he had travelled from Senegal to the Niger, had explored Mossi and visited Salaga and Kintampo (now part of the Gold Coast), having spent two years on the journey, a remarkable exploration deserving every honour and credit. It was clearly, however, not the Ivory Coast colony that had been the scene of his labours.

The trials of the long journey over, Binger's illness left him *comme par enchantement*, but Treich-Laplène was put to bed at once in a high bilious fever. For ten days his life was despaired of, but he recovered sufficiently to return to France. He sent an account of his journeys to the Société de Géographie de Paris, was made chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and appointed resident-general of France and administrator of the Ivory Coast. Hearing of a revolt of a coastal tribe, he felt it his duty to return at once to Grand Bassam, though his health was not fully restored. He put down the revolt and set about the difficult task of organising the new colony, but these new fatigues were too much for him. A recurrence of fever soon laid him low, and he died in a few months. At his funeral Dr. Péan, speaking of the young explorer, said :

> Nous ne prononçerons jamais son nom sans y ajouter respectueusement le titre de fondateur des établissements de la Côte d'Or. Treich-Laplène, après s'être donné tant de mal, avait atteint le but de sa vie. Une colonie était fondée de toutes pièces par ses efforts d'énergie.

Certain it is that at the Franco-British Convention of 1891, which first settled the boundary between the Gold Coast and the

Ivory Coast, it was the treaties concluded by [illegible] which were the decisive factors in that settlement. [illegible] Card says: 'Briefly the arrangement of 1891 assured to us Bettié, Indénié, Bondoukou, Djimini, with which countries treaties of protectorate had been concluded by Treich-Laplène.'[4] No better testimony is required; those countries form the main body of the colony. Furthermore, an examination of the map shows how the boundary line between the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast curves inwards towards the French colony, marking the pressure westward exerted by the English so feared by Treich-Laplène, and by him alone arrested. Well might Louis de Nussac write of him:

> Cette célébrité . . . qui, à vingt-neuf ans, avait créé la colonie de la Côte d'Ivoire, retrouvé Binger à Kong, donné de vastes protectorats à la France, avant de mourir héroïquement sur le théâtre de son œuvre.[5]

But a benefactor dead is soon forgotten. Two years after Treich-Laplène's death Captain Binger was sent on a mission of exploration through the colony. He followed Treich-Laplène's route, visited Bondoukou and Kong, taking advantage of the friendly relations established by his predecessor, but in the account of the journey (M. Monnier, *France Noire*, 1894) there is no mention of Treich-Laplène. It is perhaps, therefore, not surprising that when the capital of the Ivory Coast was named Bingerville, 'in honour of the first explorer of the colony,' no one seems to have protested. The present writer exposed the facts in a little work published in 1913 (*La Fondation de la Colonie Française de la Côte d'Ivoire*), and later the Souvenir Colonial Français, a society whose efforts are directed to preserve from oblivion the names of all Frenchmen who have helped to build up the French colonial empire, caused to be erected at Grand Bassam a monument to the memory of Treich-Laplène, the inscription on which reads:—

SOUVENIR COLONIAL FRANÇAIS
A
MARCEL TREICH-LAPLÈNE
1860–1890
Premier explorateur de l'Indénié, 1887
de l'Abron et de Bondoukou, 1888
Résident de France à Grand Bassam, 1889
Fondateur de la Colonie de la Côte d'Ivoire.

The statement that Binger was the first explorer of the colony—which, it must be said, Binger himself accepted in the respect that he never took the trouble to contradict it—cannot

[4] *Les Territoires Africains*, 1901, p. 58.
[5] *Le Limousi*, August 1897.

any longer be allowed currency. But since to the former capital of the Ivory Coast colony the name Bingerville was given on an assumption now shown to be erroneous, justice will not be fully satisfied, while Bingerville remains on the map, unless the new capital, Abidjean, is renamed Treichville. That would be a reparation which, though it involved the breaking of a modern rule of geographical nomenclature, would certainly not be too generous a recognition of the capital *rôle* played by Treich-Laplène in the foundation of the colony.

FRED BULLOCK.

HUXLEY'S PROBLEM OF JUSTICE

WHEN Huxley was in the first flush of his splendid powers, but in a moment of poignant bitterness at the loss of a dearly-loved child, he was still able to affirm without hesitation that the scheme of things was entirely just. In a letter to Kingsley he set out his view with uncompromising precision :

> The Divine Government is wholly just. The more I know intimately of the lives of other men (to say nothing of my own) the more obvious it is to me that the wicked does not flourish nor is the righteous punished. But for this to be clear we must bear in mind what almost all forget, that the rewards of life are contingent upon obedience to the whole law—physical as well as moral—and that moral obedience will not atone for physical sin, or *vice versâ*.
>
> The ledger of the Almighty is strictly kept, and every one of us has the balance of his operations paid over to him at the end of every minute of his existence. Life cannot exist without a certain conformity to the surrounding universe—that conformity involves a certain amount of happiness in excess of pain. In short, as we live we are paid for living.
>
> The absolute justice of the scheme of things is as clear to me as any scientific fact The gravitation of sin to sorrow is as certain as that of the earth to the sun, and more so—for experimental proof of the fact is within reach of us all—nay, is before us all in our own lives, if we had but the eyes to see it.

Thirty years later Huxley had revised, indeed almost reversed, his opinion. He was now a famous and successful man, a great fighter mellowed by time into an honoured spectator of the tourney in which he had borne himself so well. But the faith in swift automatic justice had gone ; the belief that victory is to the virtuous had vanished.

> If there is a generalisation from the facts of human life which has the assent of thoughtful men in every age and country, it is that the violator of ethical rules constantly escapes the punishment which he deserves ; that the wicked flourishes like a green bay tree, while the righteous begs his bread ; that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children ; that in the realm of nature, ignorance is punished just as surely as wilful wrong ; and that thousands of innocent beings suffer for the crime, or the unintentional trespass of one. What is a more common motive of ancient tragedy than the unfathomable injustice of the nature of things ? Brought

before the tribunal of ethics, the cosmos might well seem to stand condemned.

Which was correct—the bereaved father's stern affirmation of justice, or the serene grandfather's tardy admission of injustice?

Momentous issues hang on the reply. If the world is a rational world, then it must also be a just world; for reason and justice are ultimately the same thing. But if we live in an unjust world, then the cosmos in fact stands condemned, not merely as being unjust, but as being inherently irrational. Religion might survive the admission. But philosophy would perish and science wither at the root.

But if it is a just world, has all that great company of witnesses been deceived who protest its injustice? From Job to Hardy not a day has passed but some stricken soul has cried aloud to Heaven against oppression or blind fate; the very proverb *Fiat justitia ruat cœlum* is a tacit admission that the world is unjust through and through. The heavens should fall when injustice, not justice, is done.

At times, indeed, this sense of wrong has gone so deep that men have ascribed it to some actual defect in the very scheme of things:

> Why is all around us here,
> As if some lesser god had made the world,
> But had not power to shape it as he would?

So Tennyson; or in Colvin's swifter phrase:

> God's finger slipped.

Yet the philosophers continue to assure us that the scales are fairly held, and the moral law supreme. Which shall we believe, those who think the world is just, or those who know from experience that it is unjust?

Even if we hold that the world is in the main a just world, it must at once be admitted that Huxley's earlier affirmation will not do as it stands. If 'every one has the balance of his operations paid over to him at the end of every minute,' then it is impossible to account for the existence of so much as a grain or scruple of injustice at any moment since the world began. Now the general scheme of things may be wholly or mainly just, but the man who can swear he has neither suffered nor committed an injustice, and never seen or heard of actual cases of injustice, had better betake himself to a hermitage or a lunatic asylum—he is not fit to look after himself in this rough world.

The problem is clearly too complex for so simple and summary a solution. Neither Nature nor society necessarily profits or punishes us instantaneously according to our acts. It is true that if I get in the way of a flash of lightning or an express train the result is practically instantaneous. But if I plant a field of wheat I cannot instantly stay my hunger; and whether the labourer works by time or piece, he has to do the job before he draws his wages. The time-lag is part of the process of things, and neither cosmic nor human justice is exempt from it.

It is from this temporal setting that our first difficulties in regard to justice arise. But consider the possible alternatives.

If reward and retribution were instant and inevitable, there would manifestly be both less virtue and less vice in the world. There is no particular wisdom or virtue in an investment that produces an immediate dividend; even the foolish and unrighteous would do the same. Nor would it be worth while to transgress if punishment followed instantly upon the crime. If an invisible policeman of Nature automatically imprisoned a man the moment he forged a cheque, and hanged him in the very instant he slew his enemy, there would be very little forgery and murder.

Contrary to Huxley's earlier affirmation, justice is almost always slow and by no means always sure; and it is because this is so that the wicked often flourish and the righteous are cast down. The time-lag between act and retribution gives the former their profit and the latter their loss. Justice, in fact, works on a deferred-payment system; and in some cases, as the author of the second commandment observed, the account remains open till the third and fourth generation.

But if the time-lag was much longer, so that nobody was personally punished, and all the sins of all the fathers were visited on all the great-grandchildren, it would certainly be a much more wicked world than it is. If the punishment for murder were always postponed to remote posterity, we should not indeed all turn murderers, but there can be little doubt that murder would increase. There would be enough cases in which the removal of an enemy, or even a powerful competitor, would seem sufficiently important to justify the most drastic methods when there was no risk of personal punishment. The very existence of laws against murder and theft proves that some of us are likely to commit murder and theft, and if the tariff were removed there would naturally be more trade.[1]

[1] We sometimes use the phrase *Sub specie aeternitatis*. But our ordinary time-reckonings are really very short. Business men, being concerned with immediate profit, seldom look more than a few years ahead. The founder of a family may look two generations ahead, hardly more. A statesman may lay down the lines of policy for a century; hardly longer. No practical man thinks in terms of a thousand years hence.

But this postponement of reward and punishment through the time-lag in cosmic and human affairs at once involves vicarious sacrifice, which is quite impossible to reconcile with strict justice to the individual.

Further, there are many cases in which punishment is not merely postponed, but avoided altogether. The proverb that murder will out is simply not true. There are probably more murders undiscovered than discovered; it is said that almost every doctor knows at least one case where suspicion of foul play is so strong as to be practically certainty. More thefts are unpunished than punished.

There is such a thing, of course, as repentance and remorse. But repentance does not always mean restitution [2]; and remorse is extraordinarily capricious in its action. We can argue if you please that the murderer makes his own hell in which to live, but he sometimes finds it quite a tolerable residence.[3] Even if the argument were sound, remorse cannot restore the victim to life.

These cases are crucial and decisive, and neither criticism nor casuistry can explain them away. Vicarious punishment exists, the guilty often escape, and the past cannot be undone. For three separate reasons, therefore, strict justice does not exist for the individual.

The question remains whether this injustice is something inherent in the heart of things, or a mere accompaniment—inevitable perhaps, but incidental—of the social organism. Allowing for the time-lag, does justice exist for society?

If cause and effect are universal, the equation must operate in the moral as well as the physical sphere. To every moral action there will be an equal moral reaction, and the time-lag of justice will be simply the time taken by any efficient cause to produce its natural effect.

For that reason men who are compelled by indisputable evidence to admit that injustice exists have been equally con-

[2] Rousseau admits in his *Confessions* that he once brought a false accusation against a virtuous cook and (if we can believe him) regretted it ever after. But he seems to have done nothing to restore her character when he had the opportunity—an inconsistency similar to abandoning his own children to the Foundling Hospital while he wrote books advising parents on the upbringing of their children.

[3] Smith, of the 'Brides in the Bath' case, remarked of the wives he murdered, 'When they are dead they are dead.' Not much remorse here. Barère, whom Macaulay pilloried as the vilest and most wicked of mankind, lived to a ripe old age, and confessed no regrets; nor did any other of his colleagues who survived the Reign of Terror.

vinced that somehow and somewhere justice is done in the end and that sooner or later the equations

Sin = Suffering
Crime = Punishment
Error = Retribution

will be found to agree. The logic of the position is sound. But since it is impossible to maintain that injustice to the individual is always rectified in this life, a new world has been called into being to redress the balance of the old. Heaven and hell and reincarnation are the theological solutions of the time-lag.

These things may or may not exist. But the fact that the pale ghost of Homer and Virgil was transformed into the penitent or perfect soul of Christian doctrine indicates the increasing importance attached to the individual at the expense of the group. In primitive societies the group as a whole is responsible for the acts of all its members, and the problem of justice is seldom acutely felt. In more advanced communities every cask is expected to stand on its own bottom, and the individual is responsible to society for himself.

Unfortunately practice has never caught up with theory, for the simple reason that when men live in a society their acts are bound to affect each other, and therefore the true unit is not the individual, but the group Those who dislike the conditions must turn their backs on society and live alone. From Nature they will get strict justice and no mercy ; and, since the division of sex makes some kind of partnership compulsory, the end of that experiment is extinction.

The distinction between natural and social law can be easily stated.

Nature knows no sanctity of person, contract, or property ; on the contrary, in a state of Nature it is the victim of murder, theft, or deception that is punished and the victor that is rewarded. Natural law recognises force, but physical force is certainly not decisive in the struggle for life—the battle is not to the strong. Intelligence and craft hold the field, but these must be applied practically *ad rem* to the actual problem in hand of living, or there may be 'neither bread to the wise nor yet riches to men of understanding' Mental ability, in fact, wins the race, so long as it is effectively directed to meet the situation that faces the individual at the moment. Nature rewards foresight with success, and penalises thriftlessness and stupidity with failure. In this there is nothing unjust, indeed, it would be difficult to construct a rational universe which reversed the process and rewarded weakness and dulness at the expense of intellect.

Force, then—albeit mental, and not physical force—is

ultimately decisive in natural law, as the supremacy of man over the beasts of the field attests. There is no room in such a system for pity or compassion or the gentler virtues, but we can hardly say that a method which rewards intelligence and efficiency is itself inequitable. We may regard it, if we choose, as non-moral. But would a system that gave the prize to slowness and stupidity necessarily be more moral? Would it not simply produce an impossible world?

But no society ever has been or could be constructed or carried on along these lines; and since men have always lived in a family, and therefore in a society, large modifications and suspensions of crude natural law have perforce been introduced. The essence of society is the common interest of the group; so far from preying on each other or deceiving each other, they must protect each other, speak the truth to each other, and limit individual competition among themselves in order to ensure corporate competitive action when necessary—generally against another group.

These assumptions are not, as we all know, entirely justified—no society has ever been entirely honest or truthful; if it were, it might conquer the world—but they are sufficiently observed to make society possible. In practice, however, they involve two additional conventions. In the first place, an artificial equality within the group must replace in part the natural inequality among its members. In the second, the group itself must become the unit, and the individual be subordinate.

1. Equality is not a fact of human nature; and the inequalities of equipment are exaggerated by our pursuit of different ends. But the difference of ability between one individual and another is on the whole relatively small. Certain limited equalities are therefore recognised as rights in society (which are oddly called natural, although they are in fact artificial).

The first of these is the equal right of every man within the group to live as long as he can; which clearly involves as a corollary that he must not deprive another man of life.

The second is the right to own property. But this is obviously a more complicated matter, since, unlike the right to live, which can only be defined in one way, the right to property can be defined in two different and in practice contradictory ways—the equal right of every member to possess as much property as he can within the local rules sanctioned by the group, and the equal right of every member to possess the same amount of property. As between these two equalities, practically every society which recognises property has adopted the former and less equalitarian view.[4]

[4] Respect for property in normal society depends immediately on the physical force of policeman or soldier. But ultimately it depends on general public

[illegible] There remains the convention that the group replaces individual members as the effective unit. This condition, which involves sacrifice but increases strength, is the essential mark and indispensable internal discipline which distinguishes any form of social organisation—whether family, tribe, State, Church, army, ship's company, or trade union—from a mere anarchic collocation of individuals.

The apparent exceptions and necessary limitations of this doctrine need not at the moment detain us. It is true, of course, that all progress and all liberty originate, and must reside, in the individual. The control of the individual by the group can, indeed, be defended on the pragmatic ground that society contributes more to the well-being of the average individual than the average individual contributes to the well-being of society; but its real defence rests, as we shall see, on the conditions inherent in any partnership. Here, however, in this invisible mortar which binds the bricks together is the true source of injustice to the individual.

Let us reduce society to its simplest possible elements—an equal partnership of two, in which A. and B. each agree to do half the work and draw half the profit of a joint enterprise. The agreement may work out well enough in practice, but its precise performance is almost impossible.

Since no two human beings are exactly alike in health, intelligence, strength and character, it is not to be supposed that in any such partnership each partner will put in an exactly equal amount of work. Yet each partner will draw out an equal amount of profit. The partnership will yield the joint product of its two members' work, but one will get less, the other more than he deserves.

Clearly injustice lurks here But is the thing itself unjust? I think not. For:

- (*a*) The partnership was a voluntary association in the first instance, and A. should have realised that B. would not quite pull his weight before he agreed to equal terms.
- (*b*) The partnership has in fact produced the plus results of the joint work put into it, less the minus deduction of any friction between the partners—friction which may range all the way from an occasional amicable difference of opinion to violent hostility and dissolution of the association.
- (*c*) The partnership replaces the individuals as the true unit,

opinion, and that opinion holds quite definitely that the institution of private property is right, and that every full member of the group has an equal right to acquire it. The opinion that the distribution of property is right is held with considerably less conviction.

> and the individuals are henceforth only subordinate. Justice is therefore done to the unit as a whole; if the individuals have reason to complain, the complaint lies in fact against the original terms of association.

When a partnership consists of three, four, or more members, the position is more complicated in form, but not in essentials. The partnership remains the true unit, which supersedes the individuals, and it still produces precisely the net results of the work, plus and minus, of all its members.[*]

The same is true, with one apparent exception, of any society of any size; and even of the whole of human society considered as a unit. Some individuals will do more and get less than they deserve, some will do less and get more; but the unit as a whole will get exactly what it earns. Society is like chess—it is the game, not the piece, that counts.

The one apparent exception lies in the voluntariness of the association. The individual is born into a social group without being asked, he lives in it all his life with more or less profit to himself and the community, and in the end he is carried out feet first by the survivors. It is difficult to contend that these are convincing marks of voluntary partnership.

But if it were not for this exception men would never get born at all; and in fact men can, and constantly do, leave the social group in which they were born for other groups. The son of the doctor becomes a parson or a soldier; the countryman settles in town or goes to sea. Within these minor limits, then, choice is free.

But choice will easily stretch much further. A man can change his nationality for another, and if the urge to solitude or adventure is strong enough he can, at a pinch, turn his back on the group and become a hermit. It is true that not one man in a million does so. But that is because not one man in a million thinks it worth while; the fact remains that, if he cares to pay the price, he can break the partnership with society.

We must therefore regard society as being ultimately a voluntary partnership in which the individual tacitly accepts the authority of the group, and the same rule will hold good for the whole as for the smaller partnerships. The true unit is the group.

[*] Any apparent injustice here seems consequently reducible to the fact that we have insufficient knowledge when entering into arrangements to foresee the results. A saint is just as likely to get killed in a railway smash as a sinner; but in this case both saint and sinner suffer for faults not their own in their temporary partnership with a railway company. This is clearly unjust. But unless humanity were gifted with foresight to know at exactly what moment of space-time a highly improbable event would occur, there seems no means of avoiding it.

not the individual; and however much we may regret the fact and strive to alter it, human actions affect other beings, the shadow of the time-lag is over us all, and complete justice is only done to the group as a whole and not to the individuals within it.

But is complete justice done to the group? Every oppressed nation, every dispossessed class, every servile caste denies it, and, given its brief moment of triumph and power, does its best to prove its denial by tyranny over others. The problem is by no means easy, but when its elements are examined I think there can be only one answer.

If we take the group as it stands at any one moment, the answer to the question is admittedly No; the process of living is always going on, and although justice follows hard at its heels, it seldom runs neck and neck—the time-lag still exists. The problem has, however, been wrongly stated; for the group is not simply the sum of its visible members at any one moment of time.

It is hardly necessary to argue this at length; the collective as distinct from the organic theory of society was finally exploded by Burke, according to whose comprehensive definition the social organism consists of the dead and the unborn as well as the living. Individual accounts in the ledger are opened and closed with debit or credit balances, but the general profit and loss account of the society is carried forward indefinitely from generation to generation while that particular limited company lasts. At no one moment is complete justice done, for the action of life does not stand still; but the past is always pressing on the future for settlement, and the current trial balances are on the whole not unreasonably inaccurate.

The problem of justice is therefore reduced from a cosmic to a local issue affecting the individual and the group. But even on Burke's definition of society as consisting of the whole living organism, past, present, and future, I doubt if we can be quite satisfied that the equation of justice is exact to the last tittle when the final settlement is made, and some particular undertaking comes to an end. Races, after all, die out, like the Tasmanians; institutions collapse, like Continental empires, or are superseded, like the monasteries under Henry VIII. There is no such niceness of sepulture here as to convince us that the last page of the account was so scrupulously kept as to ensure precise justice being done.

But this consideration turns out to be a defect in Burke's theory rather than a defect of justice. Burke was an emotional rather than an exact thinker, and in at least one respect his social

philosophy was incomplete or inaccurate.* His general conclusion that society is a single organism holds good, but he is more concerned with its actual than its potential performance. This is a serious and, from our point of view, a vital omission.

I submit that we have to take the whole record into account before we can say whether justice has been done; and that the whole record includes the failures and lost opportunities of any organisation as well as its successes. In life, unlike literature and the arts, judgment is of the whole, not merely the best. We assess Shakespeare by *Macbeth*, not *Titus Andronicus*, but we include the prisons as well as the palaces in any survey of the State.

But this is not all The things that men omit to do have to come into this invisible record as well as the things they do. Shortcomings affect the count as well as surplus.

The equal partnership of A and B. produced less than it should because B. did not pull his full weight. His defect may possibly be traced back to some preliminary handicap, some persistent ancestral weakness among the B family which has not yet worked itself out, but all the same the partnership has to pay for it. And what is true of two is true of the whole—class, institution, group, or society—the unit is judged by the concealed minus as well as by the visible plus on the record.

This principle evidently operates throughout society to make or destroy institutions. The reputation of a profession is usually a fairly accurate reflection of the conduct of its members, and those who fall short of the standard bring discredit on their group. The incompetent physician, the lazy parson, the rascally lawyer—all smirch the good name of their unit; and if the proportion of delinquents is too high, the unit itself may collapse.

It is therefore quite impossible to maintain Mandeville's position, that private vices are public benefits; the very reverse is the case. It is true that this doctrine, which caused some scandal two centuries ago, was never very satisfactorily refuted. But in fact private vice simply wastes substance that might be put to better use, and corrupts those who supply as well as those who demand evil.

But it is doubtful if the doctrine of Mandeville would ever

* When social institutions have decayed from within there must be change if the society itself is to survive, and experience shows that these changes are likely to be violent or revolutionary Burke was rightly impressed with the need for tradition and continuity, but his failure to recognise the occasional imperative urge for reform even at the cost of discontinuity is a weak point of his philosophy. Actually this urge arises when the inevitable injustice to individuals within the group, instead of being merely incidental, becomes intolerable. At this point society is itself threatened with dissolution, because its members are more conscious of the disadvantages than the advantages of the partnership.

have gained a hearing at all if men had realised more clearly the vast distinction between the actual and the potential position of society. Things are what they are, but the common deduction that they must be very much what they are is simply not true. In actual fact the position of any society at any moment falls far short of its potential position were its energies more capably or consistently directed; and the difference is due to the sum of those negative shortcomings and private vices which are in truth public losses.

There is, of course, no reason in the world against progress except the lack of will to progress; but most of us are inclined to laziness and acceptance of things as they are. And most of us tacitly accept things as they are as being inevitable, although the moment we examine the position we know that this conclusion is also laziness.

This is quite clearly seen in individual cases. Every indiscretion or mistake diminishes the potential achievement of the individual, and the penalty of excess or privation is probably the shortening of life. But nobody knows how great an achievement or how long a life that particular individual might have attained; these things are lost and forgotten in the gulf between actual and potential.

The position is precisely the same, but on a far larger scale, with a society, for not only do the individuals of which it is composed also fall short of their potential achievement, but they inflict these disabilities on each other and the group, which suffers as a whole through the collective shortcomings of all its members. Some incidental personal injustice may thereby be suffered by particular individuals, but ultimately the total defect is debited to the account of the society which tolerates it.

The victim of wrong obviously suffers. The perpetrator may gain or lose. But in the long run it is the group or society as a whole, rather than any particular individual, that suffers

And it suffers, not merely because of the machinery of law which it has to keep in being, not merely because the consciousness that such things do happen affects the attitude of honest men towards honest neighbours—it is human to err, and the rest of us may be suspicious of the best of us [7]—but because every wrong thus committed involves a real and definite loss which has to be paid for. The actual achievement of society falls far short of its potential achievement; indeed, it is because we so seldom consider this factor of potential achievement that we forget the enormous price we pay for vice and error, evil and ignorance.

[7] Sometimes with good reason, for some of the worst acts in history have been done by some of the best men, and done for the glory of God or for conscience' sake. Dominic, Torquemada, and the Mathers are the classic examples.

It may be said that this factor of potential achievement as applied to society is unreal, because it does not actually exist. But that also is untrue. Natural energy surrounds us which could be turned to profitable use, but we do not take the trouble to obtain it or convert it to our purpose. And in many cases the energy is actually within us, and is not merely wasted, but applied to wrong uses which are harmful not only to the individual but to the group. In such cases a potential plus may be converted to an actual minus; but the fact remains that the negative or minus is just as real a factor in determining the final position of a society as the positive or plus. The great deeds that might have been but are not done, the splendid discoveries that could have been but are not made, the kindly acts that could have been but are not performed—all these are deducted from the positive achievement of the society on the invisible balance-sheet which constitutes the position of the group.

The actual society is made up of the total performance of all its members; and not one action, whether committed or omitted by its most obscure individual, is left out of the audit. It is therefore necessary to emphasise this continual loss of potential social achievement, which is so constantly forgotten, because it cannot be accurately measured and because it seems to leave no such tangible result as definite action But it is always an important, and it may easily become a decisive, factor in competing against some rival society. The silent day on which the State is doomed passes unnoticed many a long year before it is publicly tried in the balance and found wanting.

Could these invisible adjustments be made, and the whole record, positive and negative, of society be thrown open to inspection, we should see the balance swing true in the scale, and realise that justice will not be denied. Every penalty that the individual escapes must in the long run be paid by the community; every achievement that the individual fails to encompass is lost to the community; every injustice that it tolerates diminishes its credit; and in the long run even injustice to the individual is therefore avenged—on the community which permitted it.

The answer, then, to the conundrum which puzzled Huxley seems to be that Nature is austerely just, but that man himself is not. The cosmos dispenses rigid equity, and those who desire it can have it—if they choose to live alone. But since most men prefer to live in a society, the account is rendered to society as a whole, and not to the individual. Within that limited company there are preferred and deferred shareholders who may get more or less than they deserve. But the final reckoning is with the group, and this is scrupulously just.

A. Wyatt Tilby.

HUMANISM AND TRAGEDY

In the course of a brilliant attack on Romanticism in his book *Rousseau and Romanticism* the American humanist Professor Babbitt makes use on several occasions of the suggestion that man can live, from the ethical point of view, on three different planes or levels—the religious, the human, and the naturalistic. It is the aim of this study to show how fruitful this conception may be when applied to the problem of tragedy, and to put forward a suggestion, not made by Professor Babbitt but implicit in his doctrine, that tragedy, or rather the tragic outlook on life, is only possible on the human level Before attempting to demonstrate this—and it is not so obvious as perhaps some people may imagine—a few explanatory remarks on the meaning of the word 'human' will be necessary in the sense in which it will be used in this essay.

As a convinced dualist Professor Babbitt believes that the stability of human society and the fruits of human civilisation have always depended, and always will depend, on a certain control which men can exercise by means of the will over the natural animal instincts, and that the dignity and discipline of human life are the result of this control by the will—that voluntary control is, in fact, the supreme act of humanity On this principle of control or discipline, which has been stated here somewhat briefly, the three levels or planes of life depend, and according to whether the principle of control is placed above man on a religious basis, or within man on a humanistic basis, or is dropped altogether, and natural instinct put in its place, so men live on a religious, or human, or naturalistic plane To illustrate what he means by the control Professor Babbitt refers to the Greeks with their doctrine of inner harmony, expressed in the phrase μηδὲν ἄγαν or the Roman 'decorum,' both of which conceptions were ideals attainable by the action of the will, and which the ancients put before themselves in order to attain the proper living of life. These were 'human' ideals, because they required no superhuman power to make them effective, and were attained simply by a recognition that men have something in them which, if not held in check, can be harmful to other men, a dualism of human

nature of the sort which Plato recognises in the *Phaedrus* and which Aristotle also recognised in the *Politics*.[1] Finally, on the religious plane of life man looks upward to a power beyond himself, and experiences within himself a feeling which was once known as '*humilitas*.' The dualism is considerably more pronounced on the religious plane than on the human, and the evil of the flesh may be so much emphasised that the ascetic level is reached, but in both cases, human and religious, there is dualism. On the naturalistic plane however, on the contrary, man recognises no check whatsoever, but regards his native instincts as good, which road, says Professor Babbitt, is the road to ruin. But before passing on to the subject under discussion it may be well to notice that in the dualistic systems 'decorum' on the humanistic level corresponds to 'humility' on the religious level, from the subjective point of view. Is there, then, a Greek equivalent to the religious objective control found in the idea of God? Actually there is, and it is found in the concept of Nemesis. The two planes are not, in fact, as different as they seem The emphasis is merely placed differently on the religious level and on the human level, and it is probable that the finest type of human life is the religious ideal tempered by a touch of the human.

Leaving the problem of the three planes at this point, and turning to the subject of tragedy, it will be admitted on all sides that during the history of mankind there have been ages which seem more apt to be treated tragically than others, some in which actually a tragic conception of life has flourished, and others also when it has seemed to be absent The age of the Greek tragic writers, the age of Shakespeare, the age of Racine at once occur to the mind as tragic ages, while the last centuries of the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages generally, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem equally, as it were, non-tragic. Non-tragic, too, appear certain epochs such as the Italian Renaissance, which is nevertheless very near in time to the age of Shakespeare, and presumably in some respects was not unlike it, while at the same time we know that as regards the catastrophes which are usually associated with tragic periods the non-tragic periods which have been suggested above were by no means wanting. What is it, then, which renders the Italian Renaissance a non-tragic period compared with the age of Shakespeare, and the century of Marcus Aurelius—far from being peaceful if one recalls the wars of the Marcomanni—non-tragic when compared with that of Pericles?

To such a question many answers might be given and have been given, but the answer which includes them all, and which to that extent simplifies the problem, is that the 'tragic' ages were, above all, ages in which life was lived on a humanistic level; and,

[1] 'Most men are bad.'

with a certain qualification which will be explained later, the non-tragic ages were ages in which life was lived either on an extremely religious level, or, what is still more true of our theory, on a naturalistic level. As an example of a humanistic age the age of Shakespeare and the age of Pericles are both appropriate; and as an example of a religious age the Middle Ages will be generally accepted. But the age of Marcus Aurelius, of the Italian Renaissance, and of the eighteenth century? Where do these come, and on to what plane are they to be placed? The solution to this problem lies in the relation between and the transition from one to the other of the humanistic and the naturalistic conception of life. In the widest sense of the word all the three epochs mentioned can quite accurately be classified as naturalistic ages, and it is because they are naturalistic ages that, in spite of the efforts of their writers, they failed to supply tragedy and a tragic outlook on life.

For closely bound up with the humanistic outlook on life is the inward conviction on the part of men, strongly felt if not expressed, of the dignity of man and his supremacy over the realm of Nature, the latter being regarded, either implicitly or explicitly, as something inferior in essence to himself. Implicitly this is true with the Greeks, to whom, although they were less subjective than moderns in general, Nature was never an 'end' in itself. There are no pure descriptions of sunrises in Greek literature, and in painting—vase painting, for example—the sun is represented by Phaëthon driving his chariot. Similarly, in literature, some of the finest descriptions of Nature poetry ever written are to be found in the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus, but they are none the less a background to the human 'agony' of the hero. It is the man who matters; he alone can achieve the ideal, and, if need be, face the fortune of the world. This dualism runs through every tragic age, and is not less evident, if in a different mode, in the tragic drama of Shakespeare, and in Racine among the French. The moderns are aware of natural beauty—far more aware of it in the objective sense than were the Greeks; but even to them, in so far as they can feel tragically, it is in man that they feel it, and not in Nature.

It is, however, precisely through the medium of this dualism that tragedy can arise, because it somehow follows from the belief that man has a certain dignity, and even grandeur, that the sight of a man collapsing in evil circumstances is the most marvellous spectacle in the world, and the portrayal of it as early as Aristotle came to be designated as the highest form of poetry. It is because the dualism which invests man with this dignity is either lacking, or not emphasised, that the periods termed non-tragic above were non-tragic, and in the first case they were either naturalistic or,

as in the second, definitely well on the way to naturalism. Naturalism is, under one aspect, a negative phase of life in the sense that man has ceased to do something; it may take on various aspects, and the form of it may not be the same. What man has ceased to do is to differentiate between himself and Nature. What he has begun to do is to equate himself with Nature, or, conversely, Nature with him. In either case his opinion of himself has 'gone down,' and, although the material conditions on which tragedy is based may not have changed, the tragic conception of life has become impossible.

It has been pointed out in a recent work on the Epic that in the Homeric epic of the *Iliad* the men who fight are in reality poor, little, under-sized weaklings, often in retreat from each other, and feeble in their slaughtering capacities as compared, shall we say, with a Viking or any northern warrior. But, in spite of this, there is no poem in the world so exhilarating to read as the *Tale of Troy*, and no poem in which human dignity is so high. And the reason of this is the human grandeur of the puny fighters, their belief in themselves alone, and, above all, their ethical sense of values, of what is right and what is wrong, of what is human and what inhuman. Achilles sulks like a child in his tent because of a quarrel about a slave-girl, but when he issues forth he issues forth like a god. Swift-footed he pursues Hector, who, for the moment cowed, flees before him. At last he has caught him. Then he goes too far 'beyond the mark,' the inner 'mark' of the Greeks He drags his beaten foe round the walls of Troy, having told him he will do it even before he does it. But there is also a doom for him, and Hector knows it. This is the Greek humanity, or, better, the Homeric, and because of it there is a deep sense of tragedy in Homer Men are noble creatures and they must behave as noble creatures. It is because they have standards of value, in which they firmly believe, that they are so noble, and because they are 'noble' in this sense they are 'tragic' when they meet their ruin

Now let us consider Marcus Aurelius the Stoic and the age he lived in to see if it contains a similar grandeur. About his own personal nobility of character, of course, there can be no possible doubt. No one who has read the *Meditations* can fail to be moved by his greatness of soul, and the same is true of the writings of Epictetus and of Seneca, or of the Stoics in general. The words of Arria to Pætus in the famous epigram of Juvenal have often been quoted, *Non dolet! Pæte*, and they are in themselves the quintessence of Stoicism, the Stoic sage living up to his *rôle*. But they are not tragic, and the Stoics themselves are not tragic, and the reason lies in their doctrine, in their outlook on the world, and in their lack of an ethical dualism. For to the Stoic the

world is one, its origin and its end being in fire. Through it there runs a finer essence, a more subtle fire,[a] as it were, the *logos* of the Stoic doctrine, which each man possesses, and which in each man, as a principle of individuation, is called the *Hegemonikon*. Here indeed is a basis of dualism, but one which is not carried out to any conclusion by the Stoics. The stress is on the oneness of man with Nature, not on his superiority to Nature. '*Be like the world*,' says the Stoic, '*the world does not cry out*,' and it is because they adopted this equation of man with the universe, in spite of the strength they showed in carrying it out, that thereby they divest man of dignity and there is no Stoic conception of tragedy. The identification of the world-fire in its finest form with man's 'nous' or reason is not enough to raise him above the world—he is still the same sort of thing Thus the Stoics are 'rational' naturalists, and their own personal dignity does not save them from a lowered status. An animal can die like a Stoic, like the famous wolf of De Vigny (a Neo-Stoic) in *La Mort du Loup*.[a] Nothing perhaps is in greater contrast to the Stoic naturalism than the well-known *Pensée* of Pascal—who actually represented the religious plane in a humanistic age—on the subject of man's dignity in face of the world of Nature which crushes him. 'Mais quand l'univers l'écraserait l'homme serait encore plus noble que ce qui le tue, parce qu'il sait qu'il meurt. Et l'avantage que l'univers a sur lui, l'univers n'en sait rien.' This is extreme dualism, but it illustrates the point at issue

The eighteenth century, which has also been characterised above as a non-tragic age, is also naturalistic, or rather it is a transition period from a humanistic age, the seventeenth century, to the naturalistic nineteenth century. It is crossed by various currents of thought, amongst which the Neo-Stoic philosophy, which had reappeared at the Renaissance, is very prominent, and appears, moreover, in thinkers such as Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and Herder, tinged with a sentimental optimistic view of Nature unknown to the older Stoics. No other Stoic of the age—not even Shaftesbury, who comes nearest to them—is as convincing as Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius, for when these said Nature was good they meant that it was good to be endured, and they endured it, whereas the Neo-Stoics were largely theoretical in their views. More than the Neo-Stoics, however, the naturalists of the emotional and instinctive types were to become frequent as the century advanced. Diderot, Rousseau, and Herder are names which occur to the mind among many others. To such as these man and Nature were brought together in the idea of the natural man, overflowing with spontaneous goodness, a conception in which

[a] According to one school of thought, at least.

[a] '*Gémir, pleurer, fuir est également lâche*'!

Biblical ideas of the Garden of Eden were intermingled with naive tales of the wild folk of North America. Diderot himself, followed by Lessing, devised the 'bourgeois' tragedy in which the Neo-classic confusion of 'nobleness' of man with the '*noblesse*' aristocracy of the period was attacked in the name of democracy. Unfortunately the 'bourgeois'[4] was not really 'noble' in the human sense of nobility, for this implies a certain grandeur of soul expressed in self-control, and the experiment cannot really be said to have succeeded. It is not that a 'bourgeois,' or even a peasant, cannot be 'noble.' He can, but he must do it by raising himself above Nature, by achieving standards of values in himself based on control of the instincts and a certain 'poise.' The eighteenth century in France and England achieved very little in tragedy because of its lack of 'humanity' in the sense indicated. It was first 'rationalistically' naturalistic and then later increasingly emotionally naturalistic. After it came the nineteenth century with a scientific naturalism, in which Nature, in reaction to the sentimental view, was found to be 'red in tooth and claw'; but tragedy was not there either—pathos, yes indeed, but not tragedy. This period ends with the Great War, in which scientific naturalism may well have reached its zenith. There was pathos in full measure, but no tragedy, and the millions who perished, in the greatest massacre of history, only seemed to deepen the impression of the littleness of man.

There remains as a period of naturalism the Italian Renaissance, which, although it was the equal of our Elizabethan for colour, movement, and for its profusion of great characters, nevertheless produced no tragic drama. Jacob Burckhardt, in his famous history of the Renaissance, alleges several reasons for this which it would be superfluous to bring forward here, but he does not suggest what I think to be the true one. As is well known, the religious side of Italian culture, as based on Christian dogma, had been undermined as early as the age of Frederic II. through its intimate contact with dissolving elements from the Near East, the Mohammedan religion, etc., and Eastern philosophy. The rapid development which followed in the fourteenth century in a turbulent and luxurious city life, free from any final authority, royal or imperial, led to a view of life and human actions which was practically 'amoral,' and based, like that of many European states in later days, on purely economic, *i.e.*, natural, grounds. The 'amoral' actions of the Italians, moreover, were the actions of individual men acting in their own interests, and did not even have the sanction which diplomacy has of service to its country, with the result that, as a spectacle, it is merely sordid. The men of the Italian Renaissance do not therefore present suitable

[4] Compare the *Comédie larmoyante*, in which 'control' gives way to 'tears.'

material for a tragic outlook, because, in the last resort, they have no ethical outlook and no standards of value. Liberated from the outer check of religion, they developed too fast, it would seem, and too individually, to be able to form an inner check of the Greek type. The final outcome was the Spanish tyranny and the Roman Inquisition. A glance at Macchiavelli[6] will suggest at once to the reader the impossibilities of a tragic outlook on life in the Italy of 1500, and not so much because the Italians were immoral, because immorality can imply its opposite, but because they had no standards at all. There were exceptions, as in the case of Michael Angelo; but Michael Angelo is not typical of Italian life as a whole, and for a tragic outlook there must be not merely a creative writer, but also an audience which comprehends the standards which are put forward

It remains to consider the possibility, or impossibility, of tragedy on the religious plane, and here, once more, it must be remembered that the different levels are not clear-cut and distinct, but may, and do often, overlap. The Jansenist Pascal is a typical representative of the life on the religious plane, and he is responsible for some famous comments on the dignity and grandeur of man, one of which has been quoted In general, however, the religious outlook, by its very emphasis on humility, tends to undermine the dignity of man, and, where it is the life everlasting which is in question, it follows that a breakdown in this life cannot be of a moving nature. For the true Christian there has only been one breakdown, and that was so stupendous that the martyr's death at the stake is child's play and a toy thing in contrast. But what could indeed contain an element of tragedy, were it possible to dramatise it, would be the spectacle of a soul losing salvation, and it is interesting to note *en passant* that this very spectacle has been presented to the vision of man in the *Inferno* of Dante There the figure of Virgil, Dante's guide, is, in a sense, the most tragic personality in the Middle Ages. With his human personality fully developed—for he lives intensely, like all Dante's creations, and with the keenest of ethical outlooks, for he is among those who desire blessedness and know they will never get it—Virgil is for ever cut off from the life in Paradise. He is a kind of negative tragic hero, for he suffers, as he himself somewhere says, ' not for doing, but for " not doing." ' and while the ethical scheme which condemns him is not of him, he none the less accepts it. This would not suffice, and does not suffice, to make him a tragic hero, but it makes him at least the representative of the tragic feeling in the Middle Ages.

And now, as regards the problem of tragedy in ages which are

[6] Which does not mean that Macchiavelli *himself* was not highly ethical in his own ideals.

generally accepted as possessing it, it is hardly necessary to draw attention to the dualism and to the dignity of the men who represent it. The tragic heroes of these ages act ethically, that is, with a deep sense of right or wrong action, and on this sense their dignity is based. To act ethically does not mean that they act well or ill according to any given set of moral precepts, Christian or otherwise, but it does mean that their actions have an aim which pre-supposes standards, and standards which are more or less universally appreciated in the age they represent. 'They see life steadily, and they see it whole,' as Matthew Arnold once said of the Greeks; but in this sense it applies not only to the Greeks, but to all of the finest tragic writers. It applies to Shakespeare at his best no less than to Sophocles, and to Racine no less than to Shakespeare. A few illustrations drawn from each age will perhaps serve to make this point clear.

In the case of Œdipus, of whom it was prophesied that he would slay his father and wed his mother, we have a typical example of tragic dignity and human worth Œdipus, knowing of the prophecy, tries by all means in his power to avert it,* but fulfils it almost precisely because of the means he adopted, and breaks down in the end, overcome by the destiny which had ranged against him the forces of the world. Yet at the end of the play the spectator does not come away from seeing it with any low opinion of Œdipus, but rather the contrary. Œdipus has played his part like a human being, and suffers at the end as men may have to suffer. If we imagine a nineteenth century play on naturalistic lines, with economic force taking the place of the Greek '*anangke*,' as in the *Strife* of Galsworthy, we shall find that the tragic hero has considerably less dignity, if any at all, and the reason is that the hero is felt *to be on the same plane as the forces which overcome him*. The Greeks do not seem to have felt that Œdipus was on the same plane as the fate which destroyed him. They admired Œdipus and they did not admire ἀνάγκη (fate). Realists as they were, they saw that there was a world-order in which man was enmeshed, and no friendly one. But man was man after all and his ruin a marvellous spectacle. Again, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Antigone suffers death by the hand of the king because, in defiance of the laws of the State, she buried, with the proper funeral rites, the body of her brother who was slain. She acted humanly, as Œdipus had acted humanly. The ethical outlook in Antigone is more subtle than in Œdipus because here there is an ethical circle within a circle. Ismene, her sister, acting ethically, will not help to bury her brother because the king—*i.e.*, the State—has forbidden it, and the

* Notice that Œdipus, contrary to a widespread but erroneous conception of Greek tragedy, acts quite *freely* from beginning to end.

State is to be obeyed. Antigone, also acting ethically, but according to the law of Greek religion, which she places above the law of the king, buries the body and suffers the penalty prescribed by the State. The end is tragic. Antigone has to die, but she is 'noble' and her death is somehow inspiring.

Nearer to the Greeks than Shakespeare is Racine, and his *Phèdre*, one of the best of his plays, is apposite to our problem. Under Greek names Racine gives a picture of a woman in whom there is a strong element of Jansenism. Burning with incestuous love for her son (stepson) Hippolyte, she tries to crush it and tries to hate him, even persecuting him to prove her hatred. She is at the point of death when the influence of her nurse, and the reported death of the king, her husband, lead her to an avowal of a love, now no longer incestuous, to Hippolyte Her remorse is terrible, and the sense of lost value deep, when, in scornful rejection of her advances, he turns away. She would again die, but the return of Theseus, the king, who is not dead, coupled with the growing influence of the nurse, lead her still further. She lets the nurse accuse Hippolyte to Theseus of having loved her. Theseus, in anger, calls down the wrath of the gods on Hippolyte, his son. Again stricken with remorse, she would have interceded, but the sudden discovery that even the chaste Hippolyte has a lover fires her to jealousy, a passion she had not yet known She allows Hippolyte to perish, only then to find she cannot endure the remorse , finally she confesses and kills herself. It has been said that Phèdre was a Jansenist '*à qui la grace avait manqué!*' She slips, step by step, into deeper crime, conscious the while, as the spectator is also conscious, of a deep sense of value. Half of her is animal, and the will of the 'human' half is weak, but she knows when she is doing wrong, and because she has an ideal which she cannot reach she is acting ethically, and is on the human level.

Shakespeare, no less than these, has a tragic hero who is human. Hamlet is not moral at all, as Bowdler once saw clearly, but he is ethical throughout He thinks too much and too long, but his very 'pondering on the event' is the mark of man, and he leaves us, like Œdipus and Phèdre, with no sense of depression, or of the lowliness of men. Nor do the passion-swept heroes of Shakespeare, the Macbeths and the Othellos, ever give the impression that passion is all of them and that there is no inner check there at all In this the age of Elizabeth is on a higher level than that of the Italians, the 'Iagos' are in the minority and the ruin is on the 'human' level and not on the 'naturalistic.

It may be objected that the tragic problem is here only treated from one point of view, and that, in addition to the aspect of human dignity, there are many others, such as the

necessity of positive action on the part of the hero, the problem of Katharsis, of the fear and the pity of Aristotle. This is quite true, and it might be added that some of the problems, such as the relation of Stoicism to tragedy, which have been discussed, could have been further developed. The Stoic ideal is unsuitable for tragedy, for example, on the side of action. The Stoic ideal was to suffer rather than to act. The answer to this is partly that a naturalistic view of human life is bound to lead finally to passive acquiescence, but more in that the point under discussion is mainly to connect human dignity with tragedy, or to show its relation to the humanistic plane of Professor Babbitt, and this has been now done sufficiently.

There remains one point to be mentioned, and an important one. Professor Babbitt himself is not specially concerned with tragedy, and his aim is largely to put forward a philosophy of human life by showing the weak points of romantic psychology. His theory of the classical view of life is that the reason working through the imagination and controlling the emotions can and should 'see life steadily and see it whole.' This, as we have seen, Shakespeare and the Greeks achieved, but the Romantics failed to achieve it because with them, the reason being at a discount, the imagination became linked up with the emotional desires and produced a '*pays des chimères*' of the heart's desire, of which examples are the idyllic 'nature' of Rousseau and the belief in a 'natural' brotherhood of man. All this is true, and it is the reason why the Romantics failed to produce a tragedy worth the name. But, on the other hand, Professor Babbitt's attack being social in aim, and its purpose being to attain the stability of society and good government, there seems to be in the end a somewhat 'bourgeois' flavour about it. He argues in favour of humanism for the sake of stability of society, which is an undoubtedly sound argument for it Nevertheless, there is a greater argument even than that, and it is the argument of humanism for the sake of human dignity itself and the 'worthy' man of Aristotle.[7] The tragic writers cannot conceivably be imagined as writing for any such end as the stability of society. The world seems, moreover, to have been considerably more stable under Marcus Aurelius than under Pericles, and in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century, but the world, all the same, owes more to the humanistic than to the non-humanistic periods. It is at this point that one of Professor Babbitt's arguments has greater force perhaps even than he has given to it—the argument, namely, that in the infinite flux of the 'Many' the great writers saw the abiding element of the 'One,' as Plato saw the immutable Idea and Aristotle the last immaterial Form.

[7] ὁ σπουδαῖος (an untranslatable word: noble, good, worthy).

It is because of this gift of insight that the tragic writers still live, and that the 'One' they saw is something that still abides in the 'Many' we have around us to-day. It is because of this that a problem which troubled Sophocles, the relation of the individual to the State in the figure of Antigone, reoccurred almost on the same lines in the Great War in the figure of the (genuine) 'conscientious objector,' and its recurrence was noted at the time. It will occur again, no doubt, till the world ends. It is because of this, lastly, that Aristotle's famous dictum, 'Poetry is more philosophical than history,' was one of the truest *dicta* ever pronounced. It is not so much that humanism tends to the greater stability of society that its worth is abiding, but because it tends to the greater dignity of man. It does the former, no doubt, but it is the latter, and its grandeur rests on the visible truth that the world is fundamentally at all times out of harmony with man, and a lower creation than he. Because of this the tragic outlook is that the world is and will be at all times so fundamentally non-ethical that human beings will be always liable to break themselves and be broken in their attempt—and it is a noble attempt—to put their 'ethical' values into it, and this no 'stable' society, unless it be the stability which springs from human unworthiness, will ever prevent. It is said that the world was stable at the time of Christ, but there are many who would maintain even now that a tragedy occurred then more awful than any in history, and yet a tragedy, curiously enough, that they would by no means do without, but rather, from a certain point of view, rejoice that it happened. This may seem going beyond the point, but in a less intense degree the great tragedies of the world likewise are events which we would not by any means be without, and the reason must be, surely, that they represent some element of 'Oneness' in the human spirit. It is in this sense that humanity knows no 'progress,' and a well-known phrase of Goethe finds a meaning:

Alles Drängen, alles Ringen
Ist ewig' Ruh' in Gott dem Herrn
(All striving, all struggling
Is eternal peace in God the Lord)

for Goethe, himself a humanist in later life, saw that there was for man no real peace except in calamity. The error of the Romantics was that the struggle was not seen by them in the 'peace' that lies in the centre and that is found in the struggle with reality, but in an imaginary conflict with a reality of their own fashioning remote from the reality in the world.

If it be asked in conclusion how it comes about that different ages of naturalism and humanism occur, the reply is that in view

of the 'progressive' increase of human knowledge and of the 'progress' of man in general man needs at various times to make a renewed effort of the will in order to regain the humanistic level and to preserve himself from the naturalism which new science tends to bring about. So the discoveries of the Greek fourth, fifth and sixth centuries ended in the 'naturalism' of the Roman Empire and a 'sinking' of human dignity, while the discoveries of the Renaissance ended in the naturalism, scientific or sentimental, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the case of the Italians it resulted in naturalism earlier, as we have seen, and for its own peculiar reasons. Whether in face of the naturalism of to-day a humanist attitude is possible remains, of course, to be seen. The humanist plane of life is not in opposition to the religious, and it is not impossible that in a synthesis of the two the humanist life may have a future. The concepts of 'Nemesis' and of God are both the objective aspects of a similar attitude towards the universe, for both insist on an ethical fabric where Nature only gives us 'things' or 'events,' and both point to a One which is above the Many. It is in this 'numinous' sense, and not in the sense of the sophist, that 'Man is the measure of all things,' and the highest purpose of life may lie in the seeing of this One that is behind the Many.

F. McEachran.

THE GALLIPOLI TRAGEDY: PART ONE

MY war diary for March 28, 1915, contains the following entry
'*Left Cairo for Alexandria, where our G.H.Q. is to function ti
we start again for Gallipoli. Aspinall and I in the train discusse
the possibilities of writing in collaboration an account of th
show.*' Captain Aspinall and I were then respectively a gener
staff officer second grade and the chief cipher officer on Sir Ia
Hamilton's staff, and part of that small band of thirteen officers raked together in a desperate hurry and sent off at thirty-six hours' notice with our Commander-in-Chief from Charing Cross to Tenedos on March 13. A strong sense of personal comradeship had grown up with unusual rapidity in that small band owing to the circumstances and reason for their assembly. For each of us the whole course of his future had been changed in the twinkling of an eye. Our kit, in various degrees, had shown signs of hasty improvisation, especially my own, which was off the peg from A to Z and fitted nowhere. There had been nobody to play the old hand, for none of us, neither General nor Staff College graduate, nor transformed civilian, had yet served abroad except Churchill, our camp commandant, who had arrived from France that morning and conveyed tremendously the hardened warrior, with a vicious bludgeon in his hand and a large revolver sticking out of his belt; and in that saloon carriage of the special train which had glided unostentatiously out of the gloomy terminus that Friday afternoon all had been excited and delighted. A sense of boyish enthusiasm for adventure had been in the air, and in this our Chief, that most friendly and accessible of men, had set the tone. The rest of the War Office, so said some of my new acquaintances, were green with envy. We were to make the journey in record time, all in special trains and cruisers. In fact, Sir Ian Hamilton, with his personal and general staffs, was off to the Dardanelles. Where would they stop? Constantinople, perhaps. And then . . . ? That was the spirit in which we had said good-bye to our wives, had careered through France in another 'special,' feeding at the Admiralty's charges, had resisted the Dionysiac hospitality of the *Phaeton's* tiny wardroom, drowsed on her deck as the Mediterranean, summer-smooth, turned purple and orange,

[illegible] all one morning among the Cyclades and together had [illegible] that [illegible] when, after [illegible] world of a British battle [illegible] upon our astonished view.

The story of the Gallipoli campaign, with whatever eyes you look upon it, is a lamentable story of failure. But in those golden days of March 1915, as we paced the tiny quarter-deck of H.M.S. *Phaeton*, throbbing from stem to stern, who thought of failure? Not the Chief, certainly; and in talking with all those new friends I then made—and now where are they all?—the note was always one of expectation, the uncertainty only that of limitless possibilities. None of the strategists had yet seen the problem with his own eyes: only General Birdwood, awaiting us on the spot, had looked on that bare sloping peninsula. And the two strongest reasons for optimism were confidence in the result of the grand naval attack to be made on the Narrows and the imminence, as we understood, of a Russian attack from the Black Sea. By March 28, of course, we had seen the failure of the Fleet; the Gallipoli peninsula was a far more severe reality, and the necessity for re-embarking the whole army at Alexandria, with all the delay thereby entailed, had dispelled some of the more exaggerated hopes of unstemmed advance into the East. Yet the optimism of the start had lost very little of its gloss; and it was as prevalent among the troops at Alexandria as among the staff. My diary for March 31, for instance, notes:

> Aspinall has been to see a battalion of his own regiment, the Munster Fusiliers, and was amused to find his pals as sick as mud. On inquiry why, he was told 'It's damnable being switched off here. we wanted to go to the Gallipoli show, but now we are to stay here six months.' They will know where they are when they find themselves in the front of the attack.

That was the general tone of those days, which gives a particular poignancy to the retrospect It is therefore hardly surprising that Aspinall and I could light-heartedly discuss the opportunity of writing together an account of the 'Gallipoli show,' that incomparable adventure-to-be, if on March 13

> Lord Kitchener still clung to the belief that the Army's help, except for minor enterprises, would not be needed till the Turkish capital was reached, and the whole tenour of his instructions was such as to rivet Sir Ian Hamilton's attention more firmly upon the gleaming minarets of Constantinople than on the rugged heights of Gallipoli.

These are the words of my friend, now Brigadier-General Aspinall-Oglander, who has come to write, not a joint account,

[illegible] with just [illegible] considerable literary grace, is far, very far, from being the story which, in that Egyptian railway carriage, we hoped that we might tell together.

We were not wrong to look forward with hope, for, as this history proves, the brilliant possibilities, though rapidly receding, were still tangible. Nevertheless, in retrospect, the only glory of the campaign—a glory that age can never dim—belongs to the marvellous heroism and devotion of the British, Australian, New Zealand, French and Indian fighting troops, as well as to the men and officers of the Navy who lost and risked their lives upon the beaches. The only success, apart from the initial miracle of landing, was a success arrived at by computation, whereby the attraction and destruction of the Turkish first-line troops, ensuring, as they did, the safety of Egypt and preparing for Allenby's ultimate triumphs, appear as definite strategical advantages, though obtained at an excessive cost. For the rest, the campaign, in which nothing so became our generals as their leaving of it, was a martyrdom for the troops, a grave of personal reputations, a hotbed of internal dissensions, a source of personal bitterness still unexhausted, and a classic example of the disasters consequent on the neglect, to quote the preface to the *Official History*, 'of age-old principles of war.' Those who started so gaily lived, if they lived at all, to see that glorious gallantry unavailing, those graves of reputations being dug, those internal dissensions gathering from the start and those personal bitternesses unavoidably developing, while they realised, even at the time, that age-old principles had been, and continued to be, neglected. It was at Alexandria, while the transports were being reloaded and the elaborate details of the landing were being worked out, that I noted in my diary these words spoken to me by our G.S.O.1 (Operations) at G.H.Q.:

> If you write a book on this campaign, mind you rub it in that, though all the books insist that surprise is the chief factor in all operations of this kind, here we have been giving the show away for six weeks, and all possibility of surprise is gone. All the work we are doing now ought to have been done in England; and though we have gained valuable experience in rearranging transports locally, I believe that, if all this had been properly done in England, we should have done the whole thing in a day.

Events rub things in far more grimly than words: but, so far as words go, the *Official History* makes it quite clear that it would

[1] *The Official History of the War. Military Operations. 'Gallipoli,'* vol. i., with appendices and maps in separate volume. By Brigadier-General C. F. Aspinall-Oglander, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. (Heinemann.)

[illegible] without which heroism was useless, could have been [illegible] by forethought. Yet adequate forethought, in the early days of 1915, was a commodity of which we were very short at home. The history of the Gallipoli campaign, rich in military lessons, should also serve as a general warning to all who at crises place undue confidence in Cabinets.

Many books have already been written about the military side of this expedition, nor is it to be supposed that this *Official History* will be the last, but it is the first to be written with complete after-knowledge. As a narrator General Aspinall-Oglander has proved himself, in his first volume, worthy of the story. Without exceeding the sober discretion incumbent upon an official historian, he realises the emotional intensity with which the Gallipoli episode opened, he marks the climaxes with those graphic touches which only an eye-witness can give, and he develops his narrative with a judicious note of the dramatic. To me the interest of this expedition comes not only from my own participation in it, nor from the indescribable beauty and picturesqueness of its opening—like my friend, for instance, I noted how gay the wild flowers looked and how strong smelled the wild thyme on May 8 below Hill 114 while awaiting the bombardment that was to start the final effort on Krithia—but from the way in which, to the reflective eye, the campaign shapes itself into one dramatic whole with a beginning, middle, and end through which inexorable laws work with classic force. The second volume of the *Official History*, when it appears, will prove whether its author fully seizes this dramatic unity, or, if he does, whether he will be allowed to express it; but, from his first volume, I derive the hope that he will be able, without distorting his facts or transgressing his limits, to reproduce the dramatic rhythm which, as surely as on the stage of Æschylus, pulses through the story of Gallipoli. Here, as there, neglect of principle and human over-confidence brought their inevitable Nemesis. The subsidiary misfortunes of the expedition—the fact that responsible people at home were not given sufficiently outspoken information, whereby they became an easy prey to alarmists, the separation of the Commander-in-Chief from his force, the abnormal want of united feeling between troops and staffs, the growing dissensions at G.H.Q., the murmuring caused by the great inadequacy of the medical arrangements, the ever-increasing strain due to the absence of a restful back-area, the inhospitality of Mudros, the advanced base, and the inevitable but exasperating

lag of supply behind demand for every vital reinforcement or store—were simply the result of initial failure; and the initial failure was due to undertaking the most risky and difficult of all military operations—a landing on beaches in face of the enemy, without those preparations or calculations by which experience had proved that the risks could be minimised. The tragedy lasted nine months, but its tragic principle was set to work, and its tragic characters took the stage, in a prologue, a fatal prologue in Whitehall, which could easily be composed in poetic form from General Aspinall-Oglander's chapters on 'The Initiation of the Dardanelles Campaign.'

For a moment, however, let us leave the tragic principle and glance at the opening episode which gives the whole tragedy its nobility. For many years, no doubt, the attack on the Gallipoli peninsula of April 25, 1915, will be a *locus classicus* for the study, by sailors and soldiers alike, of combined operations: yet, like many a *locus classicus*, it is already obsolete in all but its fundamental principles. Never again, we may confidently suppose, will such a force approach such a shore with so little preliminary information. Sir Ian Hamilton's troops had a highly inaccurate map and no aircraft worth mentioning; whereas the recent developments of aerial and mechanical elements of war have altered all future possibilities. It would indeed be very interesting to know how the Gallipoli problem would to-day present itself to a staff of the three arms in consultation One might safely assert that, even if the same beaches were marked down for attack, the proceedings of a well-equipped force would be very different from those of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force in 1915. Yet no development of armament will upset the principles on which success in war depends—a fact which was forgotten when it was confidently held that the *Queen Elizabeth's* guns would compensate for the hastiness of the preparations and the vagueness of the plans—and still less will it remove from war what is war's chief condemnation, which is not its savagery, nor its suffering, but the inevitable incompetence with which it is normally conducted.

The account given of the landing on the beaches in the *Official History* is of extreme interest, being the first that has been written with full after-knowledge of the dispositions and sequence of events on both sides It is impossible to summarise these graphic and lucid pages in a short space; but the points which stand out are the practically insuperable difficulties of the ground at Anzac, the smallness and gallantry of the Turkish garrison at Cape Helles, the wonderful chance which was missed by the King's Own Scottish Borderers at Y beach on the first day, and the regrettable inertia which, after giving all possible praise to the marvellous heroism of those who stormed the beaches, has to be

recorded as a serious criticism of the action of the troops on the second day. After reading the quite justly styled 'heart-breaking' story of the failure at Y beach and of the want of enterprise at X and S beaches, the reader is likely to conclude that, had an equal number of those Australians whose excessive dash at Anzac proved their undoing been landed at these points, the Turks could have been pinched out of the Helles defences and the advance to Krithia have been left clear. Yet, though at one moment on the 26th the troops doing nothing at X and S beaches outnumbered the whole Turkish garrison manning the Helles defences, it has also to be realised that a sudden change in the weather, a quicker reinforcement from Bulair or a proper supply of ammunition for the Turkish field-guns on that day and the next, might well have driven us into the sea.

General Aspinall-Oglander sums up the causes of the failure to reach the objective of the landing operations—namely, the Achi Baba ridge—in four very careful pages. These causes may be epitomised as the abnormal casualties on the first day among senior officers on shore, a lack of flexibility in the orders for the operation, the absence of any immediately available reserve in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, the failure of arrangements for intercommunication, and the great difficulty experienced by the 29th Division in exercising adequate control from the deck of a man-of-war—a difficulty shared by Sir Ian Hamilton. The casualties were unavoidable, not so the rigidity of the orders. The minuteness of the instructions for the complicated landing was well justified in the event, but with regard to the action subsequent to landing, says the *Official History*, 'they entered into so much detail as to what was to be done if all went well that they left little margin for the unexpected.' To this was due in great measure the want of enterprise at Y, X and S beaches.

At such a juncture in an assault good information, freedom of action, and an adequate reserve in hand are of vital importance to a commander. Sir Ian Hamilton had none of these. He had no reserve in hand, because his forces were insufficient for his task, and also, as the *Official History* quite plainly hints, because General Maxwell, the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, had early in April diplomatically forgotten to communicate to Sir Ian a telegram from Lord Kitchener instructing General Maxwell to supply any troops from Egypt that could be spared. Be that as it may, to use any reserve of troops Sir Ian Hamilton would have needed a reserve of boats in which to land them; and such a reserve, of which he would not in any case have had control, was not existent. As it was, a wish expressed by Sir Ian later in the battle of the beaches to land troops at X beach instead of W was given up because Admiral Wemyss feared that such a change

might disorganise the whole system of landing. No doubt Admiral Wemyss was right in this case, since there was no margin of safety anywhere; but I am bound to remark here that, owing to the decision to publish the accounts of the naval and the military operations at Gallipoli separately, no official historian will reveal how great and constant were the difficulties to the two services of working together. Mutual gratitude, good feeling and admiration between Navy and Army have had full play, and quite rightly; but it is also right, for the sake of the future, to say—what everybody who was there knows perfectly well—that the dual control of men and shore, sea and ships and boats, was a source of continual trouble and friction, never eliminated during the whole operations. An army commander and his subordinates who cannot control one single item of transport behind the front line area, and who are forced to negotiate what they cannot command, are in a very unfavourable position, for which no amount of mutual good-will can compensate

But this is a digression. If Sir Ian Hamilton had no reserves, neither had he good information The arrangements for communication between land stations and ships proved to be hopelessly inadequate, and naval signallers were inexperienced in transmitting messages originally sent by military signallers—a fact bitterly recalled to me by the first entry in my diary for April 28:

> Had only three hours' sleep again owing to getting to bed (a valise on the steel deck) very late and then being up from 3 30 to 5 30 struggling with a very corrupt cipher from Anzac about a determined attack on Birdwood's centre.

The Commander-in-Chief's information during the six days while he was immured in the *Queen Elizabeth* was fragmentary, uncertain and inaccurate. at all events, I should be very much surprised if the pages of the G H Q. War Diary for the first two days of the landing, compiled by Major Fuller and myself for six stifling hours in the wireless lieutenant's cabin on the fourth flat while the whole ship trembled as the salvos went off, gave a situation, with corroborative messages, that nearly approached reality. And finally Sir Ian had no freedom of action, for, as the *Official History* says:

> An additional and unexpected disadvantage existing out of the location of General Headquarters on board the *Queen Elizabeth* was that, owing to the guns of that vessel being urgently needed to assist the troops at V beach, Sir Ian Hamilton was chained to that locality throughout the afternoon and evening of the 25th, instead of being free to exercise a general supervision over the whole front of the attack.

Thus, on that day, after steaming away from Anzac soon after

down in the belief that all was going well, the Commander-in-Chief for the rest of the day shared with his small staff the memorable but unenviable privilege of watching from unusual proximity, yet complete safety, the failure of the most desperate of all the attempts of his attacking troops, without ability to assist them or exact knowledge what was happening on that bloodstained V beach or elsewhere. My own view was from the slit in the armour that ran round the after torpedo control, and what I saw from there Sir Ian Hamilton saw from the bridge.

Off V Beach, though, we could see something of W and the barbed wire covering the redoubt on Hill 138. Also we could see the French advance against Kum Kale on the other shore. What we could actually see of V Beach was its shape and the sandy bluff The *River Clyde* was ashore and empty lighters round her Under the cliff was a body of men crouching, and nearer the sea many more were lying who must have been dead. There was incessant fire of rifles and machine-guns Perfectly obvious they could not advance an inch. A heavy bombardment of the beach from the *Q. E.* and *Bacchante* took place all the time, the *Q. E* with both 6 in. and 15 in., my first experience of gun-fire The shell-bursts all along the ridge, in the upper part of the village and in the barracks of No. 1 Fort, were terrific, but did not assist the troops to advance.

And my contemporaneous summary of a staff's existence on board a battleship in action bears out the *Official History's* remark that 'a study of the day's events goes far to prove that there can be few less satisfactory positions for the conduct of land operations than the deck of a man-of-war,' when it records:

Living on battleship under battle conditions for a military staff very uncomfortable. Ship not meant for these continuous operations and very inconvenient. The after part of the ship quite cut off when we are closed down because it is not armoured, and communication between the various stations is very difficult. Officers continually sweating up and down ladders and bumping their heads along various flats to find one another. The atmosphere below intolerably hot and stuffy. No fixed place for us to work in. . . . Up to to-day (April 30) have hardly had three hours' sleep a night. When day and dinner over always a rush of work begins.

I quote these peevish remarks, not to emphasise any mild discomforts of my own, but to show in what conditions during those vital days the Commander-in-Chief, his Chief of Staff, and his necessary staff officers lived and worked. General Hunter-Weston's life for the first two days was very much the same. The most hasty of improvised advanced G.H.Q.'s in normal land operations has a hundred advantages over a magnificent floating fortress like the *Queen Elizabeth* when she is taking part in a battle and being manoeuvred by a naval commander, with her signal office in naval hands.

It was, in fact, a minor tragedy of the whole expedition,

though unavoidable, since the whole force advanced to the assault by sea and not by land, that neither at the beginning nor at any other time in the campaign was G.H.Q. in touch with the troops, and that its own sections were separated at crucial periods. There could be no marshalling of the force before leaving England ; at Alexandria units were distributed over many different camps widely separated, at Mudros during the final concentration staffs, and units alike were marooned upon their transports—a state of affairs of which nobody who did not experience it can conceive the inconvenience and exasperation—and, after the landing, the main bodies of the force were immediately separated by miles of enemy country never made good, so that there was no place on the peninsula whence the Commander-in-Chief, even if he had set up his G H Q upon a beach, could have exercised control over his whole force The problem of his free access from Helles to Anzac by sea, or *vice versâ*, would have been even more acute than the problem of sea communication from Imbros proved to be.

This first volume of the *Official History* rings down the curtain on the first act of the Gallipoli tragedy—a curtain which left the British and French forces in 'a deplorable and even critical position' after the vain and costly attempts on May 6-8 to advance with already worn-out troops by daylight, without adequate artillery support, against unlocated machine-gun positions The attempt had lasted three days, hardly any ground had been gained, and the Allied effort was absolutely spent. On pp. 348-356 General Aspinall-Oglander incisively analyses the causes of the unfortunate, and unexpected, 'End of the First Phase.' Inexorably he traces the tragic clues home to England. The premature bombardment by the fleet which gave the Turks two months' notice of our intentions, the failure at home to realise the certain results of that warning, the drift of policy which led to the sanction of a military landing, the tardy realisation that, once involved in the Dardanelles, considerations of prestige would make withdrawal 'unthinkable,' the orders given to Sir Ian Hamilton without any 'careful review of the situation and careful counting of the cost,' the omission to provide him with a margin of safety or to lay down a policy for the case of his force proving too weak, and, most important of all, the absence of any definite Government decision whether the Dardanelles operations or the forthcoming offensive in France were to be held paramount—these are the counts in a grave indictment. What was the result ?

For lack of a careful Staff study beforehand, Sir Ian Hamilton was ordered to enter upon a new campaign without a sufficient reserve. Sir John French, with a strength even less adequate to his task, was permitted

to persevere with his plans for a spring offensive in France. With barely enough ammunition for one theatre, an offensive was sanctioned in two, and both ended in Failure.

This is an accurate statement supported by unexceptionable criticism. It does not, however, go to the heart of the tragedy. Tragedy is not the working of forces or principles *in vacuo*: it is something which involves human beings. The Gallipoli tragedy had a great protagonist—Lord Kitchener. Even from the discreet pages of the *Official History* the tragic irony, in the strictest sense, of his position can be seen. We learn that, three days after Sir Ian Hamilton had been sent off post-haste to Tenedos with his incomplete instructions, a memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister by the Secretary of the War Council indicated with great precision all the points which ought at once to be studied by naval and military staff officers in view of the fact that the Dardanelles expedition had developed into a formidable military enterprise. The memorandum ended with these words: 'Unless details such as these, and there are probably others, are fully thought out before the landing takes place, it is conceivable that a serious disaster may occur.' The *Official History* continues:

> The truth of this prophecy was soon to be demonstrated. On the 16th March, however, Mr Asquith's principal advisers still expected the naval attack to succeed, and there can be little surprise if, in the circumstances existing at that moment, the Prime Minister was satisfied that the arrangements already made for any landing that might be required were amply sufficient. Lord Kitchener's exalted rank in the army, and his brilliant record of past achievements gave him at that time unique power in the War Council. He enjoyed the full confidence of his colleagues, few of whom had ever studied warlike problems or dreamed of being plunged into war. Actually it was no part of his duty to be saddled with undivided responsibility for the arrangements for a combined operation. But everyone looked to him to take the lead, every burden was thrown upon his broad and willing back, and if he gave voice to no anxiety, there seemed no reason for a civilian to anticipate trouble. Even the Prime Minister was loth to question his views.

So Mr. Asquith mildly asked if a scheme for a possible disembarkation had been worked out, and Lord Kitchener replied that there was not enough information at home to prepare a detailed scheme, and that this would have to be done by the admiral and the general on the spot. Meanwhile the transports, loaded haphazard, were starting from the English ports.

Lord Kitchener was tragic because, like all truly tragic characters, he was a great man. Called at the outbreak of hostilities to be Minister for War and acclaimed by the whole nation, he rose, indeed, to the height of the situation; but he rose too high, and the gods, as ever, afflicted him with blindness.

Already a man of almost legendary reputation for silent, autocratic efficiency, he became immediately isolated as an authority whom nobody, not even a Cabinet Minister, could question. He avoided no burdens, he sought no help, he turned his proper helpers, the General Staff at the War Office, into a cipher; he was inarticulate by nature, over-secretive on principle, and an object of fear, as well as a source of confidence, to his subordinates. The Commander-in-Chief and the Staff in France were strong enough, and their field of operations near enough, to obviate the worst results of Lord Kitchener's single-handed position at the War Office; but, from the first, these results fatally accrued to the Gallipoli expedition. The effect produced—and not on Sir Ian Hamilton alone—was that a superior commander had given the orders and provided the force which he considered sufficient for the attainment of a preconceived success, or, to be just, for the exploitation of a naval success of which Mr. Winston Churchill's over-confidence had persuaded him The Narrows were not forced; the *Queen Elizabeth's* guns did not pulverise resistance the military, hardly sufficient to exploit success, was committed to a dangerous major operation, and obtained a bare lodgment at great cost. Lord Kitchener realised his error too late. He was great enough to confess it, both, as we now learn, in a memorandum dated May 13 in which he recorded his wish that he could now abandon the Dardanelles expedition, and in his telegram of May 18 to Sir Ian Hamilton, to which further reference will have to be made. It was too late · withdrawal was impossible. From now until his tragic death he was involved in the consequences of an enterprise which he regretted and for the initial mistakes of which he must be largely held responsible We shall see, in the sequel, how the Gallipoli *motif* inexorably pursued him to the end

However, if Lord Kitchener was great enough to see his own errors of judgment, it needed, or seemed to need, a man of equal greatness to dispute or discuss in any way his orders, his provision or his expectations. Sir Ian Hamilton, as the *Official History* plainly states, was not such a man. Here again the tragic element was at work, not only in putting one who had all the qualities of a dashing leader in a position where he could not exercise them but in placing at the head of a supremely difficult enterprise carried out far from Lord Kitchener's view, and of which at all stages accurate and sober estimates were vitally essential to the authorities at home, a man who, having set out to bring off the *grand coup*, considered it unsoldierly to suggest that its attainment was ever in question or to impair, by word or deed, the appearance of optimism and gallantry. Before the attack, such was his domination by the forceful character of his former Chief with what was perhaps mistaken loyalty, he could not bring

self to make an unwelcome demand for troops which after all it never be needed.' And when the operations had begun, optimism of his reports lulled all anxiety at home, thus ing the revulsion all the more severe when, after the reverses ay 6-8, the pendulum for the first time swung in the other tion and he revealed that he could do no more without large orcements. As my diary (May 9) records:

here is no concealment on anybody's part that the attack has been a e, and that if we are to get on at all we must have more troops, guns mmunition. Late last night a long telegram to that effect was sent rd K. which will not make very pleasant Sunday reading for him.

the very next day, to quote the *Official History*, some of our f's 'old confidence' returned, when he telegraphed that with more divisions he could push on from Helles and Anzac with y prospect of success, adding that everyone was in good ts and confident. This last remark, true of himself, was untrue of the troops, as even I well knew: their confidence, ially in those who framed their orders, had received a rude and was never afterwards quite regained. But it was al of Sir Ian Hamilton, both now and later, that he would e cogently drafted reports with literary palliatives and orting trimmings that were justified less by facts than by his personal convictions.

s an illustration of the way in which the tragic destiny of ampaign pervaded even these personal relations I will give a quotation from my own diary. On May 14, as the *Official ry* notes in the concluding pages of vol. i., Lord Kitchener, e request of the War Council, sent a telegram to Sir Ian ilton asking what force he considered would be necessary to through the operations, on the supposition that his requires were able to be met. Sir Ian had estimated his requires at four additional divisions organised in two army corps on pposition that no help would come from Russia. My diary lay 18 runs as follows.

te in the evening a most despondent wire from K. in answer to our d for 2 army corps it must have been written in a desperate fit blues · the Germans would have rejoiced to read it It said: 'I am ou fully realise what a disappointment it is to me that my view, that he support of naval artillery you would quickly be able to dominate rdanelles forts, was a miscalculation The demands for reinforce- and ammunition which we can ill spare from France create a very t situation. This requires the gravest consideration, as to how long support two fields of operations. I am sure I can rely on you to that is possible to prevent the possibility of withdrawal, with all its s in the East, coming into the field of possible solutions.'

is is a very unreasonable wire. He and the others had no business

to have preconceived views on the easiness of an operation of the diffic[ulty]
of which they could have no conception. They ought not to have un[der]
taken it unless prepared to support it to the full. It is obvious from
papers how serious the ammunition question is, and unless there was so[me]
reason for undertaking this expedition against the ordinary dictates
prudence, I cannot help feeling it was a mistake even if it turns out we[ll].

However, Sir Ian and the C.G.S. came out strong in their reply. T[hey]
just patted K. on the back and said: 'I see nothing in the situation
cause you despondency. Remember you asked me to reply on the assum[p]
tion that you had troops at your disposal. We make slow but s[ure]
progress every day.' I heard them talking about it at breakfast to-d[ay]
(the 29th) and they were quite pityingly patronising about K., which i[s a]
good sign.

I was wrong: it was not a good sign. On Lord Kitchene[r's] remarkable telegram the *Official History* will have to comment [at] the opening of its second volume. Looked at in retrospect, [so] far from being unreasonable, though, perhaps, it was inarticulat[ely] expressed,[2] it appears as one of the occasions on which Lo[rd] Kitchener frankly displayed the great, simple sincerity of [his] nature. He was speaking his innermost thoughts. A nature [of] similar calibre at the Gallipoli end would have seized the opp[or]tunity to put before Lord Kitchener, with equal frankness, [a] searching analysis of the whole position and prospects. I ha[ve] often wondered what profound change in the destiny of t[he] expedition might have been worked if another Commander-[in-]Chief under whom I had the honour to serve, Lord Allenby, h[ad] had the answering of that telegram. It is here, while waiting [for] the second act to open, that a tragic chorus might fitly comme[nt] upon the incalculable value, in all human crises, of μεγαθυμ[ία,] true greatness of soul.

ORLO WILLIAMS

[2] The version given in my diary is obviously too clumsy to be correct; [but] having seen a good many important telegrams from 1914 onwards writte[n in] thick pencil by Lord Kitchener himself, I am bound to say he was a poor draug[ht]man.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

I

THE centenary of King's College is being celebrated this present year, following that of the Birkbeck College by six years, and that of University College by two. The close approximation of date in the founding of these three great metropolitan institutions indicates that a powerful educational movement was in process during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Such was indeed the case.

The period was one of rapid and revolutionary change—political, religious, social, economic, intellectual The whole of Europe, if not the whole of the world, was in some degree or other affected; but no country was involved so completely as Britain in the current of a great transition. For in addition to the democratic floods let loose in France, and in addition to the contributory streams of nationalism generated widely by the wars of liberation, there were in Britain peculiar sources of subversive change arising from the so-called Industrial Revolution. Hence demands for the extension of the franchise, for the repeal of the Act of Union, for Catholic emancipation, were mingled with demands for the abolition of the corn dues, for the reform of the Poor Law, for the recognition of trade unions, for the freedom of the Press, and for a radical reconstruction of society.

That Britain came very near to the verge of a sanguinary revolution during the seven distressful years that followed the Peace of Vienna—and particularly during 1819—is now generally recognised. Whether or not the Ministry of the day—nominally led by Liverpool, but really dominated by Castlereagh—dealt wisely with the crisis is a matter of much dispute. Of this, however, there can be no doubt: the country was thoroughly alarmed, and everywhere anxious attention was given both to the symptoms of revolt and to the search for the causes which had led to so grave a condition of unrest.

The economic causes of the upheaval were, in the main, beyond the ken of contemporary observers. It was impossible for them to realise the significance of increasing population, migrating industries, decaying agriculture, swelling pauperism,

violently fluctuating commerce, recurrent financial crises. Tw things, however, they seemed to see clearly: first, that religio was losing its hold over the masses, so that their excesses were n longer held in check either by the fears of the law or the hopes o the gospel; second, that ignorance was so general and so pro found that the seething multitudes had no conception of eithe the richness of the resources of Nature or the possibilities of th powers of man.

Evangelisation and education, then, appeared to be th crying needs of the day. Some enthusiasts, such as the Methodists laid entire stress on the former: to them the gospel seemed to b sufficient for all human needs. Others, such as the Philosophica Radicals, laid exclusive stress upon the latter: to them it wa axiomatic that virtue would increase in exact ratio with know ledge. The majority of thoughtful men, however, agreed tha both religion and science were essential if man were to attain t full self-realisation, and if society were to be re-established on sound basis. Among this majority were the founders of King College, who took as their motto the words '*Sancte et Sapienter*

The immediate cause of the founding of King's College wa as is well known, the alarm generated in High Anglican circles b the establishment (1826-28) of University College in Gower Stree on a non-religious basis. This great institution—which, althoug unchartered and unable to grant degrees, originally called itse 'The University of London'—owed its existence to a compan of wealthy and enlightened educationists among whom we Philosophical Radicals like James Mill, Presbyterians like Edwar Irving, Baptists like Dr F. A. Cox, and Jews like Isaac Goldsmi After strenuous but wholly futile efforts had been made by i governing body to frame regulations under which theology coul be taught and the Deity worshipped within the walls of the college, they were compelled to announce that they had hel 'many long and anxious deliberations upon this subject whi they felt to be of paramount importance; but they found impossible to unite the principles of free admission to persons all religious denominations with any plan of theological instructi or any form of religious discipline, and they were thus compell by necessity to leave this great primary object of educatio which they deem too important for compromise, to the directi and superintendence of the natural guardians of the pupil This mode of settling the religious problem, which was not r garded as fully satisfactory by any except the Philosophic Radicals, caused the most profound perturbation in the breas of the leaders of the Church of England. They felt, on the o hand, that it would be fatal to leave the pick of the intellige youths of the metropolis at the most critical period of their liv

without any instruction in religion beyond that supplied by the Bloomsbury landladies, and, on the other hand, that a university was wholly unworthy of its name if it excluded from its curriculum what was admitted by all to be the 'great primary object of education.'

The dissatisfaction and alarm of the High Anglican educationists were first clearly expressed by that eminent man the Rev. Hugh James Rose—friend of Newman and Keble, one of the most powerful preachers of the day—in a remarkable sermon which he delivered before the University of Cambridge in October 1826. Its theme was the *Tendency of Prevalent Opinions about Knowledge*. It drew attention to the ominous increase of secularism; it emphasised the insufficiency of science for the soul; it depicted the peril of an education which quickened the mind without at the same time elevating the character; it stressed the importance of the things unseen and eternal as compared with those seen and temporal. 'When once we admit,' argued Rose, 'the being of God, and the continuance of the soul's existence to eternity, these two considerations at once impress a character of comparative insignificance on all that does not concern these great matters.' The note struck by the Rev. Hugh James Rose was taken up in January 1827 by the *British Critic*, a quarterly theological review, under the control of Joshua Watson, of Clapton, and Prebendary H. H. Norris, of Hackney, two wealthy and influential men who were fighting for the cause of religious education on many fields—supporting Bell's Church schools against Lancaster's undenominational schools; upholding the old Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge against the new utilitarian Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and so on. The *British Critic* in a pungent article compared the principles ennunciated by Rose with those embodied in the recently issued prospectus of the projected 'University of London.' It emphatically condemned the omission of religion from the curriculum of the new institution, saying: 'We would much rather see a Dissenters' university established in London in the next street to a university for members of the Church of England, and in fair and open opposition to it; or even a Deists' university instituted in the same way, than one like the present which proposes to admit all other ingredients of knowledge, and rejects religion as something unwholesome and unpalatable'; and it asked the suggestive question 'why two or more collegiate institutions should not be founded in London, if the demand for a new university is so loud and general as has been pretended.' During 1827 the question asked by the *British Critic* was widely echoed and re-echoed in the orthodox Press of the country—the *Standard*, the *Morning Post*, the *Globe*, the *Sunday Times*, and other leading papers—and

before the end of the year, when it had become clear that the 'University of London' did not intend to abandon its non-religious principle, the project of a rival Anglican seminary had taken shape.

II

The definite launching of the scheme which resulted in the founding of King's College was due to the Rev. George D'Oyly, D.D., Rector of Lambeth, a notable Cambridge scholar and an administrator of unusual energy and initiative, an intimate associate of Hugh James Rose and Joshua Watson, and (still more important) a man who had the ear of Archbishop Manners-Sutton, whose chaplain he had been In February 1828 he published, through Mr. John Murray, a long open letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel, Home Secretary in Wellington's Government, in which he severely criticised the new 'University of London' on the ground that from its constitution 'Christianity is entirely omitted; no instructions are to be given on its evidences or its doctrines; no religious services are to be performed within its walls'; and in which he urged the co-operation of Church and State, officially united, to establish 'another London University in which it shall be made of course an essential part of the education imparted to imbue the minds of youth with the principles of Christianity according to those sounder forms which are established in this Kingdom, and in which the services of religion shall be performed as directed in our National Church'

As it happened, at that moment the Church, under the aristocratic Archbishop Manners-Sutton, and the State, under the militant Duke of Wellington, were in an unusually close and cordial agreement They were allied in a strenuous and resolute resistance to the demands of the Radicals for representation, and to the demands of the Catholics for emancipation Hence the appeals and efforts of Dr. D'Oyly were not in vain After four months of preparatory labour he was able to get together in the Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, on Saturday, June 21, 1828, a company which, said the editor of *John Bull* next day, 'for rank and respectability was the most distinguished it has ever been our good fortune to meet' The Duke was in the chair, and he was supported by both the Archbishops, by a dozen other prelates, by the lords of the Council, and half the nobility, and by a vast assembly of clergy and gentry. The meeting was enthusiastic and unanimous With acclamation it resolved:

(1) That a college for general education be founded in the metropolis, in which, while the various branches of literature and science are made the subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland.

(ii) That — the King having been graciously pleased to signify his approbation of the establishment of this college—His Majesty be most respectfully requested to take it under his royal patronage, and permit it to be entitled *King's College, London.*

A provisional committee was formed, consisting of twenty-eight eminent men, headed by Dr. William Howley, Bishop of London. Subscriptions were invited toward the 100,000*l.* regarded as necessary before the taking of any active measures for the establishment of the college would be justified. All the suggested members of the provisional committee accepted nomination. The appeal for funds met with so ready a response that within two months the whole of the stipulated 100,000*l.* was paid or promised. The Government granted a site for the college in the grounds of Somerset House, between the Strand and the river.

Then, most unexpectedly, the prosperous inauguration of the college had a serious set-back—a set-back, indeed, from which the institution did not fully recover for at least seventy years. The unity of Church and State was broken over the question of Catholic emancipation—a question which assumed a new and menacing shape after the Clare election of July 1828. Wellington and Peel felt it necessary, in order to avoid civil war, to abandon their resistance to the relief of Catholics from their disabilities. The great bishops, headed by Dr. Howley (who had succeeded Dr. Manners-Sutton as archbishop), on the other hand felt constrained, in order to safeguard the Protestant establishment, to continue and intensify their resistance to the measure. Hence, *inter alia*, the supporters of King's College were riven into two factions—namely, the Politiques, who recognised the pressure of necessity under which Wellington and Peel had abandoned their principles, and exonerated them from blame; and the Ultra-Protestants, who vehemently denounced them as traitors. Unfortunately, the latter were not content with mere denunciation. Many of them, led by the Earl of Winchilsea, withdrew their promised subscriptions (amounting in all to some 15,000*l.*) and so caused the college to be started under a heavy load of debt. The Earl of Winchilsea's attack on the Duke of Wellington, respecting the part he had taken in the founding of King's College as a bulwark of Protestantism was so virulent and offensive that, as is well known, it led to the famous (if rather ridiculous) duel which the two fought in the Battersea Fields on March 21, 1829.

The duel (said the *Observer* of March 22) arose out of a letter addressed by Lord Winchilsea to Mr. Coleridge, secretary to the committee for establishing the King's College, London, in which he questioned the motives of the noble duke, and said he was convinced that he had determined to break in upon the Constitution of 1688, and, under the cloak of

some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, he might carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.

In spite of the secession and defalcation of the Winchilsea faction, the college was duly built (although on a reduced scale), Sir Robert Smirke being the architect. On August 14, 1829, the provisional committee secured from the Crown a charter incorporating the institution and defining its future mode of government. On October 8, 1831, the formal opening took place, the outstanding feature of the ceremony being an eloquent sermon by Dr. C. J. Blomfield, Howley's successor in the See of London, who, taking as his text 1 Corinthians i.—ii., enlarged on the proper subordination of science to religion. He argued, first, that 'it is impossible that true religion can be injured by the ascertainment and establishment of any fact'[1]; and, secondly, that 'there is something to be known above and beyond the universe, and that is the nature and counsels of its Creator; and there is something also in the universe which can never be known to man, and that is the first causes and moving impulses of things'—a sentiment in which the enlightened bishop anticipated equally Dean Mansel, Auguste Comte, and Herbert Spencer.

III

The college thus auspiciously inaugurated is now completing the first hundred years of its existence: the centenary of the great meeting in the Freemasons' Hall was celebrated by a dinner in the refectory on June 21 last year; the centenary of the acquisition of the charter forms the occasion of the celebrations at present proceeding; the centenary of the actual opening falls two years hence. In an article such as the present to give any sort of survey of the vicissitudes of so long a period is, of course, out of the range of possibility. It must suffice to note three things which seem to the writer, after a prolonged study of the history of the college, to be of cardinal significance. These three things are—first, the problem of finance; second, the problem of religious tests; and, third, the problem of the relation of the college to the University of London. The three problems are not, however, strictly separate and distinct from one another: they are, indeed, intimately associated.

1. *Finance.*—As has already been remarked, it took the college at least seventy years to recover from the blow inflicted by the defections and defalcations of the Winchilsea faction in

[1] Behind this statement, a few years later Sir Charles Lyell took effective cover when his *Principles of Geology* had alarmed those fundamentalists of the Council who considered it vital to maintain that the creation of the world took place on Sunday, October 23, in the year 4004 B.C.

ning. During the whole of this period it was burdened with debt, hampered by lack of endowments, harassed by inability to pay adequate salaries or provide proper apparatus. Injurious, however, as this financial stringency undoubtedly was in the main, it was not without some compensating advantages. Since the college possessed an abounding vitality, since it was governed by resolute and able men who were determined that it should not succumb, since its staff were resourceful enthusiasts far more concerned to vindicate principle than to accumulate pelf, the desperate struggle for existence which for a protracted period it was compelled to wage against adverse circumstances was fruitful in the evolution of many new ideas respecting adult education, and not a few pioneer experiments.

In 1831, and for seven years afterwards, the college consisted of three departments only, namely, a senior department of general literature and science, a medical department, and a junior department or school for boys under sixteen—a subordinate department intended to serve as a feeder for the other two. The school from the first flourished prodigiously: it obviously supplied a pressing demand for an inexpensive middle-class education not restricted to the classics. Its numbers soon ran up to over 500; new class-rooms had to be provided, new masters procured. The profits on the working of the school, indeed, supplied the fund from which the whole college was sustained. The medical department just held its own, but its expenses always greatly exceeded its income from fees. The senior department of general literature and science languished and failed. It seemed to have no function in life. It was a sort of unattached sixth form which could do little more than take boys from school at sixteen, continue their schooling for two or three years, and then send them on to Oxford or Cambridge for degrees. Not until nearly eighty years had elapsed, not until King's College (together with University College) had become fully incorporated in the University of London, not until its 'general literature and science department' had become reorganised as the faculties of arts and science, whose main task was preparation for London degrees—not until then (at the beginning of the twentieth century) did this section of the college find itself and prosper.

Meantime the professors and lecturers of this languishing department, whose salaries consisted merely of a fixed proportion of the scanty fees paid by their students, were compelled to explore every possible means to find themselves work, increase their emoluments, and keep the college going. Thus, in 1838, in the midst of the great railway boom, they pointed out to the council that, apart from teachers of machine-drawing and surveying, they had among them the complete staff of an engineering

department. The council secured the supplementary teachers, and the new department was inaugurated. Similarly, in 1846, Dr. Jelf, the principal at the time, suggested that a department of theology could be instituted by means of the addition of but a single new member to the existing arts staff of the college. The required new member was found in the Rev. Richard Chenevix Trench, and this important department was opened with excellent results. Not only did it flourish in itself, becoming virtually the diocesan training college of the Bishop of London, it also stimulated the general literature classes which served as preparatory to the courses in divinity. Further experiments, not so successful, were made in a department of military science (1848-64) and a civil service department (1854-5). Out of the latter, however, sprang one of the most noteworthy of all the pioneer educational movements with which King's College has been associated, namely, the evening classes. These differed from the evening classes provided by the Mechanics' Institutes, or by the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street, in that they were founded to provide systematic education of a University type in courses extending over a period of three or four years, and ending in a diploma or degree. Their success was so great that within half a dozen years their numbers—between 600 and 700—exceeded those of all the rest of the college put together. Shortly afterwards (1871) another interesting experiment was made by the provision of 'lectures for ladies' in Richmond and Twickenham—an experiment which led to the establishment of a permanent 'ladies' department' (King's College for Women) in Kensington in 1885. Finally in 1890, as the last and most powerful stimulant of all to the almost moribund faculties of arts and science, came the day training department, which transfused into the anæmic system of the college the life-giving stream of Government grants.

By 1890, indeed, it had become clearly evident that no institution of university rank could possibly maintain itself on an income derived exclusively from fees. The cost of technical apparatus, the salaries of properly qualified teachers, the expenses of maintenance and administration—these, and other inevitable charges, mounted up to sums which the 20,000*l* or so per annum paid by the students were wholly unable to cover. It was obvious that, in the absence of endowments, nothing could enable the college (or the dozen other university colleges of the country) to keep open doors save regular and substantial subventions from the Treasury, the Board of Education, and the county councils. In respect of King's College—and of King's College alone among its peers—was the question of grants from public money complicated by the problem of religious tests.

IV

1. *Religious Tests.*—King's College was founded as a definitely Anglican academy. Its avowed purpose was 'to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland'; and in the troublous days of the Winchilsea secession its council had assured its anxious supporters that 'the system of education and government to be adopted in King's College will be strictly Protestant.'

The precise meaning of the terms used and of the pledges given had, however, from the first caused controversy. At the inaugural meeting itself a Quaker had risen to ask the question whether or not students other than members of the Church of England would be admitted. Bishop Blomfield had emphatically answered yes, they would; and, in accordance with this undertaking, although full membership of the college (carrying eligibility to prizes and studentships) was limited to Anglicans (who were required to keep chapels and attend divinity lectures), all and sundry were allowed, as 'occasional students,' to frequent the classes and work in the laboratories The second problem to be dealt with related to the staff: should none except members of the Church of England be permitted to teach within the walls of King's? After much debate the council decided that 'No person who is not a member of the United Church of England and Ireland as by law established shall be eligible for any office in the college, except to the professorships of Oriental and modern European languages.' This stipulation—embodied in the charter of 1829, and renewed by statute in 1882—was a source of endless trouble until it was rescinded in 1903. To begin with, the exceptions were highly illogical: it was absurd, for instance, to admit Gabriele Rossetti to the college to teach Italian, although he was nominally a Catholic and really a Freethinker, and at the same time to refuse to appoint Dr. John Webster as professor of materia medica because he was a Presbyterian. For seventy years, in fact, the choice of professors and lecturers was severely restricted by this unfortunate regulation. It prevented the appointment of Liebig to the chair of chemistry in 1845 because he was a Lutheran; it necessitated the withdrawal of Mr. John Parker from the chair of fine art in 1887 because he was a Catholic; it would have prevented S. R. Gardiner from becoming professor of history if he had remained an Irvingite, and Joseph Lister from taking the chair of clinical surgery if he had continued a Quaker. Professor Leone Levi could not be elected to the chair of commercial law in 1855 until he had consented to give up attending 'Dr. Hamilton's Scotch Church,' and take a sitting in an Anglican

place of worship. When the council, in the 'nineties, began to go to the Government for money they were plainly told that it would be necessary for them to rescind this obnoxious regulation. For some ten years they strove to avoid this necessity by appealing (vainly) to Anglican sources for supplies. The staff, however, led by Dr. A. Robertson (later Bishop of Exeter) and by Dr. A. C. Headlam (now Bishop of Gloucester), were unanimous for freedom, and in 1903 freedom was secured by statute.

The religious disabilities of 'occasional' students had been removed in 1895, and the tests imposed upon members of the governing body had had to be relaxed when the London and Surrey County Councils had made it a condition of rate aid that they should have representatives on the college executive.

Not only the academic but also the religious life of the college undoubtedly benefited by the removal of the tests. The chapel, instead of being occupied by an apathetic company of involuntary non-worshippers, is from time to time crowded with eager assemblies of the devout. The staff, strengthened by the inclusion of such great scholars as Sir Israel Gollancz (the first to be elected under the statute of 1903), no longer feels itself to labour under the stigma of having been selected from a narrow and non-competitive field. In short, the Anglican seminary has become a University College.

V

The abolition of religious tests in King's College in all departments other than the theological was necessitated not only by the imperative need of securing grants of public money, but also by the equally urgent necessity of achieving incorporation in the University of London as reconstituted in 1898.

The University of London, as is well known, had been established by royal charter in 1836. It was at first a mere examining board (although of the highest and most authoritative grade) subject to Government control—in short, a subordinate department of State. Its eminent and discriminating examinations were open to approved students from University College, from King's College, and from any other institutions which the Crown might subsequently recognise. In the beginning, however, University College and King's College enjoyed the sole right of entry. University College speedily availed itself of its privileged position, although it resented the fact that the examination syllabuses of the university (which necessarily determined the nature of the college curricula) were framed by an extraneous authority over which the teachers of the college had but a slight influence. But King's College held persistently aloof, because the senate of the new university resolutely refused to admit

divinity as even an optional subject into the syllabus for its arts degrees. The department of general literature and science continued to concentrate its energies on preparing for the open scholarships of the older universities such bright boys as it could attract. Had it not been that the medical degrees of London University supplied a pressing demand on the part of the Medical School of King's, it is probable that the college would have had nothing whatsoever to do with the 'godless' institution which Nebuchadnezzar (featuring Lord John Russell) had set up.

The aloofness of King's, however, was not shared by the other educational establishments of the kingdom. Within five years no fewer than sixteen schools and colleges had secured affiliation in arts and law, and still more in medicine. So widely, indeed, did the system of affiliation spread that in 1858 it was made universal, *i.e.*, the examinations of the university were thrown open to the whole world.

Meantime circumstances in King's College were changing. First, the junior department or school ceased to feed the college: it preferred to keep its best boys till they were eighteen or nineteen and then send them direct to Oxford or Cambridge. Secondly, these universities definitely declined to contemplate a scheme of affiliation suggested by the council of King's according to which attendance at King's and the passing of certain examinations would secure exemption from one year's residence in the university. It became evident that unless the college faculties of arts and science could provide courses of study culminating in degrees they would perish of inanition. For some ten years (1884-94) King's College (led by its resolute principal, Dr. Henry Wace) combined with University College (led by Sir George Young) in an effort to secure from the Government a charter authorising the establishment of a new teaching university in London to be called the 'Albert' University. But the Government ultimately declined to sanction the founding of a second university in the metropolis, in spite of the fact that it would have been a replica of the 'Victoria' University of Manchester, as well as an appropriate appendage to the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park. Instead of establishing a second university in London the Government by statute reorganised the existing university on a dual basis—on the one hand, leaving the old examining board to continue its admirable work of testing the qualifications of 'external' students; on the other hand, setting up an 'internal' department to control the teaching and examining of students of the metropolitan colleges. This was in 1898.

One of the statutory principles of the reconstituted University of London was that there should be 'no grant of money out of university funds for any purpose in respect of which any privilege

is conferred or any disability is imposed on account of religious belief.' Here, then, was another powerful influence tending in the direction of that abolition of tests which was accomplished in 1903. In fact, nothing but the removal of the tests could have rendered possible the incorporation of the college in the university which was effected in 1908.

VI

Since the incorporation of the college in the university by the Act of 1908 (which came into operation in January 1910) progress has been rapid and, save for the set-back due to the war, continuous. The numbers of students have approximately doubled; the numbers of degrees and diplomas gained have almost quadrupled.[a] Five faculties—namely, arts, law, science, engineering, and medicine—fall within the ambit of the university; one—namely, theology—enjoys independence, but works in the closest and most cordial fellowship with the others. Although, with respect to university work, Government and county council grants have relieved the financial stringency of the old days, nevertheless the college still suffers from lack of proper endowments for its professorial chairs, and from lack of an adequate scholarship fund. Moreover, it desperately needs money for building and rebuilding, and for the provision of hostel accommodation for its students. The theological department in particular is in want of funds; for that department, of course, is precluded from sharing in the grants of public money. It is therefore above all things necessary that its chairs should be endowed. If such endowment can be secured it is intended that one of the theological chairs shall be named after the saintly and erudite Frederick Denison Maurice (once a professor in the college), whose influence did so much to liberalise religious thought in the middle of the nineteenth century That, however, is only one out of many large projects of development and expansion. The college authorities are hoping that as a result of the present centenary celebrations a sum of not less than 375,000*l*. may be placed by generous friends at their disposal in order to enable them to start the second hundred years of their activities fully equipped for all good work.

F. J. C. HEARNSHAW.

[a] For the session 1927-8 the total number of students was 4705, and the number of degrees and diplomas gained 317

THE STORY OF ASHRIDGE

A pleasanter place than Ashridge is, hard were to finde.
(SKELTON, *temp.* Henry VIII.)

THE grey monks first made Ashridge their home. At the end of the thirteenth century a royal prince, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, 'gave to God and the Blessed Mary, and the Rector and Brethren of the College, his Manor of Ashridge with Pichelstorne, his Manor of Little Gaddesden, his Manor of Hemel Hempstead.' They built the house in a glade of the forest, fencing it round to make a park for the wild deer.

The College of Ashridge was the first of its order in England. It was a house of twenty *bonhommes*, 'good men,' bound to the service of God and to one another by a more regular rule than prevailed in other monasteries. Among their aims was the advancement of learning. Thus, across seven centuries, there is a link between the old and the new Ashridge. One of its later monks became famous for publishing a work entitled *A Lytell Treatise in English, called the Extirpation of Ignorancy*. He was also the author of *A Lytell Boke contayning certaine gostly Medycynes agens the comon Plage of Pestilence*.

For 250 years Ashridge was the home of the monks. For them day began at midnight, when they rose from their beds in the long dormitory and hurried down the stone steps into the chapel. 'And,' wrote their founder, 'when they rise for the service of God, they shall exhort each other mutually with moderation, on account of the excuses that those who are sleepy are inclined to make.' The sound of their chanting before the flickering candles on the high altar must have been heard on the midnight air by startled deer in distant woodland solitudes. After an hour the singing ceased, and the monks returned to their beds in silence.

They were up again by dawn. Breakfast of bread and ale (distressingly absent in fast times) was followed at nine by the meeting in the chapter-house. Here the brothers sat in order before the rector, who read aloud the notices of the day, discussed the college business, and awarded penalties to those who had transgressed against monastic discipline. 'While corporal punish-

ment is being inflicted upon a brother,' it was ordered, 'all the rest sit with bowed and covered head, and with kind and brotherly affection should have compassion on him.'

Dinner was at midday in the refectory, the rector and monastic officers sitting at high table on the dais at one end, the other monks ranged at long tables down the length of the hall. 'No singularity in eating or drinking,' it was ordered, 'is allowed. No noise is to be made; for instance if there are nuts, they are not to be cracked with the teeth, but a monk is privately to open them with his knife.' . . . 'The brethren ought all to be careful not to wipe their noses or rub their teeth on the napkins or table-cloths.' [1] Not the least of the legacies inherited by our civilisation from the monks was that of table manners, enforced with difficulty in days when most men fell upon their food as upon their enemies.

The afternoon was devoted to work While some laboured with their hands in field or garden, others taught or practised medicine, or wrote at their desks in the cloister or the library. For in days before printing was thought of the books of the world were written and illuminated by the hand of the monks.

Vespers followed in the evening; afterwards the brothers walked for a short while in the cloisters, where the sun's last rays lit the grass garth, or in winter huddled over the college's only fire in the little warming-room. The last service of the day was chanted, and by eight in the summer and seven in the winter the monks were lying silent in their beds, waiting for the midnight bell to call them to another day of work and prayer.

In its 250 years of life pilgrims from all England visited the college. They saw it rise out of the woodlands before them, with its encircling walls and the monastery buildings—hall, chapter-house, hospital, guest-house, cloisters, stables and granaries—clustering around the great church They entered by the gate-house, exchanging a word with the porter, 'a wise old man who shall know how to receive a reply and to return one, and whose ripeness of age will not permit him to trifle' For a few hours or days they were absorbed in the unchanging life of the college; then rode out on their business into the woods and the distant world. Among those who visited and loved the place was the Black Prince. As he lay dying, home from the wars at his castle of Berkhampstead, he remembered his friends, the grey monks, and left to their college a princely benefaction

The end came in 1535, when King Henry's commissioners rode down and demanded the surrender of the college and its revenues. The last monks were all Englishmen. Their homely names were

[1] These quotations are taken from passages from Monastic Rules quoted in Dr. D. H. S. Cranage's delightful work, *The Home of the Monk*.

Thomas Waterhouse, Thomas Hill, Elias Bernard, Michael Draper, John Hatfield, Robert Hitchingham, Richard Gardiner, William Knighton, Richard Bedford, Roger Birchley, William Downham, Richard Lowndes, John Astill, William Brook, Richard Canaan, Joseph Stepney, and William Young. 'In this year,' wrote one of them, 'the noble House of Ashridge was destroyed and the brothers expelled.' They filed out and the bells were silenced.

Great country houses rose on the ruins of the monasteries. After its dissolution Ashridge became the home of royalty. It was appropriated by Henry VIII., and here, while his wives changed, his children lived. Three future rulers of England played once in its corridors and gardens. A few years later Princess Elizabeth, then a red-haired, bright-eyed, imperious girl of nineteen, fled to Ashridge from her sister, Queen Mary Tudor. She was suspected of treason, and the queen's officers followed her. They reached Ashridge at nightfall and, forcing their way into the princess's room, demanded her immediate departure for London. She pleaded illness, but they were inexorable. Next morning, 'feeble in body and comfortless in mind,' she was carried out by her servants to the horse-litter which waited for her among armed troopers in the courtyard. Three times as they carried her she fainted; then the cavalcade slowly wound down the park southwards into the woods. Already the Traitor's Gate between Thames and Tower was opening to receive the princess.

Her courage and wit saved her, as one day they were to save England. Four years later she became queen. Cruel, mean, deceitful, Elizabeth may have been all these, yet of the many great hearts that learnt to love England in the beechwoods of Ashridge none was greater than hers. 'Far above all earthly treasures,' she claimed proudly, 'I esteem my people's love.'

The dawn of the seventeenth century saw Ashridge pass into the possession of a famous English family

The Egertons had long held a high place among the gentry of Cheshire. A cadet of this house, Thomas Egerton, was entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. So hard did he work that he is said never to have left its precincts for four years. While he sat over his books his contemporaries at Clement's Inn across the way, 'little John Doit of Staffordshire, and black George Barnes and Francis Pickbones and Will Squele, a Cotswold man,' were hearing the chimes at midnight with young Shallow and drunken Jack Falstaff.

The labours of this industrious apprentice were rewarded. He became in due season Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Chancellor. He was created Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley.

He bought Ashridge and its noble house and [illegible], while the tragedies of Shakespeare were being first acted in London; he passed the evening of his busy life, walking in the gardens, with his little granddaughter in her quaint grown-up clothes running beside him. Some of her bills have been preserved:

6 May 1615:

For a payre of hose for Mistress Booth sent her to Ashridge	*4s. 4d.*
For 3 thousand pins sent thither also	*3s.*
For a payre of Shooes	*2s.*
To Mr. Newport for teachinge her to play on the lute for seven moneths	*£7*

2 Oct.:

For a blacke wrought Holland wastecoate for her	*34s.*
For a black beaver hat & embroidered band, and new trimminge her old hat	*66s.*

The great Chancellor died at the age of seventy-seven: in the same year William Shakespeare was buried at Stratford-on-Avon.

The son of Lord Ellesmere lived at Ashridge and became Earl of Bridgewater. He loved the sound of church bells (perhaps a heritage of the ancient house he inhabited), and spent many hours of his youth chiming them. He was the friend and patron of Milton, whose *Comus* was first acted for his and his children's pleasure. He fought for King Charles and lived to see his house plundered by the Roundheads.

His son, the second earl, who first appeared on the scene of history as a child in Milton's *Comus*, succeeded to his father's estates and virtues 'He spoke sparingly, but always very pertinently, was true to his word, faithful to his friend, loyal to his Prince, wary in Council, strict in his Justice, and punctual in all his actions.' After the death of his wife he spent most of his time at Ashridge among his beloved books and gardens. Here in dissolute days this great gentleman made his household a byword for decency and good order. The directions which he left to the steward and officers of his vast staff give a picture of the life of a great English country house in the closing years of the seventeenth century. The day began early. 'The porter must open the gate in summer at five in the morninge and in winter between six and seven. . . . The Huisher of the Hall must be ready every morninge in summer by six of the clocke and by seven at the farthest in winter, and then keepe the hall and all places under his charge sweete and cleane, and in the winter time make fire there in the morning at a due season. . . . All the servants in the house, at the ringinge of the bell are immediately to repaire to the morninge prayers, or sermons, in the Chappel, . . . and thither to come

with reverence, and there to continue with devout behaviour; and not to absent themselves unless with leave obtained upon some speciall and urgent occasion.' As in the days of the monastery, all things were ordered by the sound of bells. Open hospitality was kept. The gentleman usher was to 'have a perfect list of all the Servants that are appoynted for dayly attendance, that soe he may the more readily knowe whom to appoynt for the performinge of any sudden service, as particularly for the bringinge up of Beere, or wine, or such other things as shall be thought fitt to be brought in to strangers at their coming into the house.'

The most elaborate arrangements were made for meals in the great hall. The yeoman usher was to 'see that the table be covered in due time and assist the Butler in it'; at table 'civill and sober demeanour is to be used by all the servants at the severall tables where they are appoynted to sitt; and all unseemly and rude deportment to bee avoyded; and none are to rise from the table until thanks be first given to God.' Those waiting 'are diligently to attend their service at the Table, without gazeing about (soe blindinge their owne eyes from findinge what is fittinge for them to doe) or listening too earnestly to what is said (soe stoppinge their owne ears against the calle of such as have occasion to make use of them).' The usher of the hall was to 'permit none after meales are done, to sitt drinkinge in the hall,' and afterwards he was to 'gather together the broken meate that remaynes and carry it to the gate; that there it may be by himselfe and the Porter distributed among the Poore.'

All due regard was to be paid to economy. There was never to be too much or too little of anything requisite for feeding the household. The steward was 'to look carefully to all bills . . . that the stuffe be good, the prices reasonable and none of the bills paid twice.' In the great house, with its endless comings and goings, such precautions were doubtless prudent. All bills were to be paid punctually, and it was expressly ordered that 'the Clerke of the Kitchen, the Cooke and the Larder Maid be watchful to prevent the wasteful expense of butter, which hath hithertoo been both too little considered, and too little valued and too much wasted.'

The last measures of the day were precautionary. The porter, being 'very careful that no Gaming be permitted in the Lodge in the nighttime,' was 'every eveninge after the gates are shut, to have care of his fire and candle, and looke that no chimney about the house be on fire, and that there be noe hurt done by any fire cast out in any ashes . . . and see that all barr gates be shutt, and then search the court and by-corners, to be sure that there be none left in the house to doe any mischiefe in the night tyme; and be sure not to open the gates in night time, on a sudden, for

[illegible] way in all his [illegible] depends very much upon his [illegible] the last of the household passing [illegible] up the great stairway, and the dying embers [illegible] glimmering light by the dead and drowsy fire.' [illegible] London the watchmen were calling out the hours to a sleeping world:

> Give ear to the clock; beware your lock,
> Your fire and your light: and God give you goodnight,
> One o'clock!

Outside in the woods around the great park the deer ran wild and game abounded. Charles II gave a royal warrant for their special preservation, hearing that 'our game of hare, pheasant, partridge, heron and other wilde fowle, about Ashridge in our County of Buckingham and Hartford, is much destroyed by divers disorderly persons with greyhounds, mongrells, setting doggs, gunns, trammells, tunnells, netts and other engines, contrary to the Statutes of this our Realme,' and stringent penalties were threatened to those who disobeyed.

Could we have approached the old house of Ashridge as it then stood, we should have ridden through formal, wall-encircled gardens and passed under an archway into the inner courtyard. Before us was the hall, with its seven long Gothic windows and projecting bays. Those who would recall it must picture an old red brick building, not unlike the Hall of the Middle Temple. Beyond were further courtyards, the stables and the granaries—a kindly jumble of barns and ancient red brick walls. There is an engraving of this Ashridge as our eighteenth century forefathers knew it in Todd's *History*—a delightful old place, buried from the world among the woods.

During the eighteenth century Ashridge fell into decay. It became the property of one of the strangest characters of all that remarkable age—of Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, who, falling in love in his green youth with a famous beauty, was rejected by her, and henceforward utterly forswore her sex and devoted his life to the building of the great canal which bears his name. Every penny upon which he could lay hands he devoted to this object, remaining isolated in his lonely Lancashire home, Worsley, with the untutored genius Brindley, whom he employed as his engineer. His neighbours thought him mad, but after thirty years' endeavour the work was accomplished.

> The noble canal that goes by his name [wrote a contemporary] has immortalised his memory; the memory of a nobleman, who, even in the height of his youth, forwent the luxury of fortune, the pomp of titles, and the splendour of courts, to benefit futurity by a design so sublime, as alone to confer the credit of the highest genius, and an execution so bold, yet so

[illegible]

[illegible] and bore it at last into the broad ocean of eternity.

Such was this man, the very embodiment of the capitalist spirit, who, for the sake of an enterprise which was to benefit millions of his fellow-citizens and to reduce the price of commodities throughout the kingdom, denied himself almost the meanest necessities of life. Among the gifts of fortune which he sacrificed to the great canal was his noble house of Ashridge. Uncared for, the stones in the cloisters crumbled, the tapestries in the bedchambers hung in threads from the walls, and the pictures were covered with mould and cobweb. When the duke died there was not a room in the house which was not open to the rain. The days of the old building, once the shelter and home of the monks, were numbered.

On the death of the 'father of inland navigation' his cousin, the seventh Earl of Bridgewater, succeeded to the Ashridge estates. He was the builder of the present house. Influenced by the most advanced taste of his day, he spent a princely fortune on its creation, and employed the services of Wyatt, the pioneer of the nineteenth century Gothic movement, as his architect. Under his directions an amazing palace of shining stone was raised on the site of the old monastery. From the eastern to the western tower of this vast edifice is 1000 feet. Externally it presents a long line of battlemented buildings with a forest of white spires and towers rising skywards, so that the startled spectator, seeing it first loom out of the woods before him, feels himself to be in the presence, not of a single house, but of a whole city made, not for men, but for giants. Against such an edifice time itself seems powerless; in its great rooms the sense of enduring grandeur is still preserved. The roof of the staircase hall is nearly 100 feet high, and from its walls the figures of its benefactors, sculptured in stone by Westmacott, look down on the pigmy humans below. 'In describing the internal parts of the house,' wrote its chronicler, 'it is necessary to premise that the rooms and galleries retain in a great degree the Gothic character.'

The state rooms open into one another; the great drawing-room, originally hung with rich crimson damask, 50 feet long, with its windows gazing southwards across the terrace and the gardens; the ante-room, the dining-room; the noble library, with its brass and ebony book-cases built to face the rising sun, for 'dawn is the Muse's friend'; and the 100 feet-long conservatory. These were once peopled by ladies with high-

waisted, long-flounced frocks, and fine gentlemen in coloured hunting coats.

Below is the old vaulted crypt, which, alone in this great Gothic house, belongs, not to the days of the Regency, but to the Middle Ages themselves, when its stones were trodden by the grey-cowled monks and echoed to the horse hoofs of mailed knights clattering into the courtyard above.

The new house was completed in 1814, the year before Waterloo. The first sermon was preached in the chapel—'justly considered as the masterpiece of the late James Wyatt'—by Mr. Todd, the historian of Ashridge, a few years later. From the summit of the central tower the watcher could in those days gaze across an unbroken countryside to where, 40 miles to the south, the hanging woods of Penge and Norwood could still be seen in the sunlight, unmolested by the cities of brick which now crown their heights.

The palace which the seventh earl built is magnificent, but the gardens are beautiful. If the house is not old, there is no doubt that the trees are Rock-work and pool, terrace and formal hedge, combine to make the grounds of Ashridge matchless in a country famous for its lovely gardens. Earth offers nothing better than a summer's day in this green paradise. Beyond are the park, the beechwoods, and the rolling Chiltern Hills.

In 1824 died John William, seventh Earl of Bridgewater, the builder of Ashridge as it now stands. His picture, painted by Owen, with its broad forehead and fine presence, suggests a great gentleman, moving in a more spacious world than is possible to-day. 'No man,' it was said, 'sooner forgave an injury. He was a true friend to the Church and a benefactor of the State.' His memorial is his great house among the beech trees.

From the Egertons Ashridge passed into the possession of Lord Brownlow and his family. Since then, changing times have brought an end to the days of the great country house, as they did to those of the monastery four centuries ago. Those who stand at the end of Stowe's great avenue and gaze down from the Corinthian arch at the noble house below are witnessing the glories, not of a past century alone, but of a vanished age. Ashridge of the squires has become as much a part of history as Ashridge of the monks. The old order has changed, yielding place to new.

For a time it seemed as though Ashridge must suffer the fate of many a noble house and meet destruction at the hands of the estate breaker—its buildings be demolished, its bricks sold, and its timber felled. Had this occurred (as seemed all too likely a year or so ago) a national possession would have been lost. But

the life of Ashridge is perennial. From such a fate it has been saved by the princely generosity of the late Mr. Urban Broughton, who purchased the house with its gardens and part of the park and transferred it to the Conservative Party as a memorial to his friend Mr. Bonar Law and a training college for Conservatism. Thus two more names have been added to the long and famous roll of its benefactors.

By the chairman of the Conservative Party and those to whom the guardianship of Ashridge has fallen this noble legacy has been envisaged as the key to a great opportunity. It is to be maintained in perpetuity as a Conservative College, offering to men and women of every class, age, and calling equal opportunities for learning and inspiration. Here all who come, if only for a brief spell, will receive sound instruction in the political history of their country, in political science and economics, and so have the chance of fitting themselves for the duties of citizenship. Here the air they breathe will be that of true democracy, so that their outlook will be broadened and their sympathies and knowledge enlarged by free and friendly interchange of experience.

The ultimate influence of such an institution on the policies and destinies of England it is hard to estimate. Every great movement must have its centre in an abiding and permanent home. That lesson the monks taught the world 1000 years ago; and, by a strange and happy chance, it is from an ancient monastic house that the new Conservative College is to shed its light over England.

As though by a magic hand, in the course of a single winter Ashridge has been transformed. Bare and comfortless a few months ago, the great house, outwardly unchanged, offers once more its ancient and ordered hospitality.

The state rooms have been adapted to new purposes. Hall, lounge, ante-room, library, dining-room, and chapel are ready to serve the needs of a college, as they once served those of a hospitable nobleman, and as their predecessors those of a monastery.

The house is now lit by electricity and warmed by steam radiators. In the kitchens and laundries the latest electrical devices have been installed. There are separate bedrooms for every student, numerous bathrooms, and a canteen open under the usual club rules. The monks, could they revisit the scene of their earthly labours, would doubtless be surprised, but they would also be delighted. For in offering its learning and inspiration to all who enter its doors the new Ashridge is not unmindful of its time-honoured and homely welcome.

Those who now visit Ashridge will find not only wisdom but recreation in the best and widest sense of the word. The lawns and walks of the gardens and the great trees present the beauty

and peace of an ancient world. Those who look in them for newer delights will find an open-air swimming pool, hard tennis courts, and a golf course. 'A pleasanter place than Ashridge is, hard were to finde.'

Ashridge is well chosen as a school for citizenship. It stands on the confines of a county which is world-famous for its political history. Buckinghamshire was the home of Hampden, of Burke, of Disraeli. It boasts Eton in the south and Stowe in the north. Its capital, Aylesbury, has been the scene of many a famous election, some of them carried out under conditions which would surprise a modern registration official. Here in the eighteenth century the returning officer sat at a table with a bowl of guineas on one side and a bowl of punch on the other; and of each of these the honest electors partook. Here the Whig magnate Lord Wharton, the father of English electioneering, first expounded the art of canvassing and the once time-honoured device of the clean baby, placed at the foot of the platform for the candidate to kiss. And here in later days came Disraeli to preside at the farmers' 'ordinary,' and to make those speeches at which all England thrilled next morning. Once when he was asked in the House where were the freemen of Bucks who had once marched to London to save John Hampden, he replied · 'Where you would expect to find them, of course—in the county of Buckingham.'

Ashridge is an epitome of the history of England. Warrior prince, monk, queen, chancellor, landed earl, canal builder, prime minister—out of the past among the beeches their voices speak. As we walk by the garden edge at the close of a summer's evening we may catch an echo of the message they left to England. The clatter of the Black Prince's horse hoofs dies away in the trees to the southward, and those who listen may hear the clear imperious voice of England's great Queen :

> 'Nothing, no worldly thing under the sun, is so dear to me as the love and good-will of my people '

The firm voice is stilled by the advancing shadows under the trees, and is followed by the sad and measured tones of the great Chancellor :

> 'In myself I find nothing valuable but honest care and diligence and sincere fidelity. I am, and whilst I have being will ever be, one and the same, without change in heart or thought, that is honest, plain, true and faithful.'

When he is silent there succeeds to the historic imagination the figure of the heroic Capel, riding home through the woods to Cassiobury.

> The ancient constitutions and present laws of this Kingdom are my inheritance and birth-right; if any shall think to impose upon me that

which is worse than death, which is the profane and dastardly parting from these laws, I will choose the less evil, which is death.

The sound of the next voice whispers from the calm of the eighteenth century, and its intonation betrays it as that of the great Irish orator, who learnt to love England among the Chiltern beeches and gave to Conservatism its philosophy:

It is therefore our business carefully to cultivate in our minds every sort of generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature. To bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service and conduct of the commonwealth; so to be patriots as not to forget we are gentlemen. To model our principles to our duties and our situation. To be fully persuaded that all virtue which is impracticable is spurious; and rather to run the risk of falling into faults in a course which leads us to act with effect and energy, than to loiter out our days without blame, and without use. Public life is a situation of power and energy; he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch, as well as he that goes over to the enemy.

When Burke is silent a more mysterious and haunting voice speaks, that of Disraeli:

Throughout my public life I have aimed at two chief results. Not insensible to the principles of progress I have endeavoured to reconcile change with that respect for tradition which is one of the greatest elements of our social strength, and in external affairs I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our Empire, believing that a combination of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and condition of the people.

One more voice succeeds, borne by the western wind down the Chiltern edge, and that a living one. It speaks of

the sounds of England, the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough coming over the brow of a hill, the sight that has been seen in England since England was a land, and may be seen in England long after the Empire has perished and every works in England has ceased to function, for centuries the one eternal sight of England [. . . the] wild anemones in the woods in April, the last load at night of hay being drawn down a lane as the twilight comes on, when you can scarcely distinguish the figures of the horses as they take it home to the farm, and above all, most subtle, most penetrating and most moving, the smell of wood smoke coming up in an autumn evening, or the smell of the scutch fires. the wood smoke that our ancestors, tens of thousands of years ago, must have caught on the air when they were coming home with the result of the day's forage, when they were still nomads, and when they were roaming the forests and the plains of the continent of Europe. These things strike down into the very depths of our nature, and touch chords that go back to the beginning of time and the human race, but they are chords that with every year of our life sound a deeper note in our innermost being.

The shadows lengthen and the echoes of the voices die away among the trees. Then all is silent.

ARTHUR BRYANT.

MEMORIES OF DOWN HOUSE

Down House was the home of Charles Darwin during the last forty years of his life, and there he wrote nearly all his more important works. At the meeting of the British Association at Leeds in 1927, Sir Arthur Keith suggested the idea that it should be purchased to serve as a memorial to the author of *The Origin of Species*, and to his surprise Mr. G Buckston Browne at once volunteered to take the whole charge on himself. He not only bought the house and put it into excellent order at great expense, but also handed it over to the British Association with a generous endowment. A good deal of the old furniture has been collected, and the old study has been brought back to its original appearance with wonderful accuracy The garden in front of the house, which all who knew Down in old days loved so well, now shows little signs of change, thanks to the attention paid to it by Professor Myres, secretary to the British Association. During this process of restoration I paid several visits to Down, and was thus enabled to see perhaps better than anyone else how everything depended on Mr. Buckston Browne, and also with what energy both he and all concerned devoted themselves to what appeared to be a labour of love. Visitors who attended the opening ceremony on June 7 this year could not have had any idea of the amount of hard work involved.

During these recent visits to the house where I was born, and where I spent all the happy years of my early life, many memories came back to my mind, a few of which may be worth recording as throwing sidelights on my father's character. In an autobiographical fragment my father described his earliest recollections as 'obscure pictures,' and stated that they concerned only 'affairs personal' to himself; and it is the same with me in regard to Down House. If I select some scenes to describe in which I am a chief actor, it is because as regards my early life I have no memories of a different kind from which to choose.

Visitors to Down when entering the garden see in front of the lawn a large and nearly flat grass field, containing a few scattered groups of trees. At the further end of that field there was at one time a large holly tree, and one of my obscure pictures is of

climbing it in winter with my younger brother in our Sunday best, with effects on our black jackets which can only be fully realised by those who have had similar experiences. This necessitated an interview with my father, about which my memory becomes unaccountably dim. All I know is that it was rather awful—mentally, not physically—but only just sufficiently awful to wipe out for the rest of my life every desire to climb trees in my Sunday best. As a counterpart to this recollection I may add that some of my relatives, a good deal older than myself, have given me the impression that they had regarded us at the time as a decidedly spoilt group of children; though, in my opinion, the spoiling did not go beyond the limit of what was really for our benefit.

Beyond this field lies the Sand Walk, a narrow strip of woodland with a walk round it, along which my father took his daily solitary exercise. Little could have escaped his notice here, and amongst other things he observed a strange habit of the humble-bee. At some season of the year they followed one another at intervals along the hedge connecting the Sand Walk and the kitchen garden, hovering for a second or two before some apparently well recognised spot, and then passing on to one of the next buzzing places, as we used to call them. My father was puzzled and called on us boys for help in his investigations—though whether we really were helpful may well be doubted. Our part was to shout when a bee was seen coming along the line, and sometimes to run after it in the endeavour to trace it further on its course. In fact our proceedings now appear to me as if they had partaken of the character both of a game of play and of a scientific inquiry; and in so far as we were at play, my father was like a boy amongst other boys. Regarding it as a scientific inquiry, my father's intense keenness to ascertain the truth certainly impressed us all greatly; whilst the fact that it never even for a moment occurred to him to try to hide his entire ignorance of the meaning of the habit which we were watching was probably not without beneficial educative effects. I hope that someone living at Down House in the future will solve this little riddle of the humble-bee which my father failed to solve.[1]

Beyond the Sand Walk lay a quiet, solitary valley, now rendered less solitary by the presence of golfers, and one memory in connexion with it of a later date comes back to me with especial vividness. My father, my sister and I were walking there on a beautiful sunny evening when the charm of the quiet scenery was, I am sure, affecting his mind. At all events, in reply to something which my sister had said, he declared that if he had to live his life over again he would make it a rule to let no day pass without reading a few lines of poetry. Then he quietly added that he

[1] See *More Letters*, vol. ii., p. 97.

wished he had 'not let his mind go to rot so.' I should not dare to quote these words if I had not an opportunity of also recording my firm conviction—a conviction which certainly was shared by all my brothers and sisters—that not only did my father thus give a decidedly erroneous impression of the changes which had taken place in his mind, but that the passages in his autobiography dealing with this subject have been constantly misunderstood and misinterpreted in the Press. I have known many other men who had entirely given up the habit of reading poetry; but I have no recollection of any other person who realised what he might have lost by so doing. The very strength of my father's expressions prove that he was longing for some outlet for his æsthetic emotions—an outlet which he was no doubt then obtaining to some extent through the quiet beauty of his surroundings. At any rate, it seemed to all of us onlookers that his appreciation of natural scenery remained quite undimmed to the end of his life.

And here I wish I could paint in words a picture of my father lying quietly on the sofa in the drawing-room, whilst my mother was playing, and playing beautifully, some slow movement of Beethoven. Little was said, but I am sure that the music was not without effect on my father's mind And if what he had thus gained had gone out of his mind when he was writing his autobiography, the explanation is to be found in the modesty of his nature, which led him to concentrate his attention on possible defects in his own character and to ignore probable merits. Whatever loss of æsthetic sensibility may have occurred through want of outlets, it certainly must not be attributed to his scientific labours. For the cause of any such change we must look entirely to his health, which forced him to employ every ounce of his available strength in the directions which seemed to him to be most beneficial. And as my father's life cannot be understood without reference to what he suffered, perhaps two trifling personal recollections are here worth mentioning.

As a young lad I went up to my father when strolling about the lawn, and he, after, as I believe, a kindly word or two, turned away as if quite incapable of carrying on any conversation. Then there suddenly shot through my mind the conviction that he wished he was no longer alive. Must there not have been a strained and weary expression in his face to have produced in these circumstances such an effect on a boy's mind? The second incident is much more vividly recorded in my recollection. My elder brother one day asked my father whether he could not take some rest away from home in order to regain his strength. To this my father replied that the truth was that he was *never* quite comfortable except when utterly absorbed in his writing. He evidently dreaded idleness as robbing him of his one anodyne, work.

No doctor seemed to know from what he was suffering, and in his own opinion it was not the result of sea-sickness on his long voyage, severe though that trouble had been. Though it is very rash for a layman to speak on such subjects, yet I cannot refrain from recording my belief that it was pyorrhoea, or some other form of auto-poisoning, and that any excitement made the poison flow more freely. It is in any case a fact that for many years an hour's interesting conversation in the afternoon with a visitor would bring on several hours' vomiting during the succeeding night, whilst he was hardly ever without some symptoms of indigestion. When looking at the chair in the study at Down, where he sat with a board across the arms when writing *The Origin of Species*, the difficulties in regard to health against which he had to contend should never be forgotten. At one time, perhaps for a short time, he used to keep a stinging lotion of some kind on the chimney-piece, so that he could reach out for it at any moment, and by dabbing it on to his forehead help himself to carry on in spite of his aching head. In my boyhood all this seemed natural enough, but now I marvel how he got through such a mass of work. It was only done by declining to undertake extraneous duties—and here his bad health was a real help—and by never wasting a single minute of his short day's work. But it was a long, long struggle.

In regard to what has here been said about my father's autobiography, it should be known that it certainly was not written with the view to publication, and that the expressions he used were not selected with that care which he would have exercised if he had thought that there was the slightest chance of its being subject to carping criticism. The same is true in a measure in regard to some of his correspondence. His mornings were devoted to his most arduous work, letters being left unanswered until the afternoon, even though he had not by that time recovered from the strain of writing for publication. Especially in correspondence with intimate friends, who well knew how to discount any over-strong impression he might have used, phrases were in consequence sometimes included which he would have omitted if he had known that they would ever be read by other eyes. For instance, certain very plain-spoken passages in his letters may fairly be held to indicate that he was entirely at variance with Lamarck on certain points; but they should never be quoted without reference to his well-pondered words concerning that 'justly-celebrated naturalist' and his 'eminent service' to natural science, which are to be found in the Historical Sketch preceding all the later editions of *The Origin of Species*. Greater weight should always be given to published as compared with unpublished words.

Both in conversation and in writing my father felt a difficulty

in quickly choosing the right words; and on this account, and also because he disliked expressing an opinion unless he had had time to weigh both sides of the question, he was generally anxious to avoid all controversy. After a keen discussion concerning vivisection had been in progress at Down in the evening for some little time, he did, however, join in on one occasion in order to express his views very firmly. What he said I do not remember, but it was probably to emphasise his deep detestation of cruelty, whilst at the same time maintaining that the sufferings of both men and animals would in the long run be lessened as the result of vivisection if very carefully safeguarded. He ended by asking us to say not another word on the subject, or he would lie awake all night thinking about it.[a]

I must, however, end on a more cheerful note, or I shall give on the whole a false impression. My father spoke of his life as a happy one, and this was certainly true, though it was greatly marred by very long periods of discomfort and suffering, which mercifully got decidedly less frequent towards the end of his life. Visitors generally failed altogether to realise how bad was his health, for he always brightened up in conversation. He made no effort, it is true, to be brilliant or witty in his talk, but the fact that it was so obviously natural and unforced gave it a peculiar charm. That my father's friends realised that he had a sense of humour may perhaps be illustrated by the following anecdote. In company with Dr. Ogle, a keen student of evolution, he was wandering about the garden when he paused to pick some flower, and then said that it was staggering to have to believe that the beautiful adaptation which it showed was the result of natural selection. To this Dr. Ogle quietly replied 'My dear sir, allow me to advise you to read a book called *The Origin of Species*.'

Amongst the obscure pictures of my early childhood there is one of a rather awful ceremony which for a few years used to take place annually. Each Whit Monday a small group of men marched on to the lawn with a banner flying. This was the Down coal and clothing club, which my father, as treasurer, then came out to address. After a little I generally heard a laugh run through the whole gathering, and I have often since wished that I had had courage enough to have gone sufficiently near to have been able to hear and record my father's jokes. This club fell under the influence of a few unscrupulous men, and it was wound up, my father feeling rather bitterly the failure of his effort to assist his neighbours. His connexion with this club, and his having sat for some few years as a magistrate, are worth recording as showing that he certainly would have been active in his civic duties had his health permitted.

[a] *For a similar remark in a letter see Life and Letters*, iii., p. [illegible].

Most of the memories of my old home at Down unfortunately cannot be translated into words. The one I best like to recall to my mind is that of my father sitting in the verandah in his tall wicker chair, looking very peaceful and contented, with my mother near by, and his little dog Polly not far away. Though it is not for me to speak of the effects on scientific thought which may be the result of this memorial to my father, yet surely I may, with this picture before my eyes, conclude these brief notes by declaring that to keep alive the memory of one who had such an intense love of truth, who felt such a burning sympathy with all suffering, whether of man or animals, and whose modesty of nature was such that it could not be touched by any fame or any praise—to keep alive such a memory will benefit mankind far beyond the confines of science.

LEONARD DARWIN

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ADVERTISEMENTS

In two previous articles in this Review in January 1927 and October 1928 I collected some advertisements from old newspapers. The first was devoted to the year 1820 and the second to the year 1685, and I now wish to direct attention to the middle of the eighteenth century.

The year 1685 marked the time of the beginning of newspapers; they were then nothing but sheets recording the little news available, and their advertisements announced a few of the wants of the community In the year 1820 they had developed, if not to their present formidable stature, at least into the same general shape they now possess.

This development of the Press in size, importance, and power took place during the eighteenth century

In its early days the Press was confronted with the censorship, against which Milton had thundered in his *Areopagitica*. This censorship was finally abandoned in 1695 Later came a newspaper tax in 1712, and the purpose of this, apart from raising money, was, as is plain from Swift's *Journal to Stella*, to curb the already felt power of the Press. The tax imposed was ½d. on every printed half sheet and 12*d* for each advertisement. This charge, compared to the modest average charge of 2s. imposed as the advertising rate, was very large, and the number of advertisements and the fortunes of the newspapers suffered in consequence. The long-winded character of some of the advertisements of the time is perhaps due to a desire to have a good twelve-pennyworth of Government tax. In spite of the newspaper tax the Press flourished, and in 1724 there were three daily and five weekly papers printed in London and ten which appeared three times a week, and by 1750 almost every important provincial town had its local organ; by this date, indeed, according to a writer at the time, they had become the chief channel of amusement and intelligence, while the number of newspaper stamps issued in 1753 was 7,412,000

The people of Great Britain (said Mr Danvers in 1738) are governed by a power that never was heard of as a supreme authority in any age or country before. It is the government of the Press. The stuff which our

weekly newspapers are filled with, is received with greater reverence than Acts of Parliament, and the sentiment of one of those scribblers has more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom.

No species of literary man [wrote Dr. Johnson in 1758] has lately been so much multiplied as the writers of news. Not many years ago the nation was content with one Gazette, but now we have not only in the Metropolis, papers of every morning and every evening but almost every large town has its weekly historian.—*The Idler*, No. 30.

London in this century, relatively to the rest of the kingdom, was of even greater importance than at present, but the provincial Press also rose in popularity, so that before the end of the century there were seventy provincial newspapers. Of these, those published in the eastern counties are noteworthy, and it is to be remembered that the relative importance and wealth of East Anglia was much greater then than at the present time.

The eighteenth century was an age of enlightenment. It was a time of singular and uninterrupted prosperity in which the wealth of the country grew enormously. Men began to discover their new powers and became impatient of tradition. The middle of the century marks the end of the old and the beginning of the new era, and it is to the time of 1750 that I shall chiefly direct attention.

At this time George II was on the throne and Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* was in mid career The victory of Wolfe at Quebec was to follow in a few years, and the conquest of India was about to begin. To turn to matters of a different character which perhaps fix the attention better in this kind of inquiry, I may add that the pianoforte was a novelty, the umbrella was about to cross the Channel from Paris to London, that Dr. Russell had just published his treatise on the use of sea water, thus giving rise to seaside resorts, and the art of making false teeth was sufficiently advanced to encourage Mr. Paul Jullion to insert an advertisement in the *London Advertiser*, No. 239 of December 6, 1751, in which he claims much for his products.

As the century proceeded traders began to make use of the newspaper to make known their wares. The booksellers took the lead, and their example was followed by mercers and haberdashers, by dealers in snuff, wines and teas, by quacks and sellers of cosmetics and nostrums for diseases, and by the managers of places of amusement.

Illustrated advertisements are very uncommon in the early days, though the *Norwich Gazette* in 1741 had developed an attractive form of typical pictorial advertisement for standard wants. These sketches are touched with a certain simple humour, and might be copied with profit as a novelty by an up-to-date modern advertiser. With this brief introduction I will proceed

to my little collection, hoping that they will give some picture of the times.

The seventeenth century notices for runaway apprentices and robberies had become less common, but I will add one of a lost apprentice, partly because I am so much attracted by the word 'quaddy,' which I cannot trace, and partly because of the mystery of the remark about his hair. It is from the *Norwich Gazette*, September 18-25, 1742:

> Run away from his Master Mr William Leek Carpenter of Hindringham in Norfolk one Edward Bloom his Apprentice; who is a short quaddy Lad, pale faced, and having his own Hair when he went away.

The age was still lawless, and highway robbery was also flourishing. The roads, indeed, were infested with thieves, their condition was deplorable, and they did not begin to improve until the nineteenth century was in sight, and in the *London Evening Post*, No. 3670 for April 27, 1750, there is a notice inserted by George Shelvocke, secretary to the Postmaster-General, offering a reward of 200*l*. 'over and above the reward given by Act of Parliament' for the apprehension of a highwayman who carried off mails borne by the postboy from Cirencester. The robbery was committed on Gerrard's Cross Common, between 'Wickham' and Uxbridge, by

> A single highwayman mounted on a bay mare who carry'd off the said mail, the Person who committed this Robbery was a tall lusty black man about six feet high, between Forty and Fifty years of Age, mark'd with the Small-Pox and had on a blue Surtout or Horseman's Coat, and under it a dark colour'd one, with white metal Buttons, and wore a black or dark colour'd wig and rode upon a large Brown-Bay Horse or Mare 15 hands high, with a bald face and a dark black mane, the Tail lately dock'd and nick'd the wounds not heal'd.

The close and particular description of this highwayman is typical. In the present age of photography the power of verbal description is lost, or at least dormant.

As a third example of crime I add a notice of still later date which shows that London was infested with thieves.

Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, January 25, 1780.

> Public Office, Bow St., Dec. 20th, 1779.
>
> General cautions demanding constant attention from the inhabitants of the Metropolis.
>
> Whereas several houses have been lately robbed by the following means viz. by thieves in the dusk of the evening climbing up the lamp posts and thereby getting in at the dining room windows; and by others getting in at the parlour windows, which cannot be prevented without proper fastenings on the inside. It has lately been practised with great success in the evenings to rob such houses as are adjoining to empty houses or to

such houses as are repairing, by getting in through the garret windows or trap doors; persons thus circumstanced should be careful to have their garret windows or trap doors kept well secured and to have a bell fixed to them. With astonishing success trunks and portmanteaus are almost daily cut off from behind as well as before post-chaises, coaches and other carriages going to town, as well as stolen out of coaches at inn gateways and in the streets; in such cases it is recommended to travellers to fasten their trunks and portmanteaus with chains instead of straps; and to others in inns and streets not to trust their portmanteaus in coaches before they get in themselves. With equal success great quantities of goods sent by tradesmen to inns, to go into the country, have been stolen by persons attending in the gateways of inns, pretending to be the real book-keepers and by that means get possession of the goods from the ignorant porters who are sent with them Tradesmen who send goods to inns should order porters not to deliver their property to any such as are not within the warehouse or the house. From the repeated robberies committed by the prostitutes who nightly infest Temple Bar (especially upon persons in a state of intoxication) a plan is formed and will be pursued until the said evil is suppressed, in the meantime this is published as a preventive measure to secure the unwary from being plundered on that spot.

The police authority at Bow Street does not appear to have noticed the value of this catalogue of opportunities to the aspirant wrongdoer

There was another kind of property which might be stolen and concerning which a man might advertise; witness this:

Norwich Gazette, 1741, Vol. 35, No. 1830.

Whereas *Diana* the wife of *William Clarke* of Lyng withdraws herself from her husband, and leads a loose disorderly life; these are to forwarne all Persons whatever to harbour or associate themselves with her for they will be prosecuted with the utmost vigour; and likewise all Persons are forbidden to trust or give her Credit and are desired to take Notice, that I the said *William Clarke* the husband will not pay or discharge any of the debts she may contract without my approbation.

WILLIAM CLARKE, the Husband.

The wants of the woman of the time are announced in some of the notices. Apparently she longed for 'easiness' of manner.

Public Advertiser, October 20, 1723.

The art of being easy at all times and in all places. Written chiefly for the use of a young lady of quality. Containing the following particulars viz.:—

i. What persons are most happy disposed to be easy.
ii. Whether men of wit are more subject to be uneasy than fools.
iii. What places chiefly create uneasiness.
iv. An essay upon solitude.
v. The fear of uneasiness the rise of pleasures.
vi. An essay upon Conversation and of the Delicacy that ought to be used in Conversation with women.

vii. Women less subject to be uneasy than men.

viii. The more our senses are employed the less subject are we to be uneasy. Written in French by M. Le Lander translated by Mr. Edward Combe. Price 2s.

And she suffered the eternal want of domestic servants, and was not unfamiliar with registry offices, as we see from the *London Daily Advertiser*, No. 235, December 2, 1751, which contains an advertisement of one of the encouraging bureaux conducted in King Street, Covent Garden, by 'Men of Substance and Repute.' It is couched in these words:

Gentlemen and Ladies and all those who have occasion for servants in any upper Station are hereby assured, that, at the above office, there are on the Books a great number of House Keepers, Waiting Women and Chamber Maids as well as Stewards, Clerks and Book-keepers all well accomplished with Characters thoroughly attested by persons of Credit and the best Condition.

There is much more of this notice protesting that the proprietors have discovered the means for securing the true characters of those whom they recommend, but it is a sad reflection that even in those days the proprietors of such an agency could not announce that they could offer cooks

Domestic service indeed, even in 1750, was extremely disorganised. Almost all the complaints on this subject which we hear in our own day, and which are cited as proofs of degeneracy, were as loud and emphatic as at present It was then said that while no servants in Europe were so highly paid, so well fed, as the English, none were so insolent, exacting or nomadic.

My imaginary lady probably found the new idea of circulating libraries useful—they were started just before 1750 and there were at least 1000 in 1800.

London Daily Advertiser, January 3, 1752, No. 263.

W. Bathoe Bookseller advertises the original Circulating Library (Late Wrights) at the Blue Bible in Exeter Exchange he offers all the new books as soon as published . . . they are lent to read as cheap as anywhere in London.

From this library she might perhaps obtain 'Beauty's Triumph' and cultivate a dormant passion for assertion or rebellion to be vindicated at a later date

London Advertiser, May 16, 1751.

This Day is Published Price 4s.

Beauty's triumph: or the superiority of the Fair Sex invincibly proved. Wherein the Arguments for the Natural right of Man to a Sovereign Authority over the women are fairly urged and undeniably refuted; and the undoubted title of the Ladies even to a superiority over the Men both

in Head and Heart is clearly evinced; showing their minds to be as much more beautiful than the Mens, as their Bodies; and that if they had the same Advantages of Education, they would excel their Tyrants as much in Sense, as they do in Virtue. The whole is interpreted with a delightful Variety of Characters, which some of the most celebrated Heroes and Heroines of the present time have had the goodness to sit for.

Printed for John Robinson at the Golden Lion in Ludgate St.

I do not suppose that this book had much of a chance with Dr. Johnson, in control of the critical world. The Johnsonian will easily picture him stalking about in a full suit of plain brown clothes, with twisted hair buttons of the same colour, black worsted stockings, a large bushy, greyish wig and silver buckles, and in a sentence blowing the contentions of the presumptuous author sky-high.

One of my lady's chief preoccupations would, from the frequency of advertisements, appear to be in the matter of stays.

The *General Advertiser*, January 1, 1749-50.

John Ward Staymaker

At the Golden Dove in Hanover Sq Long Acre makes Tabby all over for thirty three shillings, ticken backs for twenty seven shillings; for large sizes two or three shillings more, as good in every respect as you can have of any Person, notwithstanding you give ever so much more money for them

These proposals have been bought by several hundreds who have bought repeating their custom

Discreet inquiries amongst my shingled and bobbed friends leave me still in the dark as to the comfort of a 'tabby all over' and the points of a 'ticken back.'

In 1750 these articles were sufficiently uncomfortable, though tight lacing was not carried so far as in the years which followed. It is plain, indeed, from Mr Eastman's remarks, that easiness in a stay was the one thing sought.

The *Penny London Post* of the *Morning Advertiser*, No 1212, January 15-17, 1750

John Eastman, Staymaker, Citizen and Salter of London at No. 9 in Red Cross Court Great Tower St Servant to the late Mr Hugh Andrews of Leicester Fields decd,

Ladies,

As I am ever studious to please my worthy customers so am I always ready to pay my most hearty thanks and Acknowledgments for the Rewards you so liberally bestow on my labour in not only employing me yourselves, but also (from your known Goodness and Experience) in recommending me to your friends, which gives me the confidence to believe I have had the good Fortune to Please, for who would recommend a Friend who was not satisfied themselves; besides Ladies the character you have been pleased to give of my making an easy Stay, had added much to my interest and therefore I doubt not the continuance of your Favours

[illegible] by Prejudice) they themselves will find it a matter of indifferency whether they are Englishmen or Foreigners, Citizens or those that live at the Court End of the Town, or whether they wore Ruffles or not; he is the best workman whose stays can be worn with the most leisure and ease; and this I further offer by way of advice. Never leave the makers you are well used by for the sake of Variety or Cheapness, be he Citizen, Foreigner or Courtier, neither value those Advertisers that would persuade you black is white, in undertaking all Men in Trade to extoll themselves, and lastly, never expect that Good and Bad can be bought at the same Price, all people in trade know better. This is what I would offer to the Public in general by way of Advice and as to my worthy Customers I give them my word of Honour nothing in my power shall be wanting to make me worthy to be esteemed their humble and obedient servant

JOHN EASTMAN.

Perhaps the lady was less preoccupied with her figure than with the health and education of her numerous children; and indeed the bills of mortality for London give a melancholy picture of the toll of child life.

Weekly Bill of Mortality from the Morning Advertiser, No. 1207, January, 1750

Diseases

Aged 50, Asthma 11, Childbed 3, Consumption 101, Convulsion 139, Dropsy 25, Fever 115, Gout 2, Gripes 0, Hooping Cough 2, Itch 0, Lunatic 4, Measles 26, Palsy 3, Small Pox 39, Stillborn 7, Suddenly 2, Teeth 30.

Casualties

Drowned 6, Excessive Drinking 1, Overlaid 3, Found dead 1.

Christ Males, 145	Females 145.	In all 290.
Buried Males, 330	Females 284.	,, 614.
Increased in Burials this week, 155.		

Convulsion presumably refers to children, though 'measles' may represent the death of adults, as the following shows, for the *Morning Advertiser* of January 12, 1750, notes that 'the measles are at present so brief about the Town that the like has not been known for many years past; however children generally get over them, but they are more fatal to persons of riper years.'

Satisfied of the health of her family, I doubt if the woman of the eighteenth century troubled much over their education. There were not many facilities for it. National schools were unknown, and such schools as there were are not attractively shown by this announcement in the *Norwich Mercury*, July 18-25, 1752:

[illegible]

[illegible] Writing and Arithmetick, and a woman to teach girls sewing and [illegible]; any such Persons with a tolerable Share of good Manners and [illegible]viour so as to teach their scholars the like, will meet with good [illegible]couragement by applying to the Inhabitants and Neighbourhood [illegible]esaid.

N.B.—There is a man and his wife who now teach children in the said [illegible]ish, but the poor man is a lunatick, and the woman superannuated; [illegible]refore the said town is in great wants of such Persons as before [illegible]tioned.

Apart from merchants' advertisements there sometimes [illegible]ear notices concerning trade disputes, as witness the *Norwich* [illegible]*ette* (*Cross Groves Magazine*), Vol. 43, No. 2190 of 1749, in [illegible]ch advertisements will be found concerning a dispute between [illegible]ters and men in the hotpressers and glossiers trade; or, again, *Norwich Mercury* of July 18-25, 1752, records another trade [illegible]pute between masters and journeymen. Sometimes even [illegible]vate war is waged in the columns of newspapers as follows:

Norwich Gazette, Vol 35, No 1834, Ad 1741 Nov.

Whereas Richard Warff in the Parish of St Etheldred's in the City of Norwich, Sider Merchant, has maliciously given out in open Company that he lent me Nich Reader Four Guineas on Saturday the 24th of October last, and that when he asked me for the Money, he says, I denied it. True, so I did deny the Four Guineas, because I never had them of him. Indeed on that same day in the forenoon I went to his House expecting to have Four Guineas of him as he had promised to lend me; besides paying me Twenty six Shillings that he then owed me at the time, the which he paid me then, and said he had not above Twelve Shillings left for market money and to pay his Man He said he should have had ten or Fifteen Pounds by Aylesham Carrier, but was disappointed Now if the said Richard Warff will freely acknowledge where he took that money, and of whom, and at Place (*sic*) he lent it me, and what Pieces they were, and if he the said Richard can make this fairly appear, then I will acknowledge my error, and not till then, for I shall think (as most men that know me will think) that he aspersus my Character on purpose to cover the Mistake, by my Wife's inadvertently giving him Four Guineas out of her Pocket rather than to have any words

N B—I do this to clear myself of this aspersion by publishing this Advertisement.

Nicholas Reader.

But in No. 1836 of the same paper Richard Warff publishes a long notice vindicating himself against Nick Reader's charge and specifying the date and the 'pieces' delivered.

This dispute has a country flavour, as had William Gray's notice for the recovery of bad debts.

Norwich Gazette, Vol. 35 (1834), November, 1741.

Notice is hereby given to all Persons indebted for Strong-Beer to Mr. William Gray (commonly called Major Gray) at the Sign of the Fountain

in St. Benedict's Parish in Norwich, that if they will come to his House in the Parish aforesaid and spend Six Pence in Jorums of Beer Ready Money for every Six Pence they so spend, Six Pence more shall be cut off of every one of their respective Debt or Debts, provided the Persons so indebted do in that manner drink themselves out of such Debts within the space of one Six Months from the date hereof; but upon a Failure thereof, they shall be prosecuted according to Law. As Witness my hand

William Gray.

These extracts are enough to show what form eighteenth century advertising took. It was the dawn of the modern newspaper advertising era; indeed, the *General Advertiser*, begun in 1745, was the first successful attempt of a newspaper to depend for support on the advertisements which it contained, and it was from this time that advertising pages put on a modern appearance. It was the child now grown to a giant, a giant who presses forward at a pace so hot that we can scarcely keep up with him. He seems to believe, indeed, that trade and more trade is the millennium, and that he can everlastingly create new needs which never existed before and make us believe that we must have things which we have never yet desired—so that we are left wondering if advertisement can keep pace with civilisation, or, what is still more important, if civilisation can keep pace with advertisement.

Carrol Romer.

GOLD MOHUR TUNE: 'TO REMEMBER'

ACT I

The Month of April in Bengal.

An old man, a mystic, dressed in the azalea-pink robes of the ascetic, sits in meditation beside a tulsi plant growing in a broken earthenware pot; he sits in a garden of fragrant herbs, wilted in the heat, but also, with the heat, exuding fragrance. A girl's voice is heard singing in an unseen part of the garden:

'The rose root takes earth's kisses for its meat,
The rose leaf makes its blush from the sun's heat,
The rose scent wakes—from who knows what thing sweet?
Who knows the secret of the perfume of the rose?'

(*The old man turns towards back of stage to listen and smiles, shaking his head*)

O. M. She thinks to wake her roses to life by much watering in this time of heat, or by singing to them words of love and encouragement in her so sweet voice. She seeks to grow her transplanted flower in our so different soil—by taking pains, by taking thought. . . . Maybe she is right; maybe it will grow, but only in the proper admixture of soil, only in the right atmospheric conditions. . . .

Yet, is it worth while trying now, in this terrible time of heat, when the tired earth yawns, and her hot breath shrivels my little Sayida's Persian roses? She will not open her eyes to see that, though the earth breath in our heat time kills her roses, it revives and brings to perfection our gorgeous gold mohur trees—wakes them indeed to a riot of colour, a giving forth of blossom in abundance.

(*He looks across the road, shading his eyes with his hand to see*).

There, in neighbour Sushil's garden, how the great trees trail their laden branches; they bow down, touching the feet of the Earth Mother with their flower offerings. They are like people, these gold mohur trees of ours. I have seen them stretch wide arms to the winds, and I see them there before me bowing in the dust . . . but always, at this time of year, hidden in bloom . . . all have something to give—red and gold dust, red and gold, gold and red with little tender heart spikes like peacocks

hiding inside the petals. . . . [illegible] that difference of expression, in the life [illegible] gold mohur blossom. Human-like, their [illegible] human-like differ their personalities. That trailing gold mohur, for instance—what is it saying? 'I reverence you, Mother Earth, I touch your feet: what your sun and wind and dew helped me to store up and give forth I give to you. It is yours . . .' But the gold mohur—holding wide his arms full of blossom, standing erect in the strength of his spirit—he talks with a difference: 'The earth has my feet, but from the skies and the free blowing winds gat I my power to give. To life I offer what life has given. Even in the heat time I live. I lift my head above the hot yawning breath of the tired earth—I live. These blooms are mine—my very own. Take them, oh life! Oh, winds, carry them far! I live.'

Then there is the gold mohur at the far end. It was grown behind sunblinds. It has nothing to show except in one direction, and there its robes are trailing in the dust, like some flower-spangled saree of a West Country maharani. She hides her face, but her garments are glorious. If she has a personality, she may not offer it to the Earth Mother in face of a watching world. So she offers what she can—the trappings of her high estate, the kincab red and gold of the covering thrown over her palanquin: the brocaded *burqa*. She is not serving the earth. She hides her face: 'Take the garment of tradition which you have brought me, oh life! It is wonderful. It has indeed shielded me from cold and heat alike, from winter and summer; but it is a cloak thrown round my shoulders, the offering of tradition, not the offering of *Me*, of my inmost self. I go, after this time of heat and light and colour, out into the darkness whence I came, shielded from everything—shielded even from expression of myself. . . . Take your beautiful garment, oh Mother Earth! It trails in the dust behind me. But some day *strip me bare*, that I may learn in toil and struggle to give you a gift that is my very own. . . .' Yes, that is what they say, the children of the soil, each after his kind: my gold mohurs, my amyltas.

(He turns his head to look at the edge of his own garden.)

My cool golden shower of rain, my amyltas. That again is a different personality; but it is also one of us, a home-grown child, no transplanted seedling.

What is best for this beloved country of ours? Who shall best serve it—the transplanted ones or the children of our own Earth Mother?

(He muses awhile, pondering, finger run along his nose, his eyes shut. Then he rouses himself.)

Both shall serve; and best or worst depends on—what? Admix-

of soil, and the right atmosphere alone? I wonder. I ink maybe, after all, it is partly the question of a time chart, rtly of agricultural chemistry, and wholly of devotion. Nothing achieved without struggle and toil, without adherence both to als and to a definite practical aim, from which nothing is owed to distract—*nothing*, even through the days of darkness d growth. Is there not somewhere a poem about a snowdrop hich has that idea? My children friends across the seas taught me in days—how long ago? Truly the memory of the old ows 'long-sighted' with the years. I forgot what Sayida said sterday, and I remember this:

'"It's very dark in the earth to-day,"
Said one little bulb to his brother,
"But I think that I felt a sunbeam's ray—
Let us struggle and grow, till we find a way."
And they nestled close to each other,
And they struggled and toiled by day and by night,
Till two little snowdrops in green and white
Pushed out of the darkness and into the light,
And softly kissed one another.'

'Struggle and toil . . . struggle and grow'—that is the text from which to preach. (*Enter* SAYIDA.)

SAYIDA. Now, Grandfather, mumbling again to yourself as usual. I love your darling mumblings Tell me what they were about this time.

O. M. Your roses

SAYIDA. What about my roses?

O. M A parable Sayida trying to grow in alien soil, and in the time of heat, what is meant for Persia, or at least for our hills in the time of cold.

SAYIDA. But see how you break your own rules, Grandfather dear. You will not let me talk of foreigners or aliens as such. Don't you remember saying 'They are all Indians, if their feet are planted in our soil, and if they live from day to day by us, or if they serve us'? My roses have their feet planted and rooted in our soil, and they live by the sun and wind in my garden and by the water which I give them—I, Sayida.

O. M. And don't they live by your singing also, my child? Methinks your love and your songs, and your desire, have as much to do with the poor little struggle they make from day to day as anything more material. Yes, you are right as to my dislike of that word 'foreigner'; and you are a good pupil, Sayida, turning his own teachings against your old grandfather. I was looking at that riot of colour yonder as you sang, and in my mind I had the picture of your colourless, burnt-up roses against

that background of red and yellow, and it set me off musing . . .

(*He breaks off.*)

See the sun has sent up stars for spray now that he has splashed into the sea for his nightly rest. It is the hour of union, when darkness and light itself have met, the hour which joins us all together, learned and ignorant, Indian and non-Indian. Let us meditate.

(*They sit in silence.*)

O. M. (*Rousing himself.*) I'll make you another poem, Sayida, to sing at the time of the hour of union. See I make it after the fashion of your own rose song.

'The sunset takes its colouring from earth's woes:
Its rayings are earth's laughter and earth's love,
Its ecstasy of tone, its bloom, repose,
Are God's dear broodings—sunveil interwove.
Ah! who can wrest
Its homing secrets from the light-crowned west?

. . . . .

Dye then its brilliance deeper with your pain,
From flint of love and joy strike quickening ray:
God's stamp upon it—take your day again—
Great silence, pulse throb, Thee, my soul doth praise.
For Thou dost wrest
Its homing secrets from the light-crowned west.'

SAYIDA. Oh, Grandfather, that is beautiful, though I do not understand it all

O. M. What do you understand, then? What came to you from out the words I spoke? Tell me

SAYIDA. I *feel* more than understand But I think you were trying to tell me that beauty and pain have some connexion, and that darkness and light are knit together, and that when my day drops away into night it goes to get God's stamp upon it for to-morrow.

O. M. Yes, Sayida, that is all you need understand; and this further, which is a thought which your old grandfather needs always to remember, that day and night are given to all alike as to one family of the household of God

SAYIDA. (*Who has been looking at the gold mohur trees.*) Yes, they are beautiful; but my roses are different I can *admire* the gold mohurs; I love the roses, and I love them more, shrivelled and dying, than in their glory They are, you see, my very own I planted them from the little cuttings which my other grandfather sent from Teheran. Do you remember how careful we had to be, keeping them in the dark and letting them only gradually see our fierce light here—even though we planted them in the cool time of the year's ending? Roses and Jasmine—they sing of

little else in Teheran. But Akhbar loved roses too—did he not, Grandfather?—Akhbar, who lived and ruled in India. My munshi told me a saying of his yesterday which I do not understand. He said: 'Only the dust of the rose leaves is left to the heart of the perfume-seller.' What does that mean, Grandfather?

O. M. I think he meant that the fragrance of that which we possess, or that which we are, is meant to be *given*, not sold: love, not merchandise. Some day, my Sayida, I'll make you a song about that. You do not need to learn the truth, thank God, not yet, or may be ever, of what I fancy Akhbar meant.

SAYIDA. But there's one rose song which I want now. You made it—don't you remember?—on the words we found last year in the old Persian manuscript in the Rampur library—the wish, said the book, of Omar Khayyam: 'My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it.'

O. M. Yes, I remember, we were walking in the Nawab's rose garden: roses white, red, pink, yellow—what a wealth they were!—and you challenged me to scatter rose leaves over the tomb of your pet poet.

'Gentle rain of roses white!
Of roses red, the passion fed,
And pink? The faintest blush, I think.
And yellow—yea, a sunset ray.
Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend.

'Living shroud of roses white!
What was good, love understood—
Saved from ill my wayward will!
Thoughts unsure, by God made pure.
Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend.

'Royal pall of roses red!
Passion's wine, sap divine,
Source of love, one life above
Dear God made flesh, small loves enmesh!
Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend.

'Mystic veil of roses pink!
Blind to-morrow, nurse of sorrow:
False grey dawn, yields to morn.
Glad to-day, shall all repay.
Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend.

'Sunset crown of roses yellow!
Love ablaze, my sun-god's rays:
Sun-slain light, my sun-god's night,
Life's long quest—kissed to rest.
Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend.'

SAYIDA. I love the lilt of it. I love the line '*Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend*,' and I love the way you call the colours. But again I don't understand all you say. You said Omar himself would not have understood *or agreed*, and that some of your thoughts came from your Christian Saddhu friend. Who is your friend now, Grandfather ? . . .

O. M. I know not ; but you remind me that this is my hour of remembrance—when I rest for a while in the thought of my friends. Leave me, my beloved.

(SAYIDA *goes indoors, and the old man lingers beside his basil tree in the growing dark, crushing the pungent leaf between his fingers—and now talking within himself, now listening as if he heard voices . . . From inside* SAYIDA'S *voice comes on the evening air :* 'Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend ')

ACT II

SCENE I

Two Years Later. Sayida's Garden Courtyard

The old mystic has had a serious illness, but is better. It is again gold mohur blossom time, and the doctors have said that he might be carried out into the garden to look at his beloved trees. Against this event Sayida has planned a surprise with the village maidens. They meet to perfect it

SAYIDA. (*To the village girls and children*) Is all ready now ? Are we perfect in our dress and in our dance ?

THEY. Oh yes, Sayida After all that practising !

SAYIDA. I know, you wearied of the repetition ? But we must be perfect.

FIRST. The dance of the trees just shooting—the little ones in brown with green spirals I think we have the idea right—slow movements, the time when we see nothing, then the quick bursting through the dead wood of the little green leaf

NEXT. The tree *in leaf*—they ought really to be boys, I think : boys are so leaf-y

KAMALA. Whatever do you mean, Sayida ?

SAYIDA. Just that—leaf-y, full of profession and boasting ; but boys would never be able to dress or dance as I wish, and the twelve-year-olds do that mad green tumble rather well. But I love best our full-blossom dance, don't you ? First the tableau of the different kinds of gold mohur, trails of blossom laid at the feet of the Earth Mother, as darling grandfather used to say, the upstanding ones, arms wide, and the *purdanashins* showing you their garments of loveliness—a dress parade, not a love-offering.

GITA. Oh, Sayida, you talk such nonsense ! What has all

that to do with our minuet movement, and our lovely swayings and bendings? I believe you are going to be a mad saint like your grandfather.

SAYIDA. (*Her face grown still, says under her breath:*) Would to God it were possible! Then rousing herself: Scatter, my children. To-morrow, then, we meet here and do our pageant before my grandfather, who will lie on the *chabutra* to watch us. It's a great secret—the first we've ever kept. He will love it; and it's a pageant *for him alone.*

SCENE 2

The old mystic brought out on to the chabutra, *propped up against pillows—very old and transparent.* SAYIDA *kneels beside his couch as soon as he is settled*

SAYIDA. I know how glad you are to be here, Grandfather, and because you cannot raise yourself to see your beloved gold mohurs we are going to bring the gold mohurs to you.

O. M. (*Smiling and stroking her face*) My *little* Sayida!

SAYIDA. And we tried to put your darling mumblings about the gold mohur, your talk and parables, into our dances. You shall see if they tell themselves; if not, we'll explain. And now I go to call the children.

The Pageant

(SAYIDA *is the leading gold mohur in the dance of the flower offerings* *A tableau ends the pageant*)

SAYIDA. (*Back by his side*) Did you like it, Grandfather? Do you want a book of the words, or did you understand?

O. M. I understand, Sayida It was beautiful.

(*The nurses come.* He must go indoors now, Sayida Begum.)

O. M. It is the best medicine I've had in my sickness, Sayida. God bless you all!

ACT III

SCENE 1

Eight Months Later.

The old mystic on his death-bed—Sayida beside him.

SAYIDA. Are you happy and without pain, Grandfather?

O. M. Yes, my Sayida. Light at sunset time. It is quite true that the best colourings at sunset time come from what we've suffered. I am learning that. But no one knows what really makes the red and gold and red-gold; what effect of light on moisture, what effect of light upon our tears. . . . Perhaps I'll know the secret there, whither I go: 'For who shall wrest the homing secret from the light-crowned west?'

Sayida, I have one thing to say—you remember asking me about the dust of the rose leaves? I've written you a little poem—explaining what I said you might never need to understand, about selling and giving. It's in this sealed packet. If ever you feel you would like to understand, open it and read. And now I am weary and will sleep:

'Great silence, pulse throb, Thee my soul doth praise—
For thou dost wrest
Its homing secrets from the light-crowned west.'

I'll soon know the secret, Sayida—very soon. (*He drowses off.*)

Scene 2

The Old Mystic Slept out of Life.

Time, *next morning—roses and roses piled up before an invisible bier, and the pageant girls scattering roses—every now and then* SAYIDA'S *voice across the silence:* 'Lay me where the north wind scatters roses, friend'

ACT IV

SAYIDA. (*Alone in her garden*) He said if I would marry him he would take me to Teheran. *I want to go to Teheran.* I want it; *I want it* I am alone here; and all the house is empty calling to me in my loneliness—'alone,' 'alone.' Oh, Grandfather, why are you not here to help me? I want to go to Teheran But I do not want . . . (*She sits in meditation.*) 'The dust of the rose leaves'—is that what it meant? 'Only the dust of the rose leaves is left to the heart of the perfume-seller'? . . . Am I selling . . .? Ah, grandfather's little packet. I'll fetch it Maybe he has already spoken

(*She goes within, and comes back with it, sitting beside a table on the* chabutra, *as she tears open the envelope Reads aloud*)

1

'Tangle of roses—sun-grown, sweet,
For God and the owner, as it were meet
For God and the owner, sitting there,
Crooning a love song into the air
What time the evening sun was low,
And the firefly lights began to glow.

2

'That hour when the evening sun was low,
And the firefly lights began to glow,
Was the time that she chose herself, the rose,
To whisper the secret of love and woes,

Which gave her colour and form and scent,
And made her the thing that God had meant.
And all earth listened—finger at lip . . .
Hush! finger at lip—see the red sun dip.

3

'The earth still listened, finger at lip—
She never could let one dear word slip.
But the red-gold sun had changed to grey,
With the bruised-blue look which ends each day.
And the owner sat silent and sad and lone—
He had done that for which he might never atone:
He had gathered his roses and crushed them to dust,
Selling their perfume—oh traitor to trust!
And had lost—small wonder—his power to hear
That song erstwhile to his soul so dear;
For nothing *but* dust to the lover is left
Who selleth his perfumes—self-bereft

4

'To the seller of perfumes nothing but dust;
But suppose, now, it was not betrayal of trust?
The perfume's the world's—as was meant, me seems;
But the secret with God, and the dreamer of dreams,
Still alone is shared And that handful of dust
Is better than perfume to love's heart, we trust.

5

'I grant that—the fault was he sold, did not give;
And his wages? Why death · for, alas! he must live
Dead to rose songs—God's secrets of fragrance, of light,
Of colour and beauty, of love in its might:
So—tangle of roses, sun-grown, sweet,
Scatter your fragrance, as it were meet
But your secrets hide in a handful of dust
For that lover who never betrays a trust'

SAYIDA. (*Lets slip the letter and sits with her head on her folded arms. Looking up.*) 'For the lover who never betrays a trust.' Yes, he has spoken I cannot do it 'In the morning, and at the going down of the sun, I will remember.'

ACT V

Gold Mohur Time, April.

The pageant is once more to be performed And Sayida is again stage manager. All the cast is assembled, dressed in pilgrims' garments

SAYIDA. This time we do it to remember him; and we'll ... But it our very best, as if he were looking on—shall we not? think—don't you think?—that we should do a meditation ... grandfather before and after.

The GIRLS. (*Who adore Sayida.*) Yes, yes.

SAYIDA. *I want to tell you a little about him as I knew him.* He loved all the world; and he knew no difference between friend and friend. You know how I came from Persia, where his daughter, my mother, had married and made her home. For my sake he counted all the continent of Asia, I do believe, of his personal family. Love made his *gotra*. He was at college in the west, and because he loved his college friends, for their sakes all persons overseas were of his family. And all who came to India, to live or work here, equally he counted ours . . . Indians, 'because their feet are planted in our soil, and they live by us, or they serve us.' That is what he used to say. *Let us remember.*

ALL. (*Raising their hands.*) We will remember.

(*Silence.*)

SAYIDA. And I asked you to come dressed in the pilgrim colour, because we are pilgrims of memory.

ALL. Pilgrims of memory . . . We will remember . . .

SAYIDA. In the morning and evening, and at the going down of the sun . . .

ALL. We will remember.

SAYIDA. When the gate of Day creaks on its hinges, as we go out into the world.

ALL. We will remember.

SAYIDA. When the gate of Night shuts so joyously, as we come home to rest.

ALL. We will remember.

SAYIDA. When for the last time the gate of Darkness closes upon us. Oh, so slowly, perhaps so painfully!

ALL. May we remember.

SAYIDA. Yes, we will remember with triumph how he went out into the Light and the Life—*because he loved his friends.*

ALL. We will remember; we will remember; we will remember.

SAYIDA. Now, as pilgrims, 'we take the golden road to Samarkhand.'

ALL. To 'Samarkhand'—the Land of Memory.

(*A stairway of light, up which they crowd. In silence, but every few minutes fainter and fainter, all in unison* 'We remember.')

CORNELIA SORABJI.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

A number of members of the reading public, men and women, have sent recommendations of recent books. This list is a digest of their selections —THE EDITOR.

HERBERT ASQUITH "Roon" Hutchinson. 7s 6d. *Fiction*. A mar-ge of convenience in political society treated with sincerity: the aracters are drawn from life rather than the living.

HELEN BEAUCLERK (with decoration by EDMUND DULAC). "The Love the Foolish Angel" W Collins and Sons, Ltd 7s. 6d. *Fiction*. A len angel finds salvation through his unselfish love of a woman—in Syria the fourth century. The format is worthy of the rare quality of thought d fiction.

REGINALD BERKLEY "The Lady with the Lamp." Gollancz. 3s. 6d. d 5s. *Drama* Caustic, heroic Florence Nightingale at five stages, from rlhood to senility.

G. BIRMINGHAM. "The Major's Candlesticks." Methuen. *Fiction*. rther adventures of Major Kent and J J. told with great brilliancy and dacity.

J. E BLANCHE. "Mes Modèles" Delamain et Boutelleau. 2s. 6d. *utobiography*. Reminiscences, not of ladies who have posed to the artist r the "altogether," but of distinguished literary men who have sat to n for their portraits

COMMANDANT BUGUET "Foch Talks" Gollancz. 7s. 6d. *Bio-aphy*. "Foch's own theories on Life, Leadership and the Conduct of ar."

D. P. CAPPER. "On the Pilgrims' Way." Methuen 5s. *Travel*. e old track from Winchester to Canterbury lovingly described. With otographs and map

PIERRE CHAMPION (translation by WINIFRED S. WHALE). "Louis XI." ssell. 15s. *History*. A new portrait of a well-known historical character.

E. M. DELAFIELD. "Women are Like That" Macmillans. 7s. *ction*. Sketches of women told with kindly satire.

JOHN EYTON. "Mr. Ram." Arrowsmith. 7s. 6d. *Fiction*. The oblem of the Westernisation of an Indian student sympathetically pre-ted.

BRUNO FRANK. "The Persians are Coming." Knopf. 6s. *Fiction*. hort novel illustrating the question, "Shall the East and its psychology vail over the old European ideas?"

GIBBON'S JOURNAL to January 25, 1763 (ed. with introductory essays D. M. LOW). Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d. *Autobiography*. The rnal shows us the future historian as "the captain of the Hampshire nadiers" in command of his company.

JAN and CORA GORDON. "On Wandering Wheels." John Lane. 12s. 6d. *Travel.* U.S.A. from a second-hand car.

KNUT HAGBERG. "Kings, Churchills, and Statesmen." John Lane. 12s. 6d. *Biographical Essays.* A foreigner sees most of the game. Here is sensitive psychology and dramatic force.

STEWART HODGSON. "Portraits and Reflections." Nisbets. 5s. Brilliant sketches of modern life.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON. "Zola and his Times" Gollancz. 25s. *Biography.* "A most interesting account of Zola's life, his influence on French literature, and his relations with his contemporaries."

ERNST JÜNGER (translation by H BASIL CREIGHTON). "The Storm of Steel." Chatto and Windus. 7s 6d. *Autobiography.* Like "All Quiet on the Western Front," this book is the impressions of a young German who went to and through the war straight from school, but from a different angle. It is interesting to contrast it with "A Soldier's Diary of the Great War": an Englishman's view

P. G. KONODY and R H WILENSKI. "Italian Painting." Jack. 42s. *Art.* The two most popular critics of the moment explaining masterpieces of all time.

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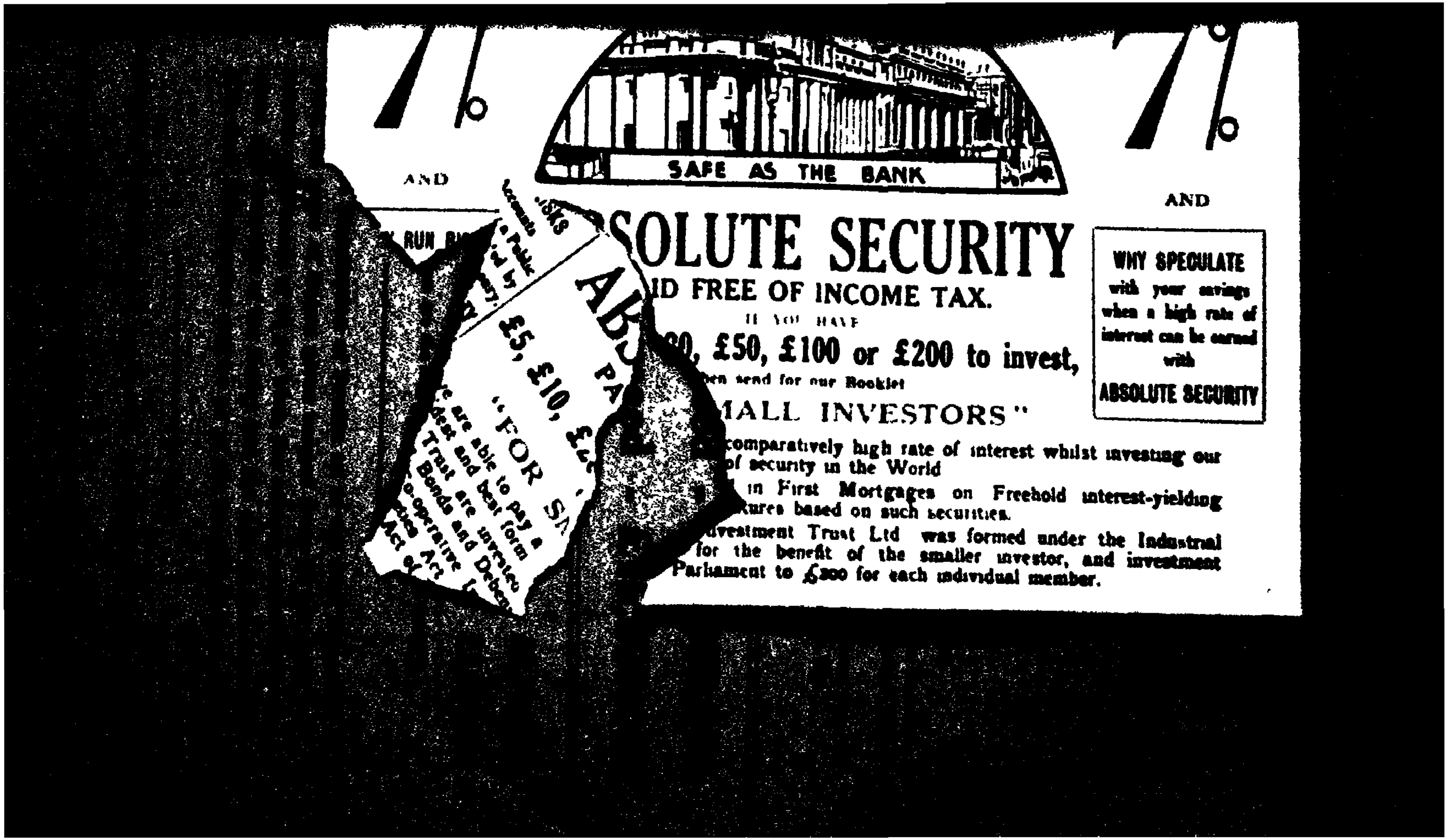
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CONTENTS FOR AUGUST

LONDON: CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED, 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C. 2

PARIS: MESSAGERIES HACHETTE, 111 RUE RÉAUMUR. NEW YORK: LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.

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Price Three Shillings

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DCXXX—August 1929

SOCIALISM

The excitement of the recent General Election is over, and therefore it is the right time to put before Labour such reasons and arguments as it is desirable that should be considered before the next election. Just after, and not just before, a General Election is the time for reason. Just before an election nobody will listen to or consider the arguments of opponents, for their minds are already made up. As a very shrewd Socialist working man once put it in conversation with me, 'It is quite useless to try and argue before an election. We are then out to fight under our colours, and we don't go to Conservative meetings, or if we do go, it is only to heckle or boo. If you have got anything to say to us, the time is after and between elections. Then we can be got to listen, and then we have time to consider what we hear.' This is a psychological and political fact which Socialists do not forget, but which Conservatives usually do forget. And with 'Socialism in our time' looming ahead of us, there is enough, in all conscience, to reason about.

As the Socialist Party has at last found its way to temporary

and modified power in Great Britain, it has become vitally important that Labour should understand the tremendous danger into which it is running and should earnestly consider and reconsider the economic theory of Socialism in the light of modern experience and knowledge, because Socialism may destroy the whole system on which the economic life of the people has hitherto been successfully based, and substitute a brand-new theoretical economic system which has so far completely failed where fully tried.

Let us here pause for a moment before going further to consider shortly what experience so far has proved in this connexion. To begin with, what has our present economic system, which it is proposed to destroy, done for Labour? Capitalism or private enterprise or self-interest, or whatever name we please to give the system or right of private property, has done, and is still doing, wonders for Labour, though naturally it cannot do everything all at once. The answer to what has Capitalism done for Labour is a sevenfold answer. We will put it very shortly. First, it has enabled Labour to live and multiply in an ever-increasing degree, to the unprecedented extent of eighteenfold in four centuries since the modern system began with the discovery of America. Secondly, it has enabled Labour, whilst multiplying with such extraordinary rapidity, to improve its standard of life to a degree that a short century ago would have been thought a hopeless dream. Thirdly, it has enabled, and is enabling, the manual labourers to obtain an ever-increasing share of the ever-increasing value of production and to become capitalists themselves in vast and ever-increasing numbers. Fourthly, it has enabled Labour in Great Britain to throw upwards during the last century no less than about 8,000,000 of what is called the intermediate class—that is, small business people above weekly wages and yet below income tax level. This is more than double the whole population of England when the modern system began. This alone is a marvellous performance Fifthly, Capitalism has enabled many millions of working men to save enough to emigrate to empty lands and prosperity beyond the sea, and to build up the 50,000,000 Anglo-Saxons across the ocean. Before the war about 1,000,000 workers on an average every four years emigrated from the United Kingdom on their own savings. Sixthly, it has enabled so vast a sum, over 300,000,000*l*. annually, to be devoted to social services for the people, that a hundred years or even fifty years ago it would have appeared the fantasy of a wild optimist. Seventhly, it has enabled Labour, originally rude, uncouth and illiterate, to obtain free education, and to produce such educated men as the Labour leaders of the present day, the very men who ask in the House of Commons, 'What has Capitalism

done for Labour ?' Their own existence is an answer to their own question.

The truth is that Labour is discontented to-day, not because it is not already getting all, and more than all, it has ever hoped for in the past, but simply because human nature is such that man is never satisfied, because the appetite grows with what it feeds upon, and because the more wants you satisfy the more wants you create. As somebody well phrased it, 'Man wants but little here below, just a little more than he has got.' So discontent must ever remain more or less chronic, and its presence to-day is no argument whatever against private property, or that Capitalism has not proved itself a layer of golden eggs for Labour. On the other hand, what has Socialism, where fully tried, done for Labour? In Russia, where Socialism has had absolutely free scope, it has undeniably done to Labour, so far, not good, but infinite harm. Has this failure of Socialism thus far been due to exterior circumstances which can be avoided, or to interior defects which cannot be avoided? That is the question which we now have to reason out with Labour.

It has been to most people a great surprise that 8,000,000 electors, nearly a third of the total electorate, have voted Socialist, but it may be safely affirmed that not one in a hundred of them, and probably not one in ten, properly understood what they were voting for, or could have even rightly defined Socialism if they were asked. It is curious how few people that one meets do understand what Socialism is, or have ever really attempted to envisage to what results it must lead if it be consistently and completely carried out. For the last thirty years I have often discussed things with Socialists of all sorts and of all camps, and I make the above assertion as a matter of experience. Socialism is 'the nationalisation of all the means of production, exchange and distribution.' If you subscribe to the word '*all*,' you are a Socialist; if you do not, you are not a Socialist. But what does the word '*all*,' consistently carried out, mean? It means, and must mean, everything except the house or rooms in which you live and the clothes in which you stand up. How many of the 8,000,000 who voted Socialist had attempted to envisage the results of this basic fact? How many would have voted Socialist if they had properly realised it? Professed and militant Socialists of many years' standing themselves do not understand these things, at least none that I have ever met, and still less their converts of yesterday. Ask a Socialist to describe in detail the working of a real complete socialistic State, and you will find that he will very soon land himself in the most hopelessly insurmountable difficulties. No one can tell you, for example, if Socialism in power should or will allow wages of ability or not, or only

equal remuneration for all work; nor how Socialism is going to nationalise '*all* the means of production, exchange and distribution'; nor how it is to avoid the conscription of labour and telling everybody off not to the work they wish to do, but to whatever sort of work the State orders them to do; nor how it is to avoid the greatest and most hopeless tyranny ever seen in the world, as in Russia.

I once spent a whole afternoon in discussing this matter with one of the most able and influential and knowledgable Socialists of our nation on the principle of saying 'Granted for the time being' to every statement he made, till he had finished his development of a socialistic State. It came very roughly to this, that everything in Great Britain must be nationalised, including, for example, all industry, trade and business, all agriculture, and even all newspapers and books; that each trade must be worked by a sort of elected committee or junta, and that these must choose from amongst themselves a supreme committee or council to co-ordinate the whole, which supreme industrial junta, committee, or council will have the power to allot the requisite amount of labour in accordance with the fluctuating demand for labour in each trade as the foreign demand for its products ebbs and flows. This means that each person will have to do *not* that work which he or she chooses, but that work which he or she is told off to do, thus putting in the hands of this junta, committee, or council the most complete irresponsible and absolute power over every man or woman that the world has ever heard of, a power greater than any yet known on earth except in Russia, a power so great and without remedy or appeal that its abuse by its holders will be irresistible For example, nobody will be able to publish in Great Britain any newspaper, book, pamphlet, or article which is contrary to the opinion of the committee, junta, or council of the nationalised Press, any more than they can in Russia to-day. It means the extinction of all liberty of thought, of all liberty of work, and complete subservience to an omnipotent bureaucracy, which will be able to punish any disobedience by telling the offender off to do scavenger work, for example, in some town far from his or her family and friends. In order to prevent these elected industrial juntas, committees, or councils, through ignorance, utterly destroying the production of the nation, he considered that such wages of ability will have to be allowed as will induce the best brains of the nation to go in for the management of industry, even to the rate of 1000*l*. or 10,000*l*. a year if that were found needful. So that apparently, as soon as private property has been destroyed, a new plutocracy will be formed again. If wages of ability be not allowed, if the only alternative, equal remuneration for all labour, manual or

mental, be carried out, as was attempted in Russia, then industry will be ruined, and with it the wage-fund of labour, by ignorant and inefficient management. So true Socialism apparently offers us a tyranny as yet unheard of, coupled with the alternatives of industrial ruin or a new plutocracy.

Other Socialists will disagree with much of this, no doubt, because there is really no practical application of Socialism on which they agree at all when once they have enunciated their formula 'the nationalisation of all the means of production, exchange and distribution.' Once amongst twenty fairly representative Socialists I stated that I could put them all at loggerheads in five minutes, and in reply to a challenge to try I refused at the moment. But a minute or two later, when they were off their guard, I casually asked one if he believed in the wages of ability or not. He said 'Yes,' but his next-door neighbour contradicted him, the dispute spread, and in five minutes they were all debating the point as hard as they could argue. I then pointed out that I had done as I had said, upon which they laughed and agreed to adjourn the debate. That was merely a joke, but illustrates how completely Socialists differ amongst themselves on the most fundamental ideas of Socialism. Everybody knows, or should know, that there are at least half a dozen different and hostile camps, ranging from evolutionary to revolutionary, in the Socialist Party, and that the representatives of the mildest evolutionary camp are put forward at first as representing the whole, so as not to alarm the electorate too soon. But behind the evolutionists are the extremists and revolutionists, and the latter are those who will finally dictate the Socialist policy if Socialism in two or three years (at the next General Election) obtains only *fifty more members* than it has got at present.

These different camps in the Socialist Party, ranging as they do from mild evolutionary to wild revolutionary and communistic with various intermediate groups, differ so much in their views that it is difficult to find any important points on which they agree except a common allegiance to Karl Marx's antiquated exposition of Socialism according to the industrial conditions of his day. Since Marx wrote his book such enormous industrial changes have taken place that Marxian Socialism is quite out of accord with the present industrial conditions. Yet it is a strange but undeniable fact that Karl Marx's work, *Capital*, with all its anachronisms, is still the Bible of Socialism, despite what anyone may advance in its depreciation. The vast majority of Socialists have not really been taught anything at all by Russian experience so far; consequently no Socialist leader can openly repudiate Marx without the danger of being himself repudiated

by his comrades and supporters. We are therefore compelled to consider Marxist or Marxian Socialism as still the only official form of Socialism, whether it be evolutionary or revolutionary. It is, however, so out of accord with the industrial conditions of the present time that its consistent application cannot be attempted to-day without industrial disaster, as Lenin found in Russia. Have industrial conditions altered so completely as to render Socialism itself simply the road to industrial ruin, so that it is therefore absolutely necessary to admit this fact and to adopt a neo-Socialism instead based on the rights of man, on the right of private property?—that is the question which Labour has now most earnestly to ask itself before it is too late.

Let us assume, to start with, that the Socialist leaders are sincerely anxious to improve the economic life of the people and not to destroy it. Let us assume, therefore, that they will sincerely welcome an opportunity to convince themselves, by the most thorough inquiry possible, that they are leading Labour to betterment, and not to impoverishment, degradation and misery, as has resulted in Russia. If, however, contrary to our assumption, they are merely using the popular slogan of Socialism as a catspaw to office, power, and salary, if they are not really desirous of bettering the economic life of the people, if they do not mind, for their own ends, risking the impoverishment and degradation of labour, then they will oppose an inquiry. If, on the other hand, they be, as we assume, sincere in their professed desire to do good and not harm to the people, then they will certainly welcome, and contribute their utmost to, such an impartial inquiry as is here proposed. It is necessary now to show, as a beginning, that Marxian Socialism has not even been properly thought out.

Marxian Socialism, the official form of Socialism at present, must be judged in accordance with its claim to be a world-social doctrine of world-wide validity and application. 'Workers of the world, unite' Marxists agree that Marxism, to be successful, must be universal, for otherwise all fluid capital will fly to safe non-Socialist countries The complexity and interrelatedness of all human relationships, as shown by anthropology, history, and present-day experiences, are so great that the omission from consideration of any one of the chief groups of factors concerned will vitiate any conclusion or theory formed. Further, the attempt to put into practice any theory based on such omission can only lead to disastrous failure.

The fundamental factors, requiring experimental observation and co-ordination, of any world-social or economic theory may be roughly placed in seven chief groups, as follows:—

(A) The racial differences (physical, mental and economic) and the antagonisms of the five great races: yellow, brown, white, black, and red.

(B) The national differences inside the races (mental, physical and economic, and religious) and the resurgent assertive spirit of nationality.

(C) The fundamental psychological attributes, instincts, and desires common to all humanity.

(D) The variations, mental and physical, or natural inequalities of men at birth, which produce economic inequalities.

(E) The principle of heredity.

(F) The principle of evolution, of becoming, of flux, of 'changing order, orderly change' in all biological and social progress, so that no economic conditions and no economic theory can be permanent.

(G) The purely economic question of production, exchange, and distribution, with its two required sets of data, capitalistic and socialistic.

The data of each of these seven great groups of factors require to be collected, carefully sifted, and co-ordinated *before* any hypothesis can be formed which can claim to be a scientific hypothesis. Any hypothesis formed previous to this necessary collection of data is merely a speculation.

Apply the above axiom to the Marxian hypothesis, and what do we find? We find the extraordinary fact that of all the seven great groups of factors, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, six of them, A, B, C, D, E, F, were not taken into consideration at all, and of the seventh, G, only half its data were considered, the capitalistic half, as the socialistic data were not then available.

But equal consideration of all the seven groups of factors is necessary, and omission of the majority produced a speculative theory, attractive but impossible of application owing to the reaction of the omitted factors, and whose attempted application has led in Russia (after making all allowances for difficulties peculiar to that country), and must apparently lead in every nation which attempts it, to the economic ruin and degradation of the people.

Let us consider for a moment the reaction of A, B, C, D, E, F groups of factors on half of G by itself.

(A) 'Workers of the world, unite,' runs the Marxist cry. But yellow, brown, black, white, and red workers *cannot* and *will not* unite, because their standards of life are fundamentally different and incompatible. The 400,000,000 Chinese alone can always under-work, under-cut, under-live, under-breed the browns or whites, wherever they are, once given an equal opportunity to do so. The American, Australian, New Zealand, South

African working men know this so well that they will not have it on any account whatever. They would resist it in arms. They cannot and will not unite, economically or socially.

(B) Marxism, if it is to be possible, says Lenin—and all Socialists agree—must be universal, international. Internationalism can only be directive if there be some admitted central authority. But the spirit of nationalism is so strong (most insurgent of all in the newest nations) that the nations refuse to subordinate their sovereign rights or vital interests to any central international authority. The limitations of the League of Nations prove this. It can never become more than a very useful instrument of co-ordinated regulation, not of direction.

(C) The Marxian hypothesis, even in its most evolutionary forms, demands a change in human nature for any possibility of success. But the elements of human nature do not change—at least, have not changed to any appreciable extent during recorded history for the last 3000 years In a word, at bottom the mainspring of human nature is egoism as the basis of mutual aid, whereas Marxism demands altruism as the basis of mutual aid. Again, human nature will not work more than it is forced to do by circumstances Marxism assumes, without data that it would, and on this rock went to pieces productively in Russia. Human nature desires private property; Marxism would abolish it. Marxism ignores the fact that human nature demands that its economic life be based on the principle of self interest. Human nature demands liberty. Marxism leads to the conscription of labour, the negation of liberty. Human nature demands the family life based on the inheritance of property by children, which Marxism would abolish And so on Ignoring the elements of human nature is a fatal defect, and brought about the ruinous failure of Marxist production in Russia.

(D) Marxism makes no allowance adequate to its importance for the great natural inequalities of men at birth, beyond a very feeble effort to shirk the difficulty by curtly stating that skilled is a multiple of unskilled labour. But the differences are so great and complex, and in such infinite variety, that in practice it is not possible to carry out any satisfactory method of this speculative multiplication, as proved in Russia. Hence another reason of Marxist failure.

(E) The best possible leadership is necessary for the self preservation, for the success, of a nation, political, military or economic. These best qualities of leadership are hereditary, as proved by modern experience and science. The civil war necessary before complete Marxism can be enforced—for men will not

give up all they value without a fight—destroys the classes possessing those hereditary qualities in the greatest degree. Hence, as a whole, only inferior leadership is left, as seen again in Russia. Inferior leadership means inefficiency of those led, of the rank and file.

(F) The flux, the 'changing order, orderly change,' of human societies is so constant that the conditions of one age are fallacious if used dogmatically as data for those of another, and any theory founded only on such outworn data must be equally fallacious. The Marxists forget this when they cite as authoritative the economic theory or speculation formulated by Marx in the middle of last century, since which period so many and so great changes have occurred. Marx himself overlooked it, for, while recognising the evolution of economic changes, he thought his analysis of Capitalism permanent, whereas it was only an analysis of a passing phase. Nearly all his capitalistic data, as regards the abuses of Capitalism on which his theory rests for justification, have, since his time, in Western Europe been regulated away.

(G) In the time of Marx the only experimental data of experience were capitalistic data, the data of Capitalism undeveloped and unregulated. Since then even the capitalistic data have changed, for the worst abuses of capital have been removed by regulation, by law, and it has been proved that the same process of regulation can gradually remove the rest. Also capital has become more and more widely diffused, so that it is rapidly becoming synonymous with the savings of the people invested by banks. This growing diffusion of capital contradicts Marxism, and requires the most careful consideration. Most important of all, in the time of Marx no socialistic experimental data of experience were available. How human nature would function under socialistic Marxist conditions was purely a matter of assertion, of speculation Not till the Marxist theory was put to the test of experience in Russia did such necessary socialistic data become available. They require the most careful consideration, which Marx was unable to give because they did not then exist.

The discovery or consideration that out of the seven principal groups of world-social factors six had been omitted altogether, and of the seventh only the data of one of its two halves had been considered, prepares the mind to expect the Marxist hypothesis to be in error, and to expect its failure when put into actual experimental practice. And this is exactly what has happened in the Russian practical Marxian experiment. It has resulted in the falling off of production to a ruinous extent, followed by the consequent impoverishment, the conscription, and loss of all liberty of the working men, *not* in their betterment, as Marx speculated it would do.

The spectacle of the rapid industrial ruin which was the actual result of the Marxian hypothesis, when put to the practical test of experiment in Russia, 1917–1921, must give all leaders of Labour thought deep cause earnestly to reconsider the speculative theory whose results are so catastrophic to the people. Are they justified in, can they accept the responsibility for, teaching any longer to the people, who trust them, an economic doctrine which, judged by results, appears to lead straight to economic ruin?

Has not the time arrived when the Labour Party, in view of its complete responsibility in the not far-distant future for the economic life of the people, for the economic betterment, not the economic ruin, of the workers, should assert once more its freedom of economic judgment, basing that free judgment not on any theory, but on the safe ground of experimental observation? Has not the time come when this all-important matter, one may almost say of the economic life or death of the people, should be at least ventilated, considered, and discussed from all the seven points of view already enumerated? Out of such discussion of all the data may come a neo-Socialism, based on the safe principle of State regulation of industry and property for the benefit of the community rather than on State ownership, by which all abuses can be regulated away gradually without destroying the economic life of the people. Is it not at least worth trying whether such discussion of the new data now for the first time available may not produce eventually as a result the economic safety of the people?

The preceding criticism of Marxian Socialism may, at first sight, appear too purely destructive, but it is necessary in order to clear the ground for that thorough reconsideration of the whole question which the new data now available imperatively demand. In a following article it is hoped to show a sufficient basis for such constructive reconsideration in which all, Socialists and non-Socialists, can join, *pro bono publico*.

STEWART L. MURRAY.

A NATIONAL POLICY

A Non-Party View

The changes which have occurred in the political and economic life of Great Britain during the last few years are so great that they cannot be measured by the foot-rule of any of the parties. Supported by their traditions, all these parties are also hampered by them, and the attempt to express the political and economic needs of the present day through the medium of old party policies leads to singular doctrinal contortions and, what is more important, failure correctly to interpret the common needs of a swiftly changing world.

The battle of the Liberal aspect of politics for complete democracy and for religious and political liberty is won. The development of the Constitution which is transforming a centrally governed Empire into a self-governing partnership of Commonwealths is the beginning of a growth to which it is difficult to set limits. For it seems probable that the British Commonwealth of Nations of the future will have not only an Anglo-Boer, an Anglo-French, an Irish and purely British Dominions, but also an Indian Dominion and, at some later date, a Negro Dominion, one at least in West Africa, and an Anglo-Negro Dominion in the West Indies.

The sweeping political changes which these things imply have their parallels in the world outside the British Commonwealth of Nations, and they have their parallel in economic changes affecting every part of that Commonwealth and of the globe.

The world to-day is thus opening up all kinds of new possibilities of thought, of action and of methods of living to the ordinary citizen. He has these possibilities described for him in the Press, flashed before his eyes on the screen of the cinema and borne to him from all countries of the world instantaneously by the radio set in his own sitting-room.

Everywhere in the world there is an awareness of the possibilities of life more acute than can have ever existed before, and a belief, steadily growing in the minds of greater and greater

numbers of people, that the circumstances of man's life can be very extensively controlled.

This world stirring of the mind of man leads inevitably, in our complete democracy, to the moulding of politics to deal with the problems which cluster around the central problem of the condition of the people. And no party can hope to gain and keep the confidence and support of the voters if it does not address itself strenuously and courageously to solve problems which up to the present may have been thought almost insoluble. Nor can any party gain and keep the confidence and support of the voters if it does not plan big things in a world of swift changes and an almost visible world growth For the instinct of the race, the soul of the people, going in advance of the achieved, is determined to solve the major problems of wealth and poverty.

The central problem of all that group of problems that is expressed in the phrase 'the condition of the people' is the problem of standard of life. It is not the problem of unemployment, for that is secondary. The problem of unemployment for the individual at a high standard of life is the problem of a holiday or of spare time. But the problem for a man at a low standard of life is the problem of starvation and destruction of the amenities of a civilised life. And while the Government as such cannot solve this problem by an arbitrary regulation of wages plus nationalisation on a large scale, it can and should take a leading part in the formulation of a new economic policy

One of the most important changes in the life of this country has occurred during the last two years by the agreement of employers and trade union leaders to confer together on ways and means of improving the condition of industry as the result of the 'Mond-Turner' conferences This agreement has jettisoned, let us hope for ever, the old futile, dangerous, doctrinaire theory of the class war. But although this agreement gives hope of the formation of an industrial parliament, in which industry will settle its own affairs, it is essential that this movement should be supported from the political side. The political expression of this industrial movement should be the demand that the Government shall support, aid and assist in every way in its power a movement for high wages, high production, high efficiency, and corresponding low costs.

The wages of a very large proportion of the workers of this country are undoubtedly below the level of a reasonable civilised life. The living conditions of a large number of people in urban areas, not only in 'slums,' but others besides, are so bad as to be directly injurious to health, and they are directly the cause of disease which spreads from these areas outside. And nothing less than a movement for economic reorganisation of

industries on the basis of high wages and high efficiency can hope to cope with these left-over evils of the past 100 years. Nationalisation of this or that industry or service might help as far as those immediately affected were concerned, but only provided that the plan of nationalisation included high wages and high efficiency as part of its organisation. For it is not the management of industry in the mass that requires change; it is the economic reorganisation of a structure of industry that is built on low-grade ideas and low-grade standards. The transfer of the management of the railways, for example, from company directors to Government directors would in itself produce very little change for the good. On the other hand, the economic reorganisation on to the high wages basis might be carried out under private management just as efficiently as, or even more efficiently than, under public management. But no real party division can be made on the lines of for Socialism or against Socialism The contest between Socialism and anti-Socialism is only a contest of one set of doctrinaires against another. The ordinary world citizen intends to have the organisation which will work whether it is called nationalisation or private enterprise

There is a real difference between the doctrinaire Socialist who wishes to solve the problem of the standard of life by nationalisation of all industries and services, thus making the welfare of the individual dependent on State organisation, and the pure individualist, who is against State interference in industry at any time. But the dogmas of the Socialist theorist are being rapidly reshaped in contact with the realities of power and responsibility—that is, in the best condition for reshaping them—and the pure individualist is becoming a museum specimen. The theories of the doctrinaire Socialist may lead him to propound entirely impracticable schemes But the theory of the anti-Socialist can be described more shortly in Transatlantic phraseology—it is pure bunk. A national policy for Great Britain must be prepared to incorporate just so much of Socialist schemes as can be shown to be workable. In our country, where a Conservative Government has created a socialistic national electricity control and established a nationalised radio service, not to speak of coal subsidies, loans to the Colonies, and numerous other State economic activities, it is idle to talk of a gulf dividing the two sides of the House of Commons Indeed, Mr. Amery, in the course of the recent debate on the Address, went out of his way to deny the existence of any such gulf. The gulf exists in economic theories. But theories are provisional and made to be recast and restated as experience grows.

It is quite certain that a *régime* of high wages and high production cannot be imposed on industry by political action.

because it involves economic changes which cannot be made by political means. But the Government—any Government—can bring about a series of conferences in individual industries with the object of bringing about the necessary economic changes. We ought to have industrial conferences, Mond-Turner conferences, in specific industries, in every town, every county and every industrial area in Great Britain. The conferences should be voluntary, but in the case of unreasonable refusal of conference there should be given power to either side, employers or employed, to call for a Government inquiry. Undoubtedly this will horrify many people with a vision of industries disturbed, turned topsy-turvy, and shaken out of their old grooves But this process is exactly what is required by some industrial units in nearly all industries, and under the expert guidance of the leaders of trade unionism and of the employers the results could not fail to be good.

The fiscal controversy can safely be left in the hands of Parliament. Very few people can believe that any rearrangement of tariffs by itself could effect any very big scale change in industrial economic organisation. An improvement in the wage rates, and consequently in the standard of life, of the workers of the country in general would do more for British industry in one year than a high tariff could do in twenty. To get the industries of the country into a series of 'committee of reorganisation' conferences might very readily set Great Britain on a new industrial path. And let us get rid of the shibboleth of a 'living wage.' Anything below a living wage is frank sweating and should not be tolerated But there should be no limit of a 'living wage.' What is required is a 'saving wage,' which gives the worker a margin for saving by the accumulation of property. For the second stage of development of the high wages and high efficiency plan involves the making of opportunities for the wage-earner to acquire his own house and to have his own investments. A democratic State founded on a citizenhood the majority of whom were economically independent owners of some property and earning high wages would be much more secure than a State founded on a citizenhood the majority of whom were the employees of a State enterprise at a 'living wage' but without property.

It should be a definite part of a national political policy to create, or help to create, opportunities for the wage-earners to acquire property on easier terms than at present. The State might well turn part of its housing activity in the direction of making it easily possible for the great building societies, whose present work is so admirable, to offer conditions for house purchase which would enable any weekly rentpayer to purchase his own house. In the field of agriculture the State might

similarly assist by making it easy for any tenant farmer to acquire his own farm by instalment payments at the same rate as those he now pays in rent. Agriculture can be restored by making it possible for the would-be farmer to become his own proprietor, and legislation should certainly be introduced to make dealing in land easy, cheap and rapid.

With regard to investment in industry, there would seem to be no insuperable objection to the development of the principle of co-operative investment for the manual worker with the backing, if necessary, of Government credit to ensure its stability.

Let it not be thought that these suggestions of plans for the wider distribution of property will have the effect of negativing the development of Socialist thought. They will do nothing of the kind. They will prevent the grave danger of the creation of a huge class of State dependants which is implicit in some ill-considered socialistic plans. But they will not affect the national organisation of monopolies if it is thought desirable. Nor will such wider distribution of property obviate a drastic State-controlled reorganisation of the coal industry if those responsible are unable to bring their organisation up to the standard of national requirements

On the other hand, such wider distribution of property will in all probability very greatly increase the power, influence, and resources of the co-operative societies. The co-operative organisation is destined to take a larger and larger place in the national economy, and any national policy must take cognisance of that, not only with regard to internal affairs, but also to the larger scale operations of import and export The co-operative movement should indeed be enlisted on the side of the State and help it in economic reorganisation.

The industrial policy here suggested may be called the policy of rationalisation with a rising standard of life. Rationalisation with a falling standard will infallibly produce industrial crises, and rationalisation at present standards will create many grave problems. But the individual industrialist may be inclined to exclaim that he sees no prospect of rationalisation on the basis suggested and that higher wages would ruin his business. It is indeed quite probable that high wages would ruin the business of many enterprises if their present organisation continues. It is often the organisation that requires changing.

Some industries in the country are definitely organised on a parasitic basis—that is, they employ young people and women at less than a real subsistence wage which they are enabled to accept because they are living with their parents and sharing a common home. These industries are parasitic on those who

employ the main wage-earner of the family and also parasitic o
the community. For the employees of such industries live i
congested and poverty-stricken areas where the community's bi
for private charity, for hospital and Poor Law medical services
for 'relief' of various kinds, and for loss of working powe
through shortening of life is very heavy.

Such parasitic industries require to be put on a sound business footing and made to pay their own way without either sponging on other industries or on the community.

But there are other industries which are old-fashioned, out of date, or under-capitalised, and it is in these that conference would be of most service by indicating precisely what is needed for the purpose of bringing them into line with progressive development.

But beyond these questions of industrial reorganisation in Great Britain lies the dominating and determining question of markets. Where, the industrialist will ask, is the bigger market to be found which will be necessary if the plan of high wages and high production is to be carried out? Part of the answer is in the increased market created in Great Britain by the payment of higher wages. And eventually this market will be the most important one and will take a larger proportionate share of the trade of the country than it does at present. But for the beginning we must look overseas to either the foreign or the Imperial markets. To expect any very rapid increase in our share of foreign markets is merely Utopian, although those markets can and should be gradually and steadily increased. But the expectation of increasing the market for our goods in the overseas Empire, in the Dominions, in India and in the Colonies, particularly those of tropical Africa, is one which is reasonable, for it depends very largely on our own political action. We can, by the action of Government, control to a very great extent the direction and rate of development of the Colonies governed from Downing Street. It is, for example, in our power, by formulating plans for Colonial development in West Africa, to triple the present market by the building of the necessary roads and railways and other means of communication. With regard to India, it should be possible for us, acting in concert with the Government of India, to formulate plans for definitely raising the social condition and standard of life of the poorest classes of Indians. This change would have the immediate effect, as was pointed out by Mr. Snowden in the recent debate on the Address, of increasing the export trade of this country by many millions.

With the Dominions the problem is primarily one of providing opportunities for the creation of new wealth by new settlers migrating from this country. And this can best be done by

helping plans of development on a big scale while at the same time very greatly improving the machinery of migration.

An expanding market in the Dominions created by the work of settlers upon the unused natural resources of these countries, an expanding market in the Colonies, an expanding market in India, these are the new factors which can break the vicious circle of low wages, unemployment, low purchasing power, and low wages again in this country, and enable the process of industrial reorganisation to be carried out on the basis of high wages and high standards instead of on the basis of insufficiency.

The Government should put its whole force at the back of this movement for development of the great heritage of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and it should be definitely linked up with the plan of British industrial reorganisation. And the Government should, if it is required, be prepared to stand behind the industrialist as it stands behind plans of Empire development and help him to bridge over the difficulties of transition from the old order to the new

Nothing less than a programme of this wide scope will serve the needs of the modern world and meet the needs of the political situation. 'Ambulance' legislation is required on unemployment, pensions, and on relief services, but there is not likely to be any grave difference of opinion between the parties on these matters at the present time On foreign policy there is pretty general agreement in support of reduction of armaments, cultivation of friendly relationships, and the strengthening of the will to peace. But the industrial situation in this country cannot be met by either the imposition of a tariff or the removal of a tariff, and the idea of Empire trade revival by means of 'free trade within the Empire' may be a useful political war cry, but is firstly impracticable and secondly ineffective The Dominions cannot, even if they wished to do so, remove the tariffs which bring them so much revenue without completely upsetting and then recasting their whole system of taxation. And 'free trade within the Empire' could not engender the new development of unused resources which is the necessary condition for the creation of new wealth.

The programme proposed is drastic, and it involves the very active co-operation of the trade unions and the employers in this country and the British, Indian, and Dominion Governments in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But will anything less than this meet the case? Much of the plan will be socialistic, much of it individualistic, but it is a plan which will mobilise the resources of Great Britain and of the Empire for a great forward movement which, if successful, will establish us permanently at a higher standard of life. And that is what we need. In a

world full of riches the mass of men are too poor—not for lack of goods, but for lack of organisation. Is it beyond the capacity of the nation to create this organisation by a plan for the co-operative endeavour of State, employers, employed, and the representatives of Great Britain and of the Dominions and India overseas?

Give up the discussion of Socialism or anti-Socialism, give up fiscal peddling of minor patent remedies, give up patching and mending and cheeseparing. For the house we live in is a great house, the home of many races, with the shrines and worshipping places within it of much of the greatness of the past. It is for those of us who live in this house to dare to be worthy of our great possibilities and, casting aside fearlessly all shackles on the freedom of our thought and action, plan on a big scale for the future. The growing, developing, expanding British Commonwealth of Nations holds in its hands the possibilities of gifts for the future of the world even greater than Great Britain has given to the world in the past. But to be worthy of that future development we must solve the central problem of the standard of life in this country and raise the workers once and for all out of the abyss of evil conditions in which so many of them live and endure

L. HADEN GUEST.

NATIVE POLICIES IN WHITE AFRICA

PUBLIC opinion has leisure, now that the General Election is over, once more to focus itself upon the great world problems of which a Labour Government will now have the determination ; not least among them ranks the future of British Eastern Africa. Ever since the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission, as far back as 1927, this question was intermittently prominent, but latterly interest had tended to subside, for in view of the parliamentary situation it was obvious that Mr. Baldwin's Administration could only mark time. However, his eleventh hour dispatch to East Africa of Sir Samuel Wilson, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the unusual but seemingly successful guise of *rapporteur*, has been a very valuable step, and has done much to clear up the situation

Whatever the outcome for the territories visited by the Commission, the Report cannot but exercise a most far-reaching effect on the general principles that govern native policy, and this over areas much wider than those covered officially by the terms of reference Speaking as it does with all the weight of expert and impartial authority, it reaffirms the doctrine of native trusteeship, and, more important still, has indicated in broad outline the measures necessary to give effect thereto. As an idea, no doubt, the principle had been accepted for some years and lip service had been paid to it in East Africa and elsewhere, but in Kenya it was generally regarded with a mild derision, and even in England it was actually possible not so long ago for a spokesman for the late Government to stigmatise in Parliament 'trusteeship' and the 'paramountcy of native interests' as catchwords and to escape without rebuke. Now, however, for the first time in Colonial history we are able to form a clear conception of what is meant by a paramountcy of these interests and of the ends to which its acceptance must inevitably lead.

Whenever in the past the more and the less civilised races have made any continued contact, at least in lands where the former could hope to find a permanent abode, it is the weaker and less developed people that has always gone to the wall. Where he has not been extirpated by force of arms or by the operation

[illegible] *of these fatal gifts of* [illegible] *and disease, primitive man—red, brown, or* [illegible] *almost invariably succumbed to a kind of vital languor. His immemorial customs suppressed or drastically modified, his habits of thought disorientated, life has lost its savour for him, and with all his profoundly interesting cultures he has faded silently and all too swiftly away. So, for example, the red man failed in North America, the Australian aboriginal followed the example of the red man, and it is only in the very nick of time that the decline of the gifted and chivalrous Maoris of New Zealand has been arrested, if arrested it proves to be. Alone the hardy and prolific negro tribes of Africa have been able to persist and multiply under the domination of the whites, and this persistence has come to be dreaded by the domiciled ruling community as likely in the course of time to overthrow their present supremacy, political and economic. That is the essence of the native problem of to-day.

From the earliest days of European settlement at the Cape what has come to be known as the Colonial policy held the field. With the deep-seated instincts of hereditary slave owners, fortified by appeal to their cherished Old Testament scripture, the Boers had seen in themselves a chosen people with plenary authority from holy writ to smite hip and thigh the heathen of this ampler Canaan or to make of them hewers of wood and drawers of water for themselves. It was hardly to be expected that warlike and race-conscious peoples, however black their skin, would tamely concur in the application of such a doctrine at their own expense, and reprisals and rebellions were the inevitable result. Thus the convictions of the Colonists were strengthened by many a recollection of rapine, murder and outrage on isolated farms and settlements. To this very hour the public holiday of Dingaan's Day recalls throughout the Union the massacre of the emigrant Dutch families at Weenen (the place of weeping) in 1838, and the dreadful vengeance exacted by their compatriot Pretorius from the Zulu armies. To repress, in short, grew to be an obsession with them rather than the outcome of a reasoned and reasonable policy. The attempts of missionaries on the spot and of a high-principled though parsimonious officialdom in London to obtain a measure of justice for the South African native were fiercely resented by the united public opinion of the Colony as an outrage on the most elementary rights of property. Rather than submit to such intolerable restraints the pioneers, or *voortrekkers*, were ready to shake from off their feet the dust of Cape Colony and fare forth into the unknown north and east, where they might hope to found independent republics with full liberty to pursue what seemed to them the fundamental principles

[illegible]ation; for us of to-day an unconscionable domination over [illegible] fellow-men.

[illegible] Dutch this Colonial policy may have been in its origin, but it [illegible] alas, one of the few points on which the rival races have consistently thought alike; for to the British settler from 1820 onwards the ruthless exploitation of the kaffir became as much an article of his creed as to his Boer neighbours. The genius of a Cecil Rhodes might enunciate the ideal of equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambezi, but to the Colonist, whatever his blood, a slogan infinitely more attractive was to be found in that basic clause of the Transvaal Constitution which openly proclaimed: 'The republic admits of no equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or State.'

The South African War of 1899, amidst much good and much evil, did without doubt afford one of those opportunities, all too rare in the history of mankind, when it is possible to put back the clock. The conquered republics became for a time Crown Colonies, directly controlled by Parliament through the Secretary of State, and it should not have been beyond the capacity of Imperial statesmanship to take proper steps to protect the essential interests of the numerous and wholly pro-British Bantu races, to secure for them a share of parliamentary representation and adequate reserves of land.

Liberalism has often prided itself on the admittedly generous grant of self-government to the Transvaal and Orange Free State by the Ministry of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, but it was a generosity that stopped short at the bar of colour, and for the black nothing was done The issue was evaded when the foundation of a just and permanent settlement might have been laid, and the favourable moment passed, as it seems, for good and all. Now as the years roll by the situation only becomes more and more uneasy. Attempts to effect a segregation of races reveal them as inextricably interfused, both on an economic and a territorial basis: the black 5,000,000 with but 12 per cent. of the land in their possession, the white 1,500,000 resolutely clinging to their wholly disproportionate share, but utterly dependent on the black for its effective exploitation, colour bar Bills deliberately framed to prevent the negro from acquiring that reward which in an open market his skill and industry would inevitably earn, the negro unconsciously wielding an effective weapon of revenge in the cheap labour which he is thereby compelled to give, and depressing in his turn the lower grades of European society, until to-day there exist 150,000 poor whites, proud of their blood indeed, but destitute, unemployed, and well-nigh unemployable. Politically, save in the Cape, the black is utterly voiceless, and even in the courts of law it is admitted that justice cannot be

done to him. The position has been frankly if crudely stated by one of the Colonists themselves: 'The dominant thing has not been justice at all; it becomes a question of the preservation of white civilisation. If we want to hold our own we must exterminate the native.'

The idea of a trusteeship by the ruling Powers for the native races of Africa may be regarded as the latest development of those travailings of the British conscience which manifested themselves at the outset in the agitation for the abolition of slavery The experience of the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth century on the West Coast, where for climatic reasons there could be no clash of economic interest between black and white, conclusively showed that the negro, under guidance, was capable of working out his own salvation. As a producer he could supply those tropical products—cocoa, cotton, palm oil, and the like—of which the modern world was in constant and increasing need; as an administrator he could govern with an adequate degree of justice and integrity vast masses of his fellow-countrymen under a system of indirect British rule such as that evolved by Sir Frederick (now Lord) Lugard for Northern Nigeria.

But here it should be noticed that, in considering these complex questions, justice and right may not in fairness be put entirely on the one side, a blind self-centred rule of force upon the other. This is no clear-cut struggle between the powers of light and of darkness That self-development for native peoples is a fine ideal who will deny? But let us remember this. The negro, working in his own time, on his own land, and for his family and himself, has proved a more effective economic force than as a unit on the labour roster of the capitalist, however benevolent and efficient his organisation may be. Again, the system of indirect rule is inherently just, but it was also cheap, and that in days when England and the guardians of her Treasury had no money to spare for ambitious schemes of administration and exploitation in these undeveloped estates of the Empire. On the other hand, the exponents of the Colonial policy have been confronted by the nightmare vision of a future when they should find themselves wholly overborne by the relentlessly increasing numbers of the negro races, perpetuators of an inferior culture. In deep sincerity they have felt themselves to be the guardians of white civilisation, with all its achievements, all its aspirations, and to them it is an imperative, nay sacred, duty to hand on undimmed the torch to those who shall come after them. They too are trustees, but of a different heritage.

Long before the war these sharply conflicting political con-

ceptions were in juxtaposition in Eastern Africa. Of set design Kenya, then the East African Protectorate, had been developed as a white man's country from the outset, though there was also a place in the sun for the Indian immigrant, by whose labour the Uganda railway had been constructed, and who monopolised the retail trade of the country. Settlers from South Africa were officially canvassed and invited to make for themselves permanent homes in the cool and empty spaces of the highlands; indeed, a large area was at one time offered to the Zionist societies to be a national home for the Jews. The natives on their side were to be taught to earn the money for their wants and taxes by working as unskilled labourers on the farms and plantations of the Colonists rather than by growing for themselves commercially valuable products on the reserves, by no means always adequate, to which they were confined. So little regard was there for the preservation of the tribal state of society that an early Governor of very great experience went so far as to give it as his opinion that East Africa would probably become in a short time a white man's country in which native questions would present but little interest.

In the adjacent protectorate of Uganda, with its generally lower altitudes and consequently more tropical climate, the capacities of the inhabitants as individual producers were rapidly developed; indeed, there was no other alternative. By growing a valuable and increasing cotton crop the country, despite the initial handicap of the disastrous epidemic of sleeping sickness, began to pay its way and forge ahead. The twin territories, it may be recalled, were orthodox Crown Colonies, each ruled autocratically by a separate Governor, who, in Kenya, was assisted by an advisory council, partly composed of unofficial representatives nominated at his discretion from various interests.

Then came the war, and at long last a victory which vitally transformed the whole situation. For now to British Eastern Africa there was joined the vast area of Tanganyika Territory, a virgin field for either policy, and, climatically speaking, capable of a response to both. It constituted, moreover, the last link needed to unite a chain of territories under a homogeneous British control, which now extended without a break from the Nile to the Zambezi.

Nor was this all. For those who had emerged from the maelstrom of the world conflict the return to normality was neither swift nor easy. If in truth England was to be made a land fit for heroes to live in, then in Kenya, her youngest Colony, the settler felt he might reasonably claim, as a reward for his undoubted sacrifices, a definite instalment of the home rule which had gradually become his political aim. So much was readily

conceded by the powers that be, and early in 1919 he acquired the right to elect, on the basis of a simple adult franchise, a considerable proportion of the members of the local Legislature. At this point, however, his troubles began. From India there had long been coming an insistent demand for avenues of overseas expansion, a demand likewise based on loyal endeavour and one to which strong nationalist sentiment imparted the keenest edge. If Tanganyika could not equitably be handed over to her for exploitation as an Indian Colony, a suggestion at one time seriously mooted, she was at the very least entitled to the fullest share in the political and economic development of the adjacent territory, which, but for the labours of her children in years gone by, could hardly have come into articulate existence. For these demands there was from many aspects a good deal to be said, but promptly the grisly spectre of race domination raised its head, and they were fiercely resented as utterly destructive of Western civilisation. The *amour propre* of cultures and races was soon involved, and passion rose to fever heat both in East Africa and outside Armed rebellion was the threat of one party, forcible repression the reply of the other

In this clash between the immigrant peoples the interests of the native population were for the moment entirely overlooked; nevertheless it was here that an amicable solution was at last found. The Imperial Government, conscious of right on both sides, was only too anxious not to precipitate an issue fraught with the gravest of dangers to the existence of the Empire; for if India was supporting one party South Africa would certainly be behind the other And so after much anxious discussion in London there was proclaimed in the celebrated White Paper of 1923 the doctrine of trusteeship for the native races. East Africa was not to be administered in the interests of either European or Asiatic; the welfare of the native inhabitants was to be paramount, the care of the Imperial Government and of its agents alone. Such a pronouncement was completely in harmony alike with the prevailing policy in Uganda and with the mandatory obligations undertaken in Tanganyika, but to see it thus starkly applied to Kenya was in truth a new departure. Was it not there that only just before the war a solemn treaty with the loyal Masai tribe, to hold good 'so long as the Masai as a race shall exist,' had been abrogated, after a mere seven years' currency, in the interests of a closer settlement, and all redress in the courts of the land denied, upon a legal technicality, to the peacefully protesting chiefs? Nor did this dubious episode stand alone by any means. But memories are short, and in the altered circumstances of the time the compromise offered an honourable way out of the *impasse* into which all parties had allowed themselves to

drift. It was thankfully accepted as such, and calm reigned once more.

It was not long, however, before the possible developments of this agreed solution began to trouble the more far-sighted among the settler party. *Their* views had remained entirely unchanged —responsible government for the European community of Kenya, with the right to determine within the widest limits the lives and fortunes of all within her borders. 'The African would be given,' so ran a manifesto from the Political Convention, 'that fair share in the development of East Africa which those fully conversant with his abilities alone know how to award with justice.' And his ambiguous benefit, it was assumed, with unconscious humour as the facts were to disclose, 'he would prefer to the vicarious trusteeship of people who have never seen a native.' The man-in-the-Nairobi-street was less diplomatic. 'He did not pose,' it was recorded, 'as settling in Africa as a trustee for anybody in particular except himself, his flag and his children.' There is no need, however, to doubt that, within limits such as these, a square deal for the native was honestly intended, but this was a very different conception from the paramountcy of native interests as contemplated in the Imperial Proclamation, and difficulties clearly lay ahead. It might perhaps be conceivable that, official pronouncements to the contrary notwithstanding, the 12,000 white inhabitants of Kenya should obtain responsible government in a not too distant future, and with it the control of 2,500,000 natives, great as would be the disparity in the relative numbers; Southern Rhodesia would always afford a precedent. But, however large the future influx of European immigrants into the country, the vision of a self-governing Kenya, dominating the whole of East Africa with its 10,000,000 and more blacks, was clearly preposterous. Yet if this was not to be, then the ideals of white civilisation would inevitably be overwhelmed by force of wealth and numbers in the adjacent native States. Besides, there was the perpetual bugbear of a change of Government at home. Even under a Tory Administration the doctrine of native trusteeship had been promulgated. To what lengths might it not be pressed with Labour in the saddle?

Picture, on the other hand, some scheme of East African federation, the settlers' assent purchased by the boon of responsible government, and Nairobi as the seat of government for the future Governor-General. Surely it would be perfectly feasible as a subsequent step to bring into a grand East African Union the already autonomous Southern Rhodesia, isolated as she would otherwise find herself between the rival combinations to the north and south. With this achieved the predominance of white ideals would be assured; the ship of federalism, anchored stem and

[illegible] in the self-government of Rhodesia and the [illegible] majority of Kenya, could no longer drift, and civilised policies would radiate out from these two centres unprejudiced by fears of the future. Such were the sentiments and such the actual metaphors of local leaders of political thought at the time.

Early in 1927 Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor of Kenya, much experienced in British politics, came home officially to attend a conference of Colonial administrators. Nothing, of course, has transpired as to his representations, but within a few months of his arrival the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission was announced. This step is in itself significant when we recollect that as recently as 1925 another Commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of no less an authority than the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, had traversed these same territories and presented an illuminating and exhaustive report. More remarkable still, they had gone carefully into this very question of federation, condemned it roundly, and submitted alternative proposals to effect the necessary degree of inter-State co-operation. Despite all this, however, their successors were now enjoined once again to consider and report on the possibilities, and more especially—here lies the crux of the situation—to make recommendations for the closer association in the responsibilities and trusteeship of government of the domiciled immigrant communities. There were not wanting those who saw in this sequence of events something ominous and suggestive. The trusteeship of Great Britain for these vast numbers of Bantu peoples might perhaps be preserved in theory, while the execution of the policy was gradually suffered to devolve upon the local white population in complete executive control. Was that the implied solution? It was noted also that Mr. Amery himself had but lately said, speaking in the House of Commons, that, should white settlement continue, no Government could ultimately resist the demand for self-government. There seems to have been some ground for these speculations

Early in 1927 the Hilton Young Commission travelled over the length and breadth of the East African territories for several months on end, taking evidence of every sort and description; settlers, officials, missionaries, Africans, Arabs, Asiatics, ruling chiefs of native States, delegates from chambers of commerce and associations of every political hue, all had their say, voicing, with the utmost freedom, hopes and anxieties. Of these the salient feature was the suspicion of every man for his political neighbour. Vertically, Uganda and Tanganyika were clearly apprehensive of any closer connexion with the Protectionist measures and autonomous ideals of Kenya; Kenya feared lest she be overweighted in council and deflected from her chosen

betray by the combination of her neighbours. Horizontally, the white man was nervous of the possible pretensions of the black; the black with complete unanimity loudly proclaimed his dread of any cloud which should threaten to dim those beneficent rays which shone on him direct from Downing Street. Unless their own future was to be entirely safeguarded, each section preferred that the *status quo* should be maintained. The Commission listened, questioned, observed, and in due course presented their momentous Report. And what, in a single sentence, is its message? They proclaim and reiterate on every page, and with all their authority behind it, the doctrine of Africa for the Africans. Balaam was called in, if not to curse, still mildly to disparage, but, as in the past, he has remained to utter a most emphatic blessing.

It is not merely that the paramountcy of native interests is restated and defined in relation to the legitimate sphere of the settlers, but we are also given clear indications of the way in which the policy should be applied, indications from which, incidentally, it is possible to gain a shrewd idea of former sins of omission. The natives must receive in general fair value for their contribution to the revenues of the State (In 1923 it was calculated that but 25 per cent of the taxes paid by them was spent exclusively for their benefit) Fully adequate agricultural, veterinary, medical, and educational services are to be maintained inside their legally guaranteed reserves as well as out of them; such services to be staffed by a reasonable proportion of the most capable technical officers properly equipped for their different duties, an equal share in road and railway construction given Politically the greatest measure of local self-government must be accorded of which the different tribes are found to be capable The permanence of white civilisation, it is true, is to be safeguarded, that fundamental for which the settlers have throughout contended that a strong European settlement is essential; but the Report maintains that the true basis for this is to be found rather in the establishment of a rule of justice, which shall enlist the loyalty of the native peoples and strengthen their confidence in British rule Such a justice can be secured only through the agency of an independent Civil Service responsible in the last resort to the Imperial Government. 'Experience has taught mankind that a man, however just and honourable, ought not to be made a judge in his own cause.'

As was only natural, the very definite conclusions at which the Commission arrived proved a deep disappointment to those who had seen visions of self-government. This showed itself at the outset in some intemperate criticism, and an injudicious telegram contemplating 'vigorous action' was dispatched to the

Secretary of State; but wiser [illegible] and the exploratory mission of Sir Samuel Wilson, was everywhere received in a spirit of co-operation, which has, it seems, allowed him to bring it to a successful conclusion. He has been able to discover amid a welter of conflicting interests that common ground of mutual accord without which it had been universally agreed from the outset that no progress towards a closer union would be possible.

There is as yet no official pronouncement on the score, but briefly the solution is reported to be this: to put the essentially common economic services—railways, customs, defence, research and the like—under the control of the new central executive authority, a step which is on all hands admitted to be advisable, and to leave within the sphere of the component States the contentious issue of native policy If such a compromise is locally acceptable, there is no reason to cavil at it in England. The Imperial Government will be equally able to secure the acceptance of its views whether the direction of native policy is co-ordinated under the hand of the East African High Commissioner or remains the immediate charge of the territorial Governors, for all alike are bound by the instructions of the Secretary of State. This position, it furthermore appears—a happy augury for the future—the settler party in Kenya is ready to accept, since the retention by the Governor of an effective control, by means of the powers of certification and veto, is everywhere recognised as necessary and proper. Clearly there is a new spirit abroad.

For East Africa, then, the outlook is bright Let the fundamentals of the Report be accepted, and on that foundation may be raised the firm structure of the State to be. Granted that the primary obligation is to the native, a duty almost as pressing, and in practice hardly to be distinguished from it, is the complementary development of all inhabitants, irrespective of colour, race, or creed, to their fullest capacity. Such is the meaning of the accepted dual policy of recent years, the essential corollary in East Africa of the principle of trusteeship for the native, and under its ægis the settler, no less than the tribesman, will find ample scope for the realisation of every reasonable ambition.

In such circumstances, indeed, it is all to the good that the various racial communities should be admitted, as fitting opportunity arises, into the responsibilities of government; only so can they obtain a political education and learn the futility of sterile opposition. And here it is well to recollect the emphatic tributes that have been paid by both Commissions to the qualities of the settlers: 'Kenya has been fortunate in the type of settler she has attracted. . . . There is a genuine endeavour to take the long

...ne.'* And again:† 'As individuals the British settlers are in no way inferior in integrity or in their sense of justice to the officials.' They are just ourselves—in Africa.

This does not, however, mean the inevitability of a white responsible Government later on. If the 'mixed' State of the future, based on the free development of all within its borders, is to endure, it must ultimately award political power to the various races of which it is composed in proportion to the totality of service rendered by each. Until, therefore, the black is qualified to exercise the share of power to which by his contribution to the commonweal he is entitled, his prospective interest must be effectively safeguarded by impartial authority. Nor need that day be so far distant as some would imagine. The Gold Coast has already shown to what height its sons can rise in Aggrey of Achimota, champion of race conciliation, whose recent death was lamented in three continents. Will the peoples of East Africa, who have already produced statesmen and leaders like the Masai Lenana or the Muganda Apolo Kagwa, lag long behind now that opportunity will be within their grasp?

In this partial outline of the more recent developments there are matters of great importance to which all reference has purposely been omitted, the latest phase of the Indian question in Kenya is one, the possibility of mandatory complications in Tanganyika another. But with these problems, grave though they are, we are not here immediately concerned; for it is the primary purpose of this paper rather to make clear the irreconcilable differences between the principles laid down in the Hilton Young Report—principles from which no British Government henceforth will ever think to deviate—and the parallel native policy in force in South Africa to-day.

It is true that with this latter Great Britain is now no longer concerned. The duties and responsibilities have been assumed by the white inhabitants, tenacious of their rights as a self-governing dominion, and intolerant of criticism or suggestion. But we are all gradually learning the outstanding lesson that the League of Nations has to teach, and that is the increasing importance of world public opinion, even in the domestic policies of peoples, a pressure impalpable indeed, but therefore all the harder to withstand. In these native questions public opinion is overwhelmingly in accord with the views of the Hilton Young Commission, and it represents not merely the sentiment of England, but, expressed through the system of Colonial mandates, the considered opinion of modern civilisation as well.

Let us then summarise the contrast, visualise the inevitable repercussions. The Union of South Africa, a land of repression;

[illegible] Indian States [illegible] Kadalie, has [illegible] the Bantu labour forces of S[illegible] which is causing such grave perturb[illegible] that they have forcibly reminded its [illegible]. Who can foresee the outcome when once the [illegible] the power of numbers in combination [illegible] the weapon of the strike? Only a few months [illegible] the white railwaymen imposed grave [illegible] hardships on both Southern and Northern Rhodesia by the [illegible], and so most conclusively demonstrated its [illegible] to the [illegible] tribal natives who have thereby suffered.

Nor has the result of the recent General Election in South Africa done anything to alleviate the situation. The return of the Nationalist Party to power was signalized by native rioting in Natal and virulent political agitation in Cape Town itself, for the Bantu peoples are now apparently convinced that their hopes of any substantial measure of justice are vain. It is true that General Hertzog, the Premier, is not insensitive to the dangers of the situation, and that he has specially selected as the Minister for Native Affairs a politician with a personal knowledge of the African and a wide reputation for fair-mindedness. Still, one or even two swallows will not make a summer, and success must depend, not on the benevolent intentions of the leaders, but on the distance to which they can induce their reluctant backveld followers to go with them, and masses of these, so *The Times* South African correspondent has not hesitated to write, are hardly fit to cast a vote.

What of the ultimate outcome? the reader may well ask; what will result from the impact of these opposing principles, this irresistible force, that immovable obstacle? It is one thing, however, to see the writing on the wall, and quite another to make known the interpretation thereof; nor is it expected of the chronicler that he should profess the diviner gifts of the seer. Yet, if a guess may be hazarded at the future, it is this. Unless there appear a radical and all unlikely change in the attitude of the ruling peoples, a change made manifest in practical measures of the most far-reaching nature, interracial conflict will inevitably arise within the Union. Whether this will flare into open revolt or smoulder sullenly in passive resistance and pro-

[illegible] of the white as a [illegible]. [illegible]ation relief might ultimately be found in the [illegible] the country into two more or less equal and [illegible]dent portions, the territorial segregation of the [illegible]ne, of Boer and Briton in the other. This would [illegible]eroic remedy, but at the least the feasibility of such [illegible]sfers of population has been amply demonstrated [illegible] in the Balkans and elsewhere. As for the actual [illegible] could be no fairer method than that devised by [illegible] of the great South Africans, President Kruger, to [illegible]-disputed inheritance between two rival litigants. [illegible] divide and the other choose, or if it is preferred, the [illegible]rst divide and the one shall then have the choice.

J. de G. Delmege.

HUNGARY AND THE HABSBURG RESTORATION

The restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy in Hungary is an issue of vital importance just now in Hungarian politics, and rather late in the day some Foreign Offices are discovering that their intervention in what would appear to the unbiassed onlooker to be a matter of purely domestic concern has been as little helpful to their own as to Hungarian interests Public opinion in Hungary is very much divided over that issue On one common ground, however, all Magyars stand united they bitterly resent any dictation from outside in their choice of a monarch to fill the vacant throne should the nation eventually decide on restoring the monarchy Is the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy in Hungary to be or not to be ?—that is a question which only the Magyars can answer The last word assuredly will not rest with the chancelleries of the Great Powers

In conversation with representative Hungarians abroad, not necessarily official, discussion always centres on this problem. Your interlocutor may be a Conservative or a Liberal, an Independent, a National Democrat or a Social Democrat, a Christian Socialist or a Christian Economist, he may belong to any other of the numerous political parties that have sprung up in Hungary since the war, but however far he may wander, he never fails to return to the question of the restoration, the solution of which one way or another he considers to be of growing urgency for the State. In the following article I endeavour to reflect the more important of these views, and to sum up certain conclusions that may be fairly drawn from them after a careful consideration of the facts. In doing this I should like to express my very deep acknowledgment to Mr Edmond Demeter, a brilliant young Hungarian critic, whose work should be better known in England, for most valuable information he has given me on the internal affairs of Hungary. That on many points Mr. Demeter will query not only the interpretation of the facts brought forward, but my very statement of the same, I have no doubt. Personally I should welcome such criticism.

Of the present political groupings in Hungary perhaps the most important, from its widespread ramifications, far-reaching

activities and potential significance, if not from its actual organisation, is the Alliance of the Holy Crown, commonly referred to as the Legitimist Party, whose able and respected chief is Count Albert Apponyi, the 'Grand Old Man' of Hungarian politics. The Legitimist Party stands for the immediate recognition of Otto, the fifteen-years-old son of the late King Charles IV. (the Emperor Charles I. of Austria), as the rightful King of Hungary. Otto is now 'reigning' abroad—in Spain, where he is living with his mother, the Empress Zita.

An interesting figure is that of Count Apponyi. He is one of the very few statesmen now left in Hungary whose authority and influence transcend mere political differences. His profound knowledge of foreign affairs has won him probably much greater recognition abroad than at home. Although he is in constant opposition to the present Bethlen Government, which has carried through the measure known as the 'dethronisation' of the Habsburg dynasty, although he regularly votes against the budget in order to register his disapproval of the Government, yet he represents that Government on the League of Nations—and none better. Before the League Count Apponyi is not the leader of a party, nor merely the representative of a Government. He is a Hungarian, for whom country is before party or Government, and in the bitter ordeal through which she has been passing since the signing of the Trianon Treaty Hungary has found no more valiant, no more ardent, no more eloquent defender of her national rights before the other nations.

Seeming contradictions in the interesting personality of Count Apponyi contrast strangely with very real contradictions in the attitude of the existing Hungarian Government under the presidency of Count Stephen Bethlen. Hungary is still a constitutional monarchy, but the throne remains vacant. The present chief of the State, Admiral Horthy, has been elected regent by the National Assembly. He is the head of the army, now called the Royal National Guard. On every side one may read the word 'Royal' prefixed to the designation of Government offices and institutions. Republican propaganda is as severely repressed in Hungary to-day as ever it was under the old *régime*. The position is, in effect, a peculiar one, and to understand it in its true bearings one must turn back to events in comparatively recent history, the significance of which may not be so clear to us as it is to Hungarians.

The revolution that broke out in Hungary, as in Austria, at the end of the Great War led to the formal proclamation of the King's abdication from the throne in November 1918. Four days previously he had abdicated from the imperial throne. The terms 'abdication' and 'abdicated' are differently interpreted by

Legitimists and their opponents. The former declare that King Charles IV. never actually abdicated his claim to the Hungarian throne, that he merely resigned. From the point of view of practical politics resignation and abdication are much the same thing, but juridically they are quite different. Hungary was soon declared a republic under the presidency of that ambitious aristocrat Count Michael Karolyi. The provisional Government set up to organise the general elections for the National Constituent Assembly was, however, very quickly overthrown by the Bolsheviks, whose brief spell of power was in turn suddenly brought to an end by the Whites under Admiral Horthy. Early in 1920 the Constituent Assembly was duly summoned It was almost entirely Conservative in its composition. It was this assembly that in March elected Admiral Horthy as regent of the kingdom pending the solution of the succession problem.

In March and October of the next year, 1921, two fruitless attempts were made by the rash and ill fated ex-King to regain his throne In his own interests Charles would have been better advised to bide his time patiently, instead of forcing the hands of a Government that was by no means ill-disposed towards him. After the second attempt, which was frustrated by the vigorous action of the Prime Minister, Count Bethlen, the Government found itself faced with an ultimatum from the Great Powers, inspired by the Little Entente, demanding the exclusion of all members of the Habsburg family from succession to the Hungarian throne. In November of the same year the Dethronisation Law was passed, which declared that, although Hungary was still a monarchy, the Government no longer recognised any claim to the throne from the side of Charles IV, that the laws hitherto regulating the succession were now rescinded, and that the right of electing a King of Hungary was henceforth vested solely in the Hungarian nation, which would declare its choice in due course. In the preamble to this Act it was distinctly pointed out that the Hungarian Government had yielded to pressure from the Great Powers in this connexion

At the time of the passing of the Dethronisation Law the Government represented a coalition of a number of parties in sympathy with the general policy of Count Bethlen, the Prime Minister and leader of the Party of National Unity This party, whose full official title is the Party of Christian Small Landholders and Citizens, is as a voting body the strongest political organisation in the State, and can rely on the support of such heterogeneous political elements as the democratic Christian Socialists, whose best-known leader was the late Mgr. Geisswein, the more Conservative Christian Socialists led by Charles Huszar, the ultra-Nationalist followers of Julius Gömbös, leader of the

National Party of Independence, a sturdy Protestant and pronounced Anti-Semite, and even groups of Jews and Monarchists, who believe that for the moment their interests are best served by the 'wait and see' policy of Count Bethlen.

At the outbreak of the revolution the Party of Small Landholders, led by Szabo-Nagyatadi, began to play a decisive *rôle* in the political life of the country. As nearly 50 per cent. of the Constituent Assembly was made up of this party, Count Bethlen realised the importance of having it on his side. The amalgamation of the Party of Small Landholders with the National Christian Party resulted in the coalition called the National Party of Unity. When we speak of the small landholders it should be remembered that where the agricultural interests of the country were concerned the Habsburg Monarchy, certainly up to the revolution of 1848, had generally discriminated in favour of the landed magnates and large landholders as against the smaller landholders and the peasantry In Hungary, just as in Prussia, landed property tended to accumulate more and more in the hands of a small privileged class, which, while it drew immense revenues from the land, could not justify on economic grounds the advantages it enjoyed at the expense of the tiller of the soil Moreover, the landed aristocracy was very much under the influence of the Court at Vienna, and was gradually getting out of touch with true Hungarian life, traditions, and inspirations From this point of view the less favoured native had but little reason to entertain a strong affection for the Habsburg rulers

Religious differences have also had a certain influence in the same direction The population of Hungary is preponderantly Catholic (65 per cent), the Protestants (27 per cent) and Jews (5 per cent) forming a small but economically powerful minority. Sectarian animosity has never been an outstanding feature of the Hungarian character, and whenever it has been displayed in the past it has proved to be of distinctly alien origin It was politico-clerical, not national, interests that inspired the policy of Bishop (later Cardinal) Kollonich, the Imperial Chancellor, when towards the end of the seventeenth century he established the Neo-Acquisita Commission to organise the settlement of the Hungarian territories just recovered from the Turkish yoke, and to decide on many questions of disputed claims that had arisen in those turbulent times The Habsburgs had just succeeded in wresting from the grip of the Ottoman sultans at least one-third of the whole of Hungary, comprising what was agriculturally the richest portion of the country, namely, Central and Southern Hungary, which had become part of the Turkish dominions so far back as 1526 During this long period the Turks had paid little or no attention to the religious differences between the 'infidels'

of their Hungarian possessions, which were mostly peopled by small peasant landholders and landed magnates, among whom Protestantism had gained a firm footing. In the rest of Hungary Protestantism had had very little chance of spreading under the rule of the very Catholic Habsburgs When it came to the settlement of the newly restored territories the Protestant element on the spot was very specially marked out for persecution by Cardinal Kollonich's Commission

Count Leopold Kollonich (1531-1607), a Croatian by origin, had been a distinguished military leader and grandmaster of the Maltese Order before he entered the Church, where he was to find a wider field for the exercise of his undoubted talents. His militant religious zeal was very notably displayed in his persistent efforts to extirpate heresy in Hungary These efforts were, unfortunately, associated with a brutal and insensate anti-Magyar policy, where every opportunity was seized to Germanise Hungary Of a predecessor of Cardinal Kollonich in the Primacy of Hungary, Cardinal Pazmany, a learned Jesuit, the creator of the Hungarian literary language whose Hungarian patriotism was no less ardent than his religious zeal, it was said that he loved the Magyar in the heretic Kollonich, on the other hand, hated the Magyar in the heretic His aim was to supersede as much as possible the Hungarian population, especially on the southern borders of the country, by colonies and 'plantations' of naturalised foreigners Croatian peasants etc, and thus create a strong Catholic ascendancy on whose allegiance to the Habsburg interests in Vienna absolute reliance could be placed The Hungarians, like the Irish, have long memories where the acquisition of land is concerned and to this day they have no reason to be grateful to Habsburg imperialism for the legacies its Neo-Acquisita and similar policies have bequeathed them in the form of racial problems When facts like these are borne in mind it is not difficult to explain the attitude of indifference, if not of actual hostility, adopted by many Hungarians, Catholic as well as Protestant, towards the Habsburg dynasty when the dethronisation issue came up for decision in 1921

The Legitimist view of the dethronisation measure is that it is ineffective, because (1) it is directly opposed to a fundamental law of the Hungarian State, namely, the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723; and because (2) it ignores the constitutional principle of the Holy Crown, from which all law and order in the land have their source and origin The Pragmatic Sanction! The Holy Crown! How quaintly these terms sound to modern ears.

What is the significance of the Pragmatic Sanction? Again we must turn back the page of history The first Habsburg King of Hungary was Ferdinand I He was elected by the Estates of

Hungary (the magnates, the nobility, and the clergy) after the death of Louis II. at the Battle of Mohacz in 1526, when the forces of Soliman the Magnificent overran the country. For 500 years Hungary had always elected her kings, and this continued up to 1687, when the Hungarian Diet agreed to accept the automatic succession of the Habsburg kings in the direct male line. On the failure of the male line Hungary was to be free to reassume her ancient prerogative and elect a king freely as heretofore. The contingency was likely to arrive in the reign of Charles III. (the Emperor Charles VI. of the Holy Roman Empire), who had daughters—one of these being the future Empress Maria Theresa—but no son Accordingly in 1713 Charles, as emperor, had issued a personal ordinance, a so-called Pragmatic Sanction, regulating the law of succession for all the dominions of the Habsburg house. The regulation was formally accepted by the Hungarian Diet in 1723 It declared that Hungary was to form an integral and inseparable part of the Habsburg dominions so long as a male *or female* heir of Charles III or of his predecessors, Joseph I. or Leopold II , could be found to succeed to the throne The right of succession was always to be in accordance with the Habsburg family laws

And what is this constitutional principle of the Holy Crown to which Hungarian Legitimists attach such importance? Stephen, the first King of Hungary, received the crown from the hands of Pope Sylvester II The Holy Crown, as it is called, is a symbol of the relations between the king and the nation. The king alone, the people alone, cannot make or unmake laws. They are inseparable members of one body or constitution, which alone can create laws, from which all right and justice proceed. This constitutional principle has been at the basis of all legislative and juridical acts in Hungary for nearly 1000 years. The Legitimists maintain that to do away with this principle, which has been for so long the best safeguard of the interests of the nation as a whole, is to destroy the very foundation of legality in the State, and to open the door to every kind of arbitrary abuse of power—a cogent argument indeed in these days of dictatorships, proletarian and other, where the precedents set up do not make for respect of law and order and stability, not to mention continuity.

On the ground of successon, however, the opponents of the Legitimists, especially the 'free election' Monarchists, can argue that the Habsburg claim to the Hungarian throne has lapsed automatically, since, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, the King of Hungary must be not only the ruler of Austria, but he must hold all the possessions of the monarchy intact (*indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter*). The position, as a famous Hungarian jurist, Desider Polonyi, maintains, no longer ho'ds. Not only has the

Habsburg rule come to an end in Austria, but vast portions of the Hungarian possessions are now irretrievably lost.

It is not, however, so much in this particular direction that the explanation of the differences between the Legitimists and their opponents on the throne issue is to be sought. The problem is by no means so simple as it seems, and it is complicated by a variety of factors, some having their root in historical conditions that are peculiarly Hungarian, others being of a more personal complexion. In this connexion the attitude of Count Bethlen, the present Prime Minister of Hungary, towards the Habsburg restoration is of particular interest. Under the old *régime* he was a prominent political figure, although he never held office. His loyalty to the Habsburg house was unquestioned. Yet it was his direct orders to the Royal National Guard that brought about the defeat of King Charles near Budapest on his second attempt to regain the throne, October 1921. The King, as we know, was handed over to the Great Powers, who had him interned in the Madeiras, where he subsequently died. Friends and admirers of Count Bethlen assert that in the circumstances he acted wisely, and that the unfortunate King was alone to blame in forcing a premature solution of what was already in the mind of Count Bethlen and the regent, but which could not be realised so soon, owing, more especially, to the menacing attitude of the Little Entente. This attitude had already been made clear a few months before Charles's defeat, when Hungary applied for admission to membership of the League of Nations. On that occasion the Rumanian representative, Take Jonescu, argued vehemently against the proposal. Hungary, he maintained, should be admitted to membership only when she would agree to the dethronisation of the Habsburg house. The late Lord Phillimore characterised this pressure exercised on the Hungarian Government as an act of infamy from the point of view of national rights. Anyhow, Count Bethlen yielded to the pressure, and thus, it is claimed, saved Hungary from national extinction. But more fiery, if less astute, Hungarians cannot and will not forget this last affront to their national pride.

From another point of view the peculiar attitude of Count Bethlen towards the Habsburg Monarchy—deliberately non-committal and yet decisive and energetic in the face of difficulties—is of considerable interest. It is quite consistent with a characteristic strain of independence that has distinguished many members of the Bethlen family in the past. Like Admiral Horthy, Count Bethlen is a Protestant. He is the head of an ancient family, which for many centuries has been identified with the making and shaping of Hungarian history. He is, or rather was, one of the wealthiest of the Transylvanian landed magnates:

the greater part of his estates are now within Rumanian territory. Even before the war he revealed a certain political independence by joining the Government opposition, which was much frowned on in the Court circles he frequented. A famous namesake of his was Gabriel Bethlen, whose brief but full life (1580–1629) teems with moving incidents and events of the profoundest interest for students of the history of that period.

Gabriel Bethlen, a convinced but most tolerant Calvinist, was elected in 1613 Prince of Transylvania, a part of Hungary then one of the possessions of the Ottoman sultans. Later he took up arms against his suzerain in defence of the rights of his fellow-countrymen, and still later against the Hungarian king, Ferdinand II., in defence of the rights of his co-religionists. In 1619 he had succeeded in obtaining possession of the Holy Crown. He refused, however, to be crowned King of Hungary, and tried to effect a compromise with Ferdinand, the latter proposing that Bethlen should marry an archduchess and conform to Catholicism On the failure of these negotiations Bethlen definitely threw in his lot with the anti-Habsburg rival Powers, more especially with the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, and eventually married a daughter of the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg. To the very last Bethlen remained a redoubtable champion of the Protestant cause in Hungary, commanding the respect of his religious and political opponents as much by the sincerity of his own religious convictions, where the zeal of the persecutor found no place, as by his uncompromising patriotism when he felt that the best interests of Hungary were at stake. When we remember this chapter in Hungarian history we may arrive at a clearer interpretation of Count Stephen Bethlen's attitude in respect of the present throne issue in Hungary. Count Bethlen is at the moment the real ruler of Hungary. The Holy Crown is practically in his possession. To-day, however, there is no question, as in 1619, of a Bethlen being crowned King of Hungary. The circumstances are quite altered. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that Count Stephen Bethlen, who is no sentimentalist in politics is in favour of the Habsburg restoration as long as Hungary is not made a pawn in a game of imperialist ambitions. No other solution can bring about peace and tranquillity and free the country from arbitrary rule.

Undoubtedly Count Bethlen has deserved well of the Hungarian State so far. He has saved the country from economic disaster and financial ruin. He has stabilised her exchange. He has put an end to the White Terror But all that was achieved seven years ago. Since then, however, the Government has not progressed with the times. The forces of opposition are asserting their strength despite the vigilant control exercised by the

Government over the elections. The secret ballot in Hungary hardly exists. It is only allowed in Budapest and a few other large centres, where consequently the voting is always oppositional. The so-called 'free suffrage' is in force at the polling-booths in all the rest of Hungary. The voting is an absolute farce. In those elections the citizen conscious of his rights and privileges is not allowed to mark and register his vote in secret. The 'free voter' must affirm his choice of candidate aloud before a Government commission. Naturally all those in any way dependent on the Government for their livelihood must be particularly careful how they affirm. It is fairly certain that Count Bethlen will soon put an end to this mockery. As a statesman of experience he cannot help realising that such methods drive opposition underground and bring their inevitable Nemesis.

The Royalist Party is at present divided into two strong factions. The one, under the leadership of Count Apponyi, compromises to a certain extent with the Government on its economic and financial programme, a programme that has undoubtedly been the salvation of Hungary, and on its foreign policy. The other section, under the leadership of Count Ivan Csekonics, the Marquis Pallavicini, and Stephen Friedrich, will have no compromise of any kind. At the last elections the representatives of this section were particularly badly served by the 'free suffrage.' Innate conservatism keeps the majority of the Hungarian Catholics, and more especially the clergy, on the Royalist side. They hold strongly to the maintenance of the constitutional principle of the Holy Crown and to certain privileges granted by the Holy See. One of these privileges was the *Jus Supremæ Patronatus*, *i.e.*, the right to nominate archbishops and bishops exercised by the apostolic king under the Holy Crown. Another was the *Jus Placeti*, *i.e.*, the right of veto on the publication of papal bulls and encyclicals in the country. These rights are now in abeyance, and will remain so until the coronation of the next King of Hungary. Another right which entitled the head of the Habsburg house as Emperor of Austria to veto the election of any particular cardinal to the papacy has often been attributed, but erroneously, to the apostolic Kings of Hungary. The last occasion on which the *Jus Exclusivæ* was exercised was in 1903, when the Emperor Francis Joseph insisted on Cardinal Rampolla's name being withdrawn from the list of candidates for the papal throne. Next year the new Pope annulled the *Jus Exclusivæ*.

The Protestant element in Hungary, representing about 27 per cent. of the population, is by no means definitely anti-monarchist. As a body it is strongly Conservative, and generally

adheres to the Desider Polonyi thesis on the Habsburg question to which reference has been made further back. It stands for the 'free elect on' of the next King of Hungary.

The Jews (5 per cent. of the population), who have always been well treated under the Habsburgs, are generally in favour of the Habsburg restoration. This is indeed quite comprehensible when we remember that the great majority of ultra-nationalists and rabid Anti-Semites, who under the old *régime* would never admit that a Jew could be a patriotic Hungarian, are now strongly in favour of the 'free election' of the king. These reactionary elements are the chief supporters of the present Government, and showed their quality under the White Terror. No decent Hungarian wants a repetition of that The Jews mostly belong to the National Democratic Party, under the leadership of Joseph Pakots, whose own royalist sympathies, like those of his predecessor, the late William Vazsony, a former Minister of Justice under the old *régime*, are not disguised This party has not yet definitely declared its policy on the Habsburg issue. It is not difficult, however, to guess what this decision will be.

The National Democrats are at present co-operating vigorously with the opposition forces, *i e*, the Royalists, who stand for the same democratic ideals—freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of the vote (not by 'free suffrage,' but by secret ballot), and last, but not least, freedom of justice Under the present *régime* the Jews cannot expect to see the triumph of these ideals Under the old *régime* they enjoyed all the rights of other subjects They could become Ministers and Secretaries of State They could become nobles. Only the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy can secure the Jews in the possession of their full rights in the State In the constitutional principle of the Holy Crown they also will find the best safeguard of their interests. To do away with this safeguard is indeed to destroy the very foundation of legality in the State, to open the door to every kind of arbitrary abuse of power. More than any others in Hungary, the very small Jewish minority have suffered from arbitrary abuse of power. They also will find cogent arguments here against the new precedents set up, which certainly do not make, as I pointed out, for respect of law and order and stability, not to mention continuity. The Hungarian Jew has nothing to fear from the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy. On the contrary, he has much to gain.

The idea of electing a foreign prince as king is not seriously entertained by responsible politicians in Hungary, any more than that of electing the Archduke Albrecht.

What, then, is likely to be the solution of the Habsburg problem in Hungary? Is the restoration to be or not to be?

A definite answer and a satisfactory solution can be arrived at only when the nation's two ablest statesmen, Count Bethlen and Count Apponyi, agree to accept the verdict of the people in a general election where the voting will take place under the secret ballot, not under the present system of the so-called 'free suffrage.' There is every reason to believe that Count Bethlen's policy is now shaping in this direction. When such an election is carried through, the Parliament can then proceed to decide the Habsburg issue, either directly or indirectly, on the basis of a *plébiscite*. There is little doubt what the answer will be. A proud nation like the Hungarian, with its splendid traditions of independence, shorn as it has already been of two-thirds of its territory by the framers of the Treaty of Trianon, will certainly not submit tamely to the dictation of its despoilers on this matter when the issue comes up for final decision.

But the freedom of election and freedom of suffrage must be realities.

VALENTINE O'HARA.

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE

In the second of two articles entitled 'The Church and the Village' which were published in the May number of *The Nineteenth Century* an attempt was made to show how seriously the Christian religion is losing its hold upon the village life of England owing in some measure to the increasing practice of ritualism on the part of the clergy, and how the substitution of the priest in the place of the minister is at least to some extent responsible for the diminishing number of those who attend divine service Sunday by Sunday in our village churches

Various criticisms have been offered upon this treatment of the subject

In the issue for the following month the Rev. Douglas Lockhart formulated a reply in which he stated that, while there are many country parishes where ritualism has had the result described, there are many more in which the reverse has occurred, and quoted the case of a village in Oxfordshire where an extreme ritualist has succeeded in filling his church. In answer to this it need only be said that, since the objection to ritualism was not so much for its effect upon the rural population as for the effect that it appears to produce upon so many of the clergy in relation to that population, such a man—and with him the clergy of those numerous parishes of which Mr Lockhart speaks—must either have escaped that effect, and, in spite of the High Church character of his services, must conduct the parochial side of his life on ministerial lines, or else be a man of such outstanding personality that he would succeed in anything that he attempted

In the July number the Rev J F. Briscoe, in a most interesting and fair-minded article, has taken the more optimistic view; but here also his ideal village priest outside his church services has all the qualities of the ideal village minister—a combination which cannot be said to be very common.

It has further been argued that, as all persons baptised into the Church are members of that body, every member, lay or clerical, is to some extent responsible for its condition. But surely it might as reasonably be said that a private soldier is

responsible for the battle tactics of the higher command as that an humble member of a village congregation can dictate the policy of the Church.

In none of these criticisms, alas, has any real refutation been made of the original statement that the decline in church attendance in our country parishes has kept pace with the advance in the ritualistic character of the services, nor has any other reason been given to account for that decline

Mr. Briscoe alleges that chapel attendance has declined in the same way; but this is certainly not the case in the locality with which the present writer is most familiar, for there the religious organisations other than the Established Church appear to flourish not only numerically but also financially, which is the more remarkable since their adherents are not, as a rule, people of great wealth In spite, therefore, of the opinions of the learned clerics who have offered their views, it would still seem to be open to doubt whether the original suggestion may not be correct, and in the present article it is proposed further to elaborate that theory.

Not long ago a well-known member of the legal profession, travelling in a company composed of business men, was heard to observe that Christianity was ceasing to be a living religion in this country, and that Christ was becoming merely a legendary figure in the minds of many He went on to state that in the history of the world to become a legend has been the ultimate fate of every form of religion in which ritualism has obtained the upper hand, or, in other words, in which the inward and spiritual fire has become lost in the outward and visible ceremonial This may or may not be a fact, but it is certainly true that the soul cannot be neglected for the body, nor the essential subordinated to the immaterial, without a definite loss And nowhere is this more evident than in our country parishes at the present time, where, as can scarcely be denied, the religion of the Church of England in its congregational forms is steadily losing ground

It has been said that a man who never attends a place of worship may be a good man but cannot possibly be a good Christian, since, while he is carrying out his duty towards his neighbour, he is neglecting to carry out his duty towards God; and if this be so, it must follow that the loss of ground sustained by the Church of England as expressed in terms of church attendance can only result in the decline of the principles of Christianity in general as expressed in the daily lives of the inhabitants of this country.

The ritualistic presentation of religion may attract the more dramatic and imaginative nations of the earth, but, in spite of the opinions advanced to the contrary, is it really suited to the

somewhat stolid temperament of the rural population of England, which is never attracted by what it does not understand? Mr. Briscoe contends that it is so suited because the people of a country village enjoy the spectacular, and cites as a proof of this contention the fact that they attend a wedding or a funeral in large numbers, but a little consideration will show the faultiness of this reasoning. Village weddings and funerals as a rule possess a local interest; but even where this is not the case, they are functions in which the human or personal element plays a most prominent part, and are therefore within the easy comprehension of the people, since they are functions that, so to speak, might happen to any of them. But the rites and ceremonies of a High Church service can scarcely be said to belong to the same class of spectacle; and it may therefore be a fact that, while the village understands the simple ethics of Christianity, it does not understand, and does not wish to understand, an elaborate ritual; that, while it understands a minister, it does not understand, and does not wish to understand, a priest.

As an example of the attraction exercised on the British temperament by religion, when presented in a simple and comprehensible form, the singing of hymns may be quoted. To most English people, and especially to those of the class referred to, few occupations appear to afford more pleasure than the singing of familiar airs in company with others. And here is a very powerful weapon in the hand of the Church which surely might be employed with advantage. The present writer has seen and heard almost an entire platoon of men seated on the floor of a barn in France on a Sunday evening, singing hymns of their own choice with the most evident enjoyment, and it is within his knowledge that in a country parish situated in one of the home counties a shortened form of Evening Service, in which the singing of familiar hymns is a prominent feature, has been instituted to follow once a month upon the orthodox recital of Evensong, and appears to be appreciated and to be growing in popularity. Such a service of course entails additional labour for the already hard-worked incumbent, and it may be urged that to attend a church service merely for the sake of joining in the singing of hymns is neither religion nor Christianity; but is it not better to go to church to sing hymns than not to go at all? And is it not conceivable that such a step, if it becomes a regular habit, may lead to a wider and more worthy outlook? It has at any rate the effect of bringing within the possible influence of religious teaching some who otherwise might remain outside.

That the average inhabitant of a rural village does not understand the ways of the priesthood cannot well be doubted, since even better educated people are mystified by the apparent incon-

sistency of its attitude on certain points when compared with the teaching of our Lord, and are forced to the conclusion that, owing, it must be supposed, to the growth of the spirit of ritualism, there has arisen in the minds of some of the present-day clergy a certain confusion of values, and a certain loss of the sense of proportion that should be maintained between what is vital and what is immaterial.

There is no finer profession in the world than that of a minister of the Christian religion, which should surely be the profession of every clergyman of the Church of England, and it may appear an impertinence on the part of an undistinguished layman to presume to criticise a body of men who are in most instances very hard workers and thoroughly in earnest; but as the spectator is said to see most of the game, so it is possible that certain facts may become evident to the layman which are obscured from the vision of the clergy. The layman may therefore be pardoned for asking whether those two professions are always identical. Does it not sometimes seem that so long as the clergy carry out their duties as priests of the Church of England in their churches the Christian religion can look after itself? Does it not sometimes seem that the Church comes first and Christ second? To prove that there is at least an element of doubt it is only necessary to listen to a few of the modern sermons, when it will be found that in a large number of cases the address from the pulpit is concerned with some question of purely ecclesiastical interest.

The scanty village congregation will hear so much said upon such subjects that it may be excused for wondering from time to time whether the fact has not been forgotten that as the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, so the Church was made for Christ, and not Christ for the Church.

It is no doubt this confusion of values and this insistence upon the importance of the ecclesiastical as contrasted with the Christian aspect of our religion that has led the priest to attribute what appears to the average layman to be a correspondingly undue importance to his own office. As has been already said, there is no finer calling in the world than that of the ministers of Christ's religion, and there seems to be no valid authority for the substitution in their stead of priests of the Church of England that has been taking place during the last few decades. Indeed, the only two authorities which should have any weight—namely, the teaching of our Lord Himself and the Book of Common Prayer—appear to point in exactly the opposite direction. It is stated, for instance, that in the Prayer Book the word 'priest' is never used where the word 'minister' can be employed without confusion, and as for the teaching of Christ, He Himself said, 'I came to minister,' and in the three short years of His public life provided

an example of ministry such as, it would be supposed, any faithful servant of His, called to a sacred office, would be only too anxious to attempt to follow. But nowadays, apparently, the importance of the ministry comes second to that of the priesthood. It is as if a shepherd should imagine that he is carrying out his duties to his master by standing all day in the sheepfold, armed with his crook and with his dog at his heels, while the sheep stray wherever they please. But is the shepherd of more importance to the farmer than the sheep? His importance depends solely upon the importance with which the farmer regards his flock of sheep, and apart from that his position is negligible. In short, if the sheep do not matter or are non-existent, there is no need for the shepherd. And what was our Lord's idea of a good shepherd? He is recorded to have said that a shepherd, if he shall lose one sheep out of his flock of an hundred, will leave the ninety and nine, and will go out and search for it until he shall find it. Is such devotion common among the shepherds of Christ's flocks on earth to-day? The rows of empty and half-empty pews to be seen in our churches at most of the Sunday services hardly lend colour to such an idea.

The advance of ritualism in what is termed the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England must also be held responsible, among other unfortunate effects that it appears to produce upon the priestly mind, for the narrowness of outlook with which that mind seems to be imbued. The so-called Low Church parson of the nineteenth century was doubtless harsh and narrow-minded with his lengthy discourses upon hell fire and eternal punishment, but he at least had to a certain extent scriptural authority behind him, and moreover his stern denunciations were possibly effective as a deterrent; but is there any reason for these qualities in the present-day priest? Do they not result, as far as the average villager is concerned, in presenting the religion of the Church of England as a somewhat inhuman, unattractive, and very difficult creed? Some members of the priesthood, for example, object to performing the Marriage Ceremony in Lent. It would be thought that a country clergyman would be only too glad, if merely for the sake of village morality, to perform that rite at any time, especially among a population whose members never suffer from an excess of material comforts, still less of luxuries, and to many of whom the correct observance of the season of Lent must in any case present something of a problem. Why must it be made to appear so hard to be good? And where in the example provided by our Lord is there the least authority for a prohibition of this nature? If the village yokel is not to consider such a rigorous attitude inconsistent with that example, then he must rid his mind of all the conceptions of love and kindness, gentleness and

children and prepare breakfast, after which he is probably occupied in his allotment garden all the morning, while she, let us hope, has to get the family ready for Sunday school, and to busy herself with the household work and the preparation of dinner, so that it is not until after midday that they can begin to regard Sunday as a day of rest or worship at all. By handing over the care of the children to some kindly neighbour they are in a position to attend evening service, and in former times were in the habit of doing so, but nowadays their chance of receiving the blessed sacrament is *nil*. What is the reason why the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ should practically be denied to these members of His Church? In the first instance it was surely meant for them as much as for those of ampler leisure. It might indeed be thought that it was intended even more for them, since their difficulties in ordering their lives on any spiritual basis are the greater, and their leisure and opportunities for strengthening that basis the more limited. Is it because the priest is reluctant to administer the sacred elements to any able-bodied communicants unless they are in a state of fasting? Or is it that to do so in the evening would entail the prolongation of his own individual fast until an inconveniently late hour? If the original fear of abuse entertained in the early days of the Church has disappeared, as must surely be the case to-day, then the reason must be one or other of these.

It may be observed in passing that, if this self-imposed duty of fasting is of such outstanding importance, and in view of the fact that when the existing Prayer Book was compiled the celebration of Holy Communion was of much less frequent occurrence than it is to-day, it is a matter of surprise that in all the discussions that took place with reference to the revision of that book no suggestion was entertained, if indeed any suggestion was ever made, that the clergy should themselves communicate only at the first celebration of the day, and not, as happens now, especially on such occasions as Easter, three or even four times in one day. Such an alteration would certainly relieve the clergy of the inconvenience of a prolonged fast and thus remove this possible objection on their side to the evening celebration.

But is it really necessary that even the priest should fast? How about the example of Christ? Did He say that on such an occasion His ministers and everyone else should be fasting? The Prayer Book lays down no such condition, and still less does Christ, who not only administered the sacrament of His Body and Blood in the evening, but administered it immediately after both He and His disciples had partaken of their evening meal. And what impression, it may be asked, can the attitude of the priesthood on this question convey to the mind of the humble and

unenlightened follower of the Christian religion save that the priest of the Church of England thinks he knows better than Christ, and that what was good enough for the Master is not good enough for the servant ?

But after all—and this is surely the only test for Christian conduct whether in the priest or the layman—what does God want ? Having made the Sabbath for man, and not man for the Sabbath, does He want perhaps another dozen men and women in every village in England to receive at regular intervals the tokens of their Saviour's dying love, even at the expense of a broken fast on the part of one man, or does He not ? Does He want His flock to be carefully tended, or does He not ? And if these are His desires, is the minister or the priest most likely to carry them out ? One thing is certain If the sheep are not properly cared for and tended they will stray, and it must not be considered surprising if country people of the labouring type relapse into an apathetic state of irreligion or prefer the social and spiritual warmth of nonconformity to membership of a Church that can treat its humble followers with such lack of regard. But to the seriously minded Churchman this neglect and spiritual starvation of his less fortunate neighbours, brought about, as it must be feared, by the egotism of the priesthood, is nothing less than heartbreaking.

These criticisms by an unpretentious layman, as has been already remarked, will doubtless be regarded as an act of presumption, and no man in his senses would dream of suggesting that the splendid and earnest body of men who form the clerical side of our Church are actuated by any but the highest motives, or have any aim in view other than that which is common to all true Christians, namely, the advance of the Kingdom of God Nor would he even suggest, whatever his private impressions might be, that they had to a certain extent lost their sense of spiritual proportion, if it could be thought that the Christian religion, as far as the Church of England is concerned, was growing and prospering under their influence. But can any such claim be made ? Congregations have dwindled, and continue to dwindle Many who were brought up to be constant and regular church-goers find that their interest in these occasions of organised religious worship has gradually evaporated, and, as was admitted by the clerical author of the first of the two original articles mentioned above, the Church of England to-day is not even capturing the imagination and allegiance of the children. In short, they have alienated numbers of adult adherents whose places are not being filled by the rising generation , so where is the hope for the future ?

In all humility it is suggested that the time has surely come when these members of the priesthood would do well to ask them-

selves honestly and conscientiously whether their point of view may not be mistaken; whether God may not prefer the service of a minister to the adoration of a priest; whether on the parochial as well as on the ecclesiastical side they are doing God's work as God wants it to be done; whether, in fact, following closely the rules of conduct laid down by Christ Himself for the guidance of a good shepherd, and most strongly emphasised in the Book of Common Prayer, they are doing their utmost for their Master and for His flock, and not merely indulging their own religious inclinations. They may be right and their critics wrong, though it should be borne in mind, especially in the case of the younger members of the priesthood, that while a man who has undergone a course of training at a theological college and has taken holy orders may rightly consider himself to be an authority upon ecclesiastical questions, it is unreasonable to assume, since there is nothing technical about Christianity, that he is better qualified, simply for the reason that he is a priest, to form a sound judgment upon the ethics of the Christian religion, as expounded by the teaching of our Lord in the four Gospels, than a layman of twice or thrice his age, to whom the daily study of the New Testament has possibly been a life-long habit. Yet they may be right and their critics wrong If they are right, then it can only be supposed—indeed, the conclusion cannot be avoided—that God is working in a more than usually mysterious way But if perchance they may be wrong, what then?

In the end the Kingdom of God must come That is the firm belief of all true followers of Christ 'For myself,' said Mr Stanley Baldwin in a public address last year—and his inspired and inspiring words, worth many a sermon, must have brought strength and courage to thousands—'for myself I say that if I did not feel that our work and the work of all others who hold the same faith and ideals, whether in politics or in civic work, was done in the faith and the hope that some day, maybe a million years hence, the Kingdom of God would spread over the whole world, then I should have no hope, I could do no more work, and I would give my office over this morning to anyone who would take it.'

Yes, in the end the Kingdom of God must assuredly come, but the thought that its coming may conceivably be delayed by the attitude of some who should most help it forward must bring sadness of heart to the many devout Christian men and women whose most earnest spiritual longing is expressed in the words of that ancient and beautiful prayer which says, 'Hasten that blessed time, O God, when Thy Kingdom shall have come, and all shall know Thee from the least even to the greatest, when the knowledge of Thy glory shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.'

R. S. T. Cochrane.

THE CASE FOR ANTI-VIVISECTION

In the May issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Dr. Lyttelton, complaining of public lack of interest in the vegetarian cause, referred to 'much foolish babblement against vivisection.' As an anti-vivisectionist, I should like its readers to know why we babble and how we babble, and then—after they have seen our case stated, and not, as is usual, before—to decide upon our foolishness or wisdom

Anti-vivisectionists are opposed to experiments on living animals as conducted in physiological or pathological laboratories in the supposed interests of science, not primarily of *medical* science, for very few of the workers in what is termed medical research are practising doctors The late Lord Moulton, who appeared before the Royal Commission of 1906-10 as the 'ethical expert' of the vivisectionists, declared that he would advocate vivisection 'if no single useful result in curative science could be shown,' and Professor Hermann, of Zurich University, has remarked that 'no true investigator in his researches thinks of the practical utilisation,' since 'science can afford to despise this justification with which vivisection has been defended in England.' Dr. Klein, for so long a licensed vivisector in this country, told the Royal Commission of 1876 that he had found a considerable difference, according to nationality, in the attitude of the public towards the sufferings of animals, but that this difference was not to be found 'among the physiologists', which may explain why the vivisector takes care to hide behind the doctor 'in England.'

It is necessary to explain that the experimenter's object is not directly the curing of human ills, for the reason that most English people believe that it is But his attitude is easy enough to explain It is always arguable that, even when practical utility is not served at the moment by some new discovery, a road may be opened by some later discovery for its utilisation, so that a fact which seemed to have no application to human needs when first known may prove of great value by its associations in the future. Granting the vivisector's premiss that science and God are interchangeable terms, and that, as Professor Slosson, of Wyoming University, puts it, the object of science is 'the advance-

ment of human knowledge at any sacrifice [even] of human life,' one stands face to face with the demands of an insatiable Moloch.

The pure worship of science has its logical appeal. The real question is whether or not science is the greatest thing we know. If we are to be its devotees we must let no scruple stand in our way, and victims in ever-increasing numbers must be offered in sacrifice indefinitely, since it is unlikely that we shall be possessed of all knowledge before the limit of the span of this world's existence is reached. But if God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, means more to us than the blind heaping up of facts for present or future utility, then we are bound to ask whether a subservient science has the right to demand us to ignore the duty to be just and compassionate to all living creatures

So egoistic are we of the human race that (in spite of Professor Slosson) we make a great stand for our individual rights Although undoubtedly, if vivisection be useful at all, experiments on human beings must far transcend in value experiments on the lower animals, nobody would think of weighing the future benefit of millions of our fellow creatures against the right to be spared the worst of all wrongs, possessed by the meanest human creature, whatever his crimes may have been In spite of the occasional demand of some vivisector or doctor, associated always with the complaint that animal experimentation is insufficient or misleading, public opinion will not sanction the vivisection of the criminal.

The anti-vivisectionist is accused of inconsistency because he objects to experiments conducted upon dogs for the sake of other dogs, as in distemper research But it is his opponent who is inconsistent. First he stresses the superiority of men as a reason why animals should be tortured for their sake, and then he admits that he would torture a dog for the sake of other dogs, no higher in the scale of life The anti-vivisectionist maintains the logical position that *each individual* creature has its rights, and should not be cruelly sacrificed against its will, only to 'subserve another's gain' Killing, unfortunately, is necessary to rid the world of pests We have not yet abandoned capital punishment. But, in every legitimate kind of killing, a quick despatch is the ideal. That is not cruelty, to inject into an animal a poison which may take three days or three weeks to kill it—a routine occupation in our laboratories—is cruel, whatever reason may be assigned for it, and is an act which would bring an ordinary citizen before the magistrate Shakespeare recognised this when he made Cornelius remark to the Queen in *Cymbeline* that the practice of poisoning animals 'not worth the hanging,' and then trying antidotes to the poison, 'will but make hard your heart.'

So much for the moral side of the question. It only remains to be said that the British vivisector (like the American, the French, and probably every vivisector in the world who happens to live in a country where other people condemn his methods) is vociferous in declaring that the practice in his country is quite different from the practice in every other country. We have in Great Britain very meagre details to go upon. We know nothing except what we can glean from the experimenter's own writings; or rather, we dare publish nothing else, for private testimony, given under the easily explained seal of secrecy, is fairly prolific. From the writings referred to we know that animals are deprived of bodily organs, having them sometimes cut out piecemeal in different operations; that their physiological processes are seriously interfered with, as by the tying of ducts, the insertion of gallstones in the bladder, and of artificial tumours in the brain; and that slow and wasting diseases are imposed upon them by inoculation and other methods. Those who assert that painful experiments are not conducted in England are merely repeating what they wish to believe, having accepted the word of some doctor who in his turn accepts the assurance of the vivisector. The testimony is published, and if they ignore anti-vivisectionist publications on account of their 'tainted source' they will learn the truth in no other way, for few would care to wade through lengthy and much padded reports, the science of which consists chiefly in the technical language employed.

As to vivisection abroad, I would advise anybody who can to obtain a few copies of the *American Journal of Physiology* and read its present-day accounts of the ways in which animals—chiefly dogs and cats—are baked, filled with water to bursting point, blown up in the air, joined together to form composite monsters, and made the victims of many other atrocities. And this in a land of English-speaking people, where the anti-vivisectionists are passionately assured, just as they are here, that vivisection involves no suffering!

It may be said that the Act of 1876 commonly known as the 'Vivisection Act,' prevents cruelty. One single record of the infliction of severe suffering upon an animal under its sanction (and there are many) is enough to dispose of this plea. The Act is a farce. Two inspectors are supposed to watch nearly 300,000 experiments. One of the inspectors appointed has been a member of the Research (Vivisection) Defence Society. Another has himself been a licensed vivisector. The experimenters furnish their own reports of their own doings; and the chief inspector each year publishes as his report an ancient bit of special pleading which is presumably kept in type for the purpose.

The policy of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection, which is the largest anti-vivisection society in the world, is one of Total Abolition. Yet it is probably comprised of the most moderate section of the anti-vivisectionists, for the less moderate will strike any blow, whether it is likely to miscarry or not; but the more thoughtful have reached the conclusion that, to quote Cardinal Manning, 'What you cannot control you must prohibit.' Control has been tried for over fifty years and has failed. Even the latest device of the Home Secretary—the direction given to the vivisector to kill an animal found in the course of the experiment to be suffering a double-edged pain, namely (1) 'severe,' and (2) 'likely to endure'—depends upon the interpretation set upon these words by a man who is, above all, anxious not to spoil his experiment. So long as vivisectors can publish their results without fear, and by so doing obtain honours of many kinds, the practice will flourish in continual competition with other countries where people may be less scrupulous. Only by making vivisection a criminal offence will the chief incentive to the work be removed.

And here we are faced with a new problem. If vivisection were prohibited, by what means would medicine and surgery advance? The answer, as given by those physicians and surgeons who have renounced the dogma imposed upon them during their student days, and usually at immense cost to themselves become anti-vivisectionists, is as follows. Vivisection leads to medical errors which have to be unlearnt at the bedside. Its prohibition would not affect the general practitioner, except in so far as it would spare him from being led into more and worse errors. All true medical advance has been due to clinical practice. Our immense hospital system, involving the segregation of cases of a similar kind, and daily dealing with every class of accident, has put into the hands of doctors and surgeons the fullest opportunities for observation and learning by experience. Warning voices concerning the neglect of clinical work are now heard from some of the most orthodox.

Dr. George Wilson, a member of the last Royal Commission on Vivisection, put on record his regret that

> the distinguished physician with his unrivalled clinical experience and his intimate knowledge of disease, is gradually being ousted from the treatment of cases for which vaccine therapy is deemed essential by the bacteriologist, who has little or no experience of disease except what he can induce in animals.

Sir James Mackenzie inaugurated—save the mark!—a 'new' method, that of really watching the human patient. His discoveries had none of the unreliability of those made through the vivisection of animals. His domain was the heart; and he

regretted that other physicians did not devote themselves with the same assiduity and patience to each of the other organs of the human body. If the immense amount of time and money now spent on laboratory investigations were directed into this channel, medical knowledge would certainly advance more rapidly.

Professor Lawson Tait, a pioneer (before Lister) of the aseptic treatment of wounds, declared that vivisection had done nothing for surgery but lead to 'horrible bungling.' Taking in turn each of the proved boasts of the vivisector in the field of operations, he tore their claims to shreds; which does not prevent the same claims being made to-day, for when a man becomes unorthodox his arguments and evidence are immediately cast aside as not worthy even of examination.

Sir Frederick Treves, a vivisectionist, confessed that certain operations on dogs had rendered him 'unfit to deal with the human intestine', Sir Henry Swanzy, an eye specialist, informed the Royal Commission that experiments on the eyes of animals were useless in his department, and Sir Henry Morris stated that he had been the first to remove stone from the kidney and that in this he was helped 'not at all by experiments on animals.' Scores of great surgeons have dared, after much observation and careful thought, to perform human operations never previously attempted. If they have not always been successful immediately, it is certain that those who have first tried their hand upon animals have equally failed—suffering, moreover, to judge by Treves' statement, a severe handicap

But it is in serum and vaccine therapy that the vivisector declares the use of animals to be most essential. How, we are asked, could drugs be tested? How could anti-toxins be produced, which have 'saved so many thousands of lives'? How could our soldiers have been protected against disease in the war? And so on.

We may dismiss the fashion of testing drugs by seeing how quickly they kill guinea-pigs as nothing more than a ritual. If a drug cannot be chemically analysed (as most drugs can, and as more might be, if chemists knew that no other method was available) its strength cannot be decided by any guinea-pig test. Guinea-pigs and rabbits, like human beings, vary, hence we get absurd formulæ like that for a dose of toxin-anti-toxin mixture; the strength is supposed to be right if two out of five inoculated guinea-pigs of the same weight 'die acutely in four to ten days' and the other three 'die of diphtheria paralysis in from fifteen to thirty-five days' (Dr McCoy, U.S. Public Health Service.) Will any five guinea-pigs act alike? The test itself shows that they will not.

That lives are saved by sera and vaccines anti-vivisectionist

doctors flatly deny. We believe that the credit given to inoculation during the war should have been given solely to advances in sanitation. Indeed, this has sometimes been admitted. Sir Malcolm Morris, in the course of a Chadwick lecture at the close of the war, remarked :

> In the main, the armies on the Western Front were preserved from the ravages of dysentery, diarrhœa typhoid, typhus and cholera by good sanitation, carried out on Chadwick's principle of providing a wholesome environment

And Captain J. Stanley Arthur in the same year, in a lecture at the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, explained that chlorine gas had

> solved the problem of a pure water supply on a large scale for the troops, and accounted for the fact that throughout the war there was no epidemic of typhoid or other water-borne disease which caused such havoc in the South African campaign.

The vaccine advertisers tell a different tale, and they have the ear of the Press.

Add to the doubtfulness of their claims the fact that inoculation disabled many men for long periods, that there were cases of suicide, death by concussion of the brain through fainting, and many painful sequelæ from which hundreds are suffering still; that some were made invalids and never got to the front at all, and that others, stout resisters to inoculation, went all through the war and preserved excellent health The claim to *prevention* of a disease, being based on the supposition that the 'protected' individual might otherwise have been attacked by it (which is of course beyond proof) is as easy as it is unscientific Medicine is pursuing a very dangerous path Inoculation against one disease implies the sanction of inoculation against all, when once the appropriate vaccines or sera are available We are indeed rapidly approaching that ideal of the laboratory But, even if no dangers were inherent in this system, what man of sound sense can prefer artificial to natural immunity, secured through good living and a healthy environment?

Perhaps the chief claim of the laboratory in this connexion—certainly the one that has held the field longest—is that diphtheria has been conquered by antitoxin. This question has been much debated, and if I refer to it at some length it is because the man in the street is always put off with only half the argument. (Space forbids my dealing in any detail with more than one disease.)

Dr. W. R. Park, in a statement of the Committee for the Protection of Animal Experimentation (the American Association which corresponds with our Research Defence Society), has

written: 'Of all methods at present available, perhaps the least open to error is a comparison of the absolute number of deaths per 100,000 before and after the introduction of antitoxin.' But this method by no means satisfies the defenders of vivisection in Great Britain, who vigorously protest against its adoption, since it reveals that the death rate from diphtheria increased 25 per cent. in the fifteen years after the introduction of antitoxin, as compared with the fifteen years before. Therefore they shift the ground to case mortality. It must be remembered that the Registrar-General, an impartial authority, publishes the general mortality, whereas the case-mortality statistics are compiled in hospitals by advocates of antitoxin.

The familiar argument is that the number of deaths to cases decreased from some 30 per cent prior to the use of antitoxin to 8·3 many years later But in order to counter the obvious retort that this was an artificial drop, due to the notorious practice of including mild sore throats to swell the number of cases, a special point is made of the reduction in 'laryngeal' diphtheria, which is said to have been decreased from 62 per cent in 1894 to 11·7 per cent. in 1910

Now it must not be supposed that after the introduction of the new remedy there were fewer deaths from diphtheria in the London hospitals where these statistics were compiled. Far from it. In the five years before antitoxin (1890-94) they had 3196 deaths In the five years after antitoxin (1895-99) they had 4928 deaths, and in the following five years 3549. The case death rate meanwhile dropped, being 29·7, 17·0, and 11·2 in the respective quinquennia The cases that died must obviously have been severe Where the laryngeal cases survived, this would be due to intubation, where the tracheotomy cases survived, to tracheotomy But the separation of these severe cases from the rest provides a curious instance of the way in which the Metropolitan Asylums Board seems to have lent itself to the furtherance of a controversial manœuvre, for why was it never attempted *before* 1894, when antitoxin was introduced? Moreover, this separation ceased in 1911, in which year the death rate began ominously to rise again It is the figures between those dates that are used by the Research Defence Society to counter the attack of the anti-vivisectionists. That society ends its table at 1910

If the laryngeal cases had been separated from the rest prior to 1894, thus affording a basis for comparison, it is probable that an enormous drop in the death rate would be seen to have taken place before antitoxin was introduced, since the whole of the case death rate had dropped from 40 per cent. in 1889 to 29 per cent. in 1894.

Diphtheria has always been known to occur in what are described as 'waves.' During the last few years the cases have again increased in malignancy, and antitoxin has not prevented a great many deaths, in some epidemics reaching the old pre-antitoxin percentage. As a matter of fact, antitoxin achieved its reputation at a time when it was given at a period of the illness and in a dose now recognised as affording it no chance at all. Its general failure is partly acknowledged in the zeal for a new enterprise—the Schick test; we must needs aim at artificial immunisation, that alleged 'prevention,' instead of cure, which is so fatally easy to acclaim.

The *Lancet* on August 4, 1928, gave an interesting report of an address by Dr Ulrich Friedemann, of Berlin, who stated that diphtheria and its malignancy are increasing, and that whereas in his hospital the mortality used to be 4 to 7 per cent., since 1926 it had risen from 25 to 35 per cent He gives this unfavourable report of antitoxin. 'Even patients injected with large doses of serum on the first day have succumbed within twenty-four hours.' The introduction of antitoxin, he explains, happened to coincide with a natural decrease in the severity of the type of the disease, a decrease which had its parallel in the case of scarlet fever in England, against which no inoculation treatment had been provided Antitoxin got the credit

Now in 1924 an opportunity was provided for the bacteriological fraternity to attempt once for all to scotch the horrible heresy that antitoxin is useless Dr Hadwen, the leader of the anti-vivisection movement, who had published many pamphlets against inoculation—an arch-heretic whose downfall had no doubt long been anxiously desired—happened to have attended a little girl suffering from an attack of tonsillitis He had cured her brother of a much more severe attack, and the fact that this child suddenly developed acute pneumonia would never have been explained but for the volunteered testimony of a neighbour to the effect that she had got out of bed late at night, walked downstairs over the cold tiles in her bare feet, and taken a drink of water from the scullery tap This all-important fact had been concealed by the mother

Another doctor was called in, and this doctor gave his opinion that the little girl had diphtheria, and, although attending her, he refused a certificate when she died A *post mortem* was the necessary consequence, after which there followed an inquest, police-court proceedings, and finally the three-day trial, which ended in the accused doctor's acquittal among unparalleled scenes of wild rejoicing throughout the city of Gloucester. This complete inquiry and vindication of Dr. Hadwen has been rightly described by Dr. Parry in his recent book on *Famous Medical*

Trials as 'having served no useful purpose, and causing world-wide comments on the conduct of some of the members of the medical profession in Gloucester.'

Had Dr. Hadwen been convicted the precedent making it a criminal offence not to use antitoxin in medical practice would have been established. Indeed, the immediate effect of the trial itself was to create a panic among doctors, who promptly began to diagnose every mild sore throat as diphtheria and to apply antitoxin in order to be on the safe side. The increase in diagnoses in Birmingham was commented upon, and the above reason assigned, by the medical officer of health in his report.

But so rapidly do medical fashions change that already pronouncements have been made which flatly contradict statements of orthodoxy made at the trial. It was assumed, for instance, that if the bacteriological test showed a throat swab to be 'positive,' indicating the presence of a so-called diphtheria germ, the person from whom the swab was taken must have diphtheria. But on February 13, 1926, an editorial appeared in the *British Medical Journal* which stated: 'In patients with positive swabs the bacilli are not always biologically diphtheria bacilli or virulent.' At the trial it was represented as a doctor's duty to administer antitoxin on the first suspicion of diphtheria (a suspicion which Dr. Hadwen never had any reason to entertain), and it was alleged that after five days it would be useless. The *Medical Officer* of September 22, 1928, tells us that 'it is doubtful whether antitoxin is needed in the mildest forms of clinical diphtheria,' but calls the fifth-day doctrine 'a serious error.'

During the trial Dr. Hadwen was asked to cite cases proving that antitoxin sometimes causes sudden death. He might have mentioned several British cases recently on record, but he chose to give a very well-known classical instance, that of the child of Professor Langerhans, of Berlin. This was promptly countered by the assertion that there was a suspicion in that case that the child suffered from a condition known as *status lymphaticus*, which was alleged to 'predispose to death from trivial causes,' a plea which evidently impressed the judge and which falsely suggested that antitoxin alone cannot kill. In his Annual Report for 1926 Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, casts considerable doubt on the existence of *status lymphaticus*, which he calls 'a mere verbalism, and the current text-books' teaching erroneous.'

The above instances should surely prove the danger of condemning anybody upon medical opinion, which is a very fluctuating quantity. Indeed, all the changes that have taken place during the last thirty years have been in the direction of anti-vivisection. When Lister insisted upon his antiseptic spray,

which was adopted all over the world, Lawson Tait, the anti-vivisectionist, stoutly resisted it and published 'his startling record of 139 consecutive ovariotomies without a death'—to quote the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of October 7, 1899—'as a protest against Listerism.' Now, as has been admitted by the late Sir William Osler, 'We have changed the antiseptic to an aseptic battle' (*British Medical Journal*, November 18, 1914).

At a time when it was boldly and confidently proclaimed that 'a disease is a germ and a germ is a disease,' anti-vivisectionist doctors led the way to the modern orthodox belief that 'the soil is more important than the seed.' 'Disease comes from within,' say Dr. Hadwen and his colleagues. Dr. Newsholme, medical officer of health for Birmingham, has quite recently added his agreement, accompanied by some remarkably critical references to the germ theory. The New Health Society and other bodies are emphasising the importance of this modern viewpoint every day.

Anti-vivisection began as a protest against cruelty to animals; it is now, in addition, a protest against false and dangerous medical teaching. We hold that the inoculation mania will mean ultimately the destruction of the race, unless its stranglehold is loosened by the determined opposition of those who will not submit to medical tyranny or accept blindly the foolish dogma of the laboratory, based upon comparisons which do not hold good. So long as bacteriology is the means of livelihood of thousands and is subsidised by the Government, and the makers of vaccines and sera pile up their huge profits, so long will hundreds of thousands of animals, prisoned in our laboratories, be sent to a doom which men and women of sympathetic imagination must needs contemplate with horror, and so long will their sacrifice be quite fruitless.

For we cannot expect to gain by cruelty. In spite of the miracles of sanitation—the utter banishment of cholera, plague, typhus and true small-pox and the great diminution in all the other zymotic diseases—ill-health is still quite common, and our hospitals are always full. Is it not time we tried the better way, returning to the principles laid down by Hippocrates and the sound teachings of Sydenham, building upon the sure foundations they have laid?

In order to pursue that path our first duty is to block up the bypaths that lead astray in the faith that, as Cicero wrote, 'No cruelty is useful.'

BEATRICE E. KIDD.

'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

THE institution, towards the end of my term of office as Home Secretary, of legal proceedings in respect of two books provoked a storm of comment—both well and ill informed—on the supposed literary censorship in this country, and I was attacked, at times in far from moderate language, for trying ' to establish a dictatorship in the realm of literature and morals ' and for imposing a ' ban ' on works in which authors and others of distinction in the world of letters had found considerable literary merit.

Criticism of this nature betrays, in my view, so fundamental a misconception of the functions of the State in relation to the publication and sale of obscene literature that it may be worth while restating the position I would emphasise, first of all, that there is in England no censorship of books. If I understand the word rightly, censorship, whether of books, pictures, films or stage plays and the like, implies a scrutiny by some central authority of the whole output, with a view to the discovery and suppression of such as offend against the standard for the establishment of which censorship is imposed There is in this sense a censorship of stage plays and in a limited degree of films, but not of books, and apart altogether from the practical difficulties, which I imagine would be insuperable, I agree with the critics that a general censorship of books by a Government department would be most undesirable For the Executive to start on its own to suppress any books which it chooses to interpret as corrupting would be to claim a power which does not, and should not, belong to it But in saying this I must not be taken as meaning that where public morals are concerned the Government should stand entirely aloof. The Government has a general responsibility for the moral welfare of the community, which is traceable partly perhaps to the peculiar relationship existing between the Church and the State, and partly also to the duty inherent in all Governments of combating such dangers as threaten the safety or well-being of the State In regard to obscene publications this responsibility has devolved itself upon the Home Secretary. It is under the Home Secretary's warrant that correspondence with dealers in obscene matters is examined, and

his department is the central authority for the purpose of the international agreements directed towards the suppression of the traffic in obscene publications.

In a recent number of this Review [1] the editor gave a brief summary of the law relating to obscene publications, but I will repeat it here, because it is very much in point in deciding whether the action I took in regard to the *Well of Loneliness*, for instance, was right and proper or stands to be condemned. It is a misdemeanour at common law to publish any indecent matter tending to the destruction of the morals of society and to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to immoral influence. The Obscene Publications Act of 1857 provides machinery for dealing with such matter. A police magistrate or any two justices, on complaint being made by oath, may issue a warrant to search any premises where it is alleged that obscene books are kept for publication or sale, and if such books are seized on the execution of the warrant the occupier of the premises may be summoned to show cause why such books should not be destroyed, and the justices, if satisfied that the books are of the character stated in the warrant, may order them to be destroyed.

The law in its application to frankly pornographic matter has well served its purpose, and, so far as I am aware, no complaint was made during my term of office of the steps taken by the departments concerned—the Home Office, Post Office, and Board of Customs—to suppress the traffic. No sooner, however, was a book published which made some pretensions to literary merit than I was told that other considerations applied, that the law ought not to have been invoked against it, and that the Home Secretary and the Director of Public Prosecutions were conspiring to stifle genius. I was pictured as a narrow-minded Puritan zealot, forbidding by Ministerial decree the publication of a book which happened to outrage his personal susceptibilities. Let me explain the policy and practice which I followed at the Home Office; and it will, of course, be obvious that nothing I say here can be understood as in any way pledging my successor to adopt a similar policy. First let us suppose the case of a publisher who receives the manuscript of a book for publication: he considers the book to be of importance, but entertains qualms as to the matter of it. Rightly or wrongly he sends it to the Home Office and inquires whether publication of the book would offend against the law. In such a case it seems to me that a Home Secretary has three courses open to him. He may send the book back unread and decline to offer any advice—not a very helpful

[1] April 1929, containing a symposium of articles on the censorship of books, by the Right Hon. Lord Darling, Havelock Ellis, Stephen H. Foot, D.S.O., E. M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, and the editor.—EDITOR.

attitude, and one which, in view of the general responsibility of the Government, it would be improper for him to adopt. He can read it and still decline to advise—a course which would not only be unhelpful, but might be positively unfair to the publisher, who would have a real, and in my opinion legitimate, grievance if proceedings were subsequently instituted in respect of a book so submitted. The third course, and I think the right and fair one, is for the Home Secretary to read any book which may be submitted to him before publication and, after taking such advice as he thinks fit, to inform the publisher of his considered opinion. It was a modification of this course that I followed in regard to the *Well of Loneliness.* Soon after this book was published there was an outcry in a section of the Press, and without any word or action on my part the publishers sent me a copy of the book, asked me to read it, and offered to abide by my personal decision and to withdraw it from circulation if I thought the best interests of the public would be served in that way. I gave an opinion to the effect that the publication of the book constituted an infringement of the law, and I was at once held up to execration. I fear I have not yet fully understood the basis of the attack—whether it was launched because I ventured to give an opinion for which I had been asked, or because I had thought to find obscenity where none existed, or because I had had regard to a law which was obsolete and should have been ignored. It would be interesting to hear from my various critics how in the circumstances they would have had me act, and how they would justify their suggestions.

Now let me take the case of a book which has not been submitted to me by the publishers. As I have said, there is no official scrutiny of all books on publication, but from time to time books are sent to the Home Office by members of the general public with the complaint that they are obscene and should not be allowed to circulate. Is it contended that such complaints should be ignored? So long as the law remains as it is, the duty of any Home Secretary is, in my submission, to read such books or have them read, and, if he is satisfied that there is a *primâ facie* case for proceedings, to refer them to the proper authority for such action as may be thought fit.

Here, again, I would ask my critics, bearing in mind the present provisions of the law, and that the Home Office is recognised at least internationally as the central authority for dealing with obscene publications, what line a Home Secretary should in such circumstances adopt.

The practice and policy during my term of office may be summarised in this way: the Home Secretary never moved against other than admittedly pornographic productions of his

own volition. He did not go out into the highways and byways seeking for books which he could destroy. He acted only when a request for advice was received or a complaint was made, and then his action was limited to ascertaining whether there were grounds for thinking that publication would constitute, or had constituted, an infringement of the law. As Home Secretary I did not—indeed, I had not the power to—prohibit the publication of any book.

The ultimate decision whether a book is or is not obscene rests, of course, with the courts, and it has been said that the present system whereby a police magistrate can decide the fate of a book is to treat the calling of author with less than proper respect. That is a question on which I do not propose to enter; but I would suggest that on the whole public opinion is fairly accurately reflected in the courts of summary jurisdiction, and as the public attitude of mind to any particular question changes, so changes the attitude of the courts. There is already a far greater freedom in literature now than there was when the Act of 1857 was passed, and dozens of books are published each year which thirty or forty years ago would have been the subject of informations under the Act

After the proceedings in respect of the *Well of Loneliness* had terminated, the suggestion was implied in letters to the Press and in leading articles in various periodicals that the law should not be invoked to deal with books possessing literary merit—provided, that is, that the 'obscenity' to which they are thought to give expression is not so evident as to be indisputable This is a suggestion which, for my own part, I would utterly repudiate. Literary excellence may be a sufficient justification to certain critics and reviewers for preferential treatment, but there are, after all, other matters of importance in life besides the free development of a particular form of art. Whether or not obscenity is a fit subject for artistic treatment in literature, whether or not all the factors that contribute to the total of human experience must necessarily find expression in literature if literature is to serve its true purpose, I am not perhaps qualified to speak. But I hold most strongly that a book that is well written and well constructed, restrained in tone and delicate in treatment, may yet be as corrupting in its influence, especially on the adolescent mind, as the most miserable literary production. To discriminate in favour of a book which in the opinion of many will debauch the young because in the minds of some it is a work of art seems to me quite indefensible. I was told by a correspondent to some periodical who was pleading the case for the *Well of Loneliness* that I had 'banned' a book the merits of which I had not the intelligence to appreciate. The merits of the book may be as

great as its admirers claim—and I confess I found it to contain much that, from a purely literary standpoint, excited admiration—but surely its merits were not strictly material to the issue; it was the demerits of the book which I was asked by the publishers to consider—not whether it possessed something of greatness, but whether it would tend to corrupt and deprave the public mind. On that point I could find only one answer, and my view was subsequently confirmed by the courts.

It may be objected that what I have said above does not accord with the freedom from legal interference enjoyed by those who publish and offer for sale such of the 'classics' as touch upon the obscene. I agree that if the law were pushed to its logical conclusion the printing and publication of such books as *The Decameron*, Benvenuto Cellini's *Life*, and Burton's *Arabian Nights* might form the subject of proceedings. But the ultimate sanction of all law is public opinion, and I do not believe for one moment that prosecutions in respect of books which have been in circulation for many centuries would command public support.

I do not pretend that the present system is perfect, or that the position of the Home Office is an altogether satisfactory one, but I have not yet seen in any of the criticisms made any constructive suggestions for its reformation.

Let it be remembered that the publishing of an obscene book, the issue of an obscene postcard or pornographic photograph, and the commission of an obscene or indecent act in public are all offences against the law of the land, and the Secretary of State who is the general authority for the maintenance of law and order most clearly and definitely cannot discriminate between one offence and another in the discharge of his duty.

BRENTFORD.

THE POWER OF THE CINEMA

During his address to the International Council of Women on April 29 last Mr. Baldwin drew the attention of the assembled delegates, representing forty nations, to the power of the cinema—a power, he declared, which was far-reaching and often evil in its effects. He expressed the opinion that the unrestricted exhibition 'in the tropical Dependencies of the Empire' of films which are a gross travesty of European life did enormous, although at present unsuspected, harm. Our power to influence the backward races of the world was undermined by representing our civilisation to them as veneer and a sham The ex-Prime Minister went so far as to declare that 'the display of such films at large constitutes one of the greatest dangers to which our Western civilisation is exposed.'

The power of the cinema to influence public opinion (either unconsciously or deliberately) has been so far recognised that nearly all countries have established some form of film censorship. In Great Britain this work is performed by the British Board of Film Censors, a body appointed and paid by the cinema trade. It works, however, along lines approved by the Government, and its decisions are binding, since licences to show films are granted on the condition that only films approved by it should be shown. It is not suggested, except by a few puritanical fanatics, that the rules of this semi-official censorship should be made more stringent, or that the public would be more effectively protected from immoral films or films which glorify crime by a State-paid censor. But there is admittedly a class of film which, although entirely harmless when shown at home, becomes unconscious, but none the less dangerous, propaganda when shown abroad. For example, film plays dealing with themes popularised on the stage by such writers as Frederick Lonsdale or Noel Coward are harmless when exhibited in England, because everybody knows that at most they represent the manners and thoughts of a very small section of the community. In the East, however, they are liable to be accepted as typical examples of English life. The Oriental is thereby led to despise the civilisation of his Western rulers.

The remedy, Mr. Baldwin thought, is to be found in the formation of a sound public opinion on the subject. This is, of course, always desirable, but it is difficult to see how it could solve the problem. It would surely be expecting too much of, say, the patrons of a cinema in Bermondsey that they should refuse to see a film on the ground that if it were shown in Singapore it might put erroneous ideas into the heads of an Oriental audience. It would be unreasonable also for the film censor to ban a picture in England because it might have a bad effect if shown in India. Does not the remedy obviously lie in the hands of the film censors of our Eastern Dependencies? The Indian film censor, for example, should work according to quite different and more stringent rules than those which have been found sufficient in Great Britain.

The invention of the cinematograph raises wider problems than the unintentional influence the exhibition of films designed for European and American audiences may have upon the less advanced peoples of Asia. If an ordinary film can influence public opinion, how much greater will be the effect of films specially designed for this purpose? When fully developed the film play offers boundless opportunities as an instrument of propaganda. In comparison with it, written propaganda suffers from three serious disadvantages—it is necessarily limited to those who can read; for world-wide distribution it has to be translated into various languages; while, lastly, it is difficult to disguise satisfactorily. Propaganda by the cinema labours under none of these disadvantages. Its scope is not limited to those who can read—the most primitive savage can watch and enjoy a film play. The difficult problem of translating its appeal into a foreign language does not arise, while it is far easier to disguise propaganda in a film than in a book, newspaper, or pamphlet. This is particularly important, as the most effective propaganda is always of the indirect type—propaganda, that is to say, disguised by attractive padding, arousing interest and curiosity, which leaves its hearers unconsciously impressed by its appeal. That this has not been done more often and more successfully is due, no doubt, to the fact, to which Mr. Baldwin drew attention, that the power of the cinema remains largely unrecognised. Even the Russian Bolsheviks, who have brought the art of propaganda to an extraordinarily high level of perfection, have only produced a few dull and violent film plays attacking Western capitalism and militarism. Such crude efforts are easily detected and banned by film censors, and thus never reach the countries for whose working classes they are intended. Sooner or later, however, the power of the cinema as an ideal weapon of propaganda is bound to be recognised. When that time comes the

censor will find himself called upon to deal with a series of attractive and interesting film plays containing all the ingredients which experience has shown lead to popularity and success—thrills, pathos, sex appeal, and sob-stuff—but which are so designed that their beholders will be unconsciously but thoroughly impressed with the idea that the employing classes are composed of greedy, heartless and dishonest parasites, and the working classes of patient, defrauded martyrs. Such film plays will be produced regardless of expense, probably in America, and they will be acted by well-known film stars. The expenses of production will be paid from the same sources and through the same channels as those of the existing branches of Communist activity. Such film plays would be difficult to ban, and yet if they obtained world-wide distribution their influence would be enormous.

Until the time arrives when the cinema obtains recognition as an incomparably effective instrument for political propaganda its importance will chiefly depend upon its incidental effects. Mr. Baldwin, as mentioned above, has drawn attention to one aspect of its influence—the evil effect film plays designed to suit Western tastes have upon Oriental audiences, with their entirely different standards and outlook. The harm done is, no doubt, serious, but a stricter censorship of films imported into 'our Eastern Dependencies' seems an obvious and simple remedy. There is, however, another aspect of the problem with results at least equally serious, but far less easy to remedy. At the present time a great film-producing State has unlimited power, not only to magnify its own achievements, but to hold up to universal contempt the character and misdeeds of its rivals. Thus we owe to the American film industry the all but universal belief that the American army won the Great War. The point is perhaps of little practical importance, although it does less than justice to the tens of thousands of men who laid down their lives in France and Flanders during the period when President Wilson was too proud to fight. It furnishes, however, a good example of the enormous power of the cinema. Compared to the multitudes who derive their ideas on the Great War from the films, the people who seek the real facts from authoritative books on the subject are but an insignificant minority. Unfortunately the cinema is as effective for slandering an unpopular neighbour as for self-glorification. Thus during, and for a few years after, the Great War there happened to be considerable friction between the United States and Mexico. Mexicans were in consequence an unpopular race in the United States, and Hollywood producers adopted the convenient practice of introducing a Mexican as a ready-made villain into their film plays. They did so purely to suit the tastes of their audiences. The result, however, was none the

less disastrous to Mexican prestige. From the huge super-cinemas of London and Paris to the tiny 'picture-houses' of the remotest villages the Mexican was represented as a mixture of rogue, coward, and fool. The Mexican Government was at last driven to make a protest, and the Federal Government, recognising the justice of the complaint, promised to use its influence, purely as an act of grace, to restrain the production of further libels in future.

Even more significant were the consequences which followed the production of the British film *Dawn* last year. This film play purported to represent what occurred at the trial and execution of Nurse Cavell by the Germans in 1916. It seems generally agreed that this film play gave a fairly accurate version of what took place, with the exception of the insertion of one mythical incident in which a member of the firing party refuses to obey the order to fire and is then promptly shot dead by the officer in charge. This incident, as Sir Austen Chamberlain told the House of Commons, was 'inherently incredible and certainly incorrect.' It was, of course, only one of a cycle of legends manufactured during the war to prove that the German people were the helpless dupes of their rulers, the unwilling victims of imperialistic tyranny from which it was the noble ambition of the Allies to rescue them. The whole subject of the film was, however, a favourite and particularly effective theme for anti-German propaganda, and the German Ambassador promptly drew the attention of the British Government to the matter. He was informed officially that nothing could be done, but Sir Austen Chamberlain 'felt so strongly on the subject' that he had a personal interview with Mr. T. P. O'Connor, chairman of the British Board of Film Censors, and presumably as a result of this interview the film *Dawn* was banned from public exhibition. This, however, did not prevent the film being shown in districts whose local authorities decided that there was no valid objection to its exhibition.

The controversy over *Dawn* has a more than passing interest because it will probably prove to be the first of a series of similar controversies. The German Government objected to *Dawn* on the ground that it was an unfriendly act to produce a film in time of peace on a subject which in war-time had provided a basis for much damaging propaganda. Sir Austen Chamberlain admitted the justice of this contention. It was natural that one who had been striving at the colossal task of restoring international good-will should look with disfavour at anything likely to revive the animosities of the past. The producers of *Dawn*, on the other hand, contended that their film was not anti-German but anti-war propaganda. Its object, they declared, was to show the injustice and brutality which war inevitably brings in its

train. Such may have been their [illegible] that what they achieved was to revive [illegible] German feeling. In place of instilling an aversion from war [illegible] awakened the by then nearly dormant passions of war-time. [illegible] execution of Nurse Cavell was hotly denounced as German[illegible] foulest crime, a judicial murder of the blackest kind. In any cas[illegible] it was asked, what right had any foreign Government, least of a[illegible] the German Government, to dictate what kind of films a British company should produce for British audiences?

The last question goes to the very root of the matter. The invention of the cinematograph has provided film-producing States with a new and incomparably effective instrument to influence international public opinion. Is it desirable that this war-time weapon should be allowed unrestricted use in times of peace?

So long as cordial relations exist between two States, an appeal by one to the good-will of the other will, no doubt, generally prove sufficient to prevent mischief. But where latent hostility exists, such an appeal would be worse than useless, as it would only lead to an evasive reply, mutual recriminations, and the advertising of the film in question. Unhappily it cannot be denied that nearly all the European States nurse grievances, often very justifiable grievances, against one or more of their neighbours. Also it is equally undeniable that it is for the good of everybody, not excluding that of the aggrieved parties themselves, that these matters should be allowed to fall into oblivion. The invention of the cinematograph provides a particularly effective means of keeping them fresh in the public mind. Books dealing with the hostilities, invasions, humiliations and atrocities of the past are only read by a comparatively few educated persons. Film plays, on the other hand, can deal with such themes in a very graphic and striking manner, and they can be seen by everyone, including the most youthful, impressionable, and least educated members of the community. Yet there is at present no means of checking the production of such films and their distribution throughout the world, except by appealing to the good-will of the Government of the country producing them.

The League of Nations exists for the express purpose of preserving the peace of the world. In the words of the preamble of the Covenant of the League, its object is 'to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security.' These aims it seeks to achieve by offering to its members a means of settling their disputes by arbitration. But history shows quite clearly that international disputes seldom lead to war unless the memory of past injuries and humiliations make the disputants ready to fight each other. It is submitted here, therefore, that

[illegible] both disputes and in keeping with its main object—the preservation of the peace of the world—that the League of Nations should extend its activities to include, not only the arbitration of disputes, but also the allaying of those passions which make disputes dangerous.

The machinery for so doing already exists. In 1922 the League set up the Permanent Court of International Justice. This Court meets every year at The Hague. It would be quite simple for the members of the League to agree that where one State considered itself liable to injury by the production of a film by another State, the matter should be brought before the Court at The Hague and that its decision should be accepted by all the parties concerned.

Once it has been conceded that the League should do all in its power to restrain its members from going to war with each other, it follows naturally and inevitably that the League should also exercise its influence to restrain its members from conduct likely to lead to war. The law relating to nations is only undergoing the process which the law relating to individuals underwent long ago. In early times the State, representing the other members of the community, did not interfere to prevent A. and B. from settling their differences by fighting a duel. Later the State prosecuted both A. and B. and all persons aiding and abetting them for disturbing the public peace. Later still the State went a step further, so that now A. can be prosecuted for criminal libel if he publishes a statement which is likely to lead to a breach of the peace. Once the State's right to interfere had been established, its theoretical justification was soon lost sight of. A. may be heavy-weight champion of England and B. may be a bedridden old lady, but A. may still be prosecuted for a criminal libel on B.—theoretically on the ground that his statement might lead B. to break the peace by assaulting him. In short, the State exercises to the full its acknowledged right to preserve harmony between its citizens.

Why should not the League extend its activities along similar lines? It exists to preserve international peace. To achieve this it offers to its members a means of settling their disputes by arbitration. Already, however, it goes further than this. To quote Mr. Wilson Harris: 'The League aims at exorcising war by removing some of the commonest causes of war—for example, cut-throat competition and the ill-treatment of racial minorities.' Why should not the League go still further? The real danger to the peace of the world lies, not in the possibility of fresh disputes arising, but in the memory of old disputes. History shows quite clearly that it is seldom the importance of the subject-matter of a dispute which causes a war, but the slumbering animosities and

jealousies which any dispute, however trivial, [illegible] to violent activity. In 1870 not one Frenchman or German in a thousand cared a straw whether Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became King of Spain or not. But the memory of Louis XIV.'s annexation of Alsace and of Napoleon's ruthless treatment of Prussia after Jena was not forgotten in Germany, while the humiliations which followed the overthrow of Napoleon at Leipzig and Waterloo still rankled in France. So the Franco-German War resulted, and the ancient feud was still further intensified. On the other hand, in 1846, Great Britain and the United States amicably agreed that the 49th parallel of latitude should be the line of demarcation between the United States and Canada, thereby settling the ownership of huge territories compared to whose vast extent such celebrated and hotly contested provinces as Alsace or Schleswig-Holstein seem but magnified parishes. In short, when both parties are in a conciliatory and reasonable frame of mind, even the most momentous questions can be settled privately without the aid of the League. But when both parties regard war as a satisfactory means of paying off old scores it is doubtful if all the expostulations and threats of the League would effect much.

'Happy is the country which has had no history' Looking at the condition of modern Europe, we may adapt this saying by declaring, 'Unhappy is the continent which has had too much history!' The best thing that could happen for the nations of Europe is that the events of the last two centuries should be utterly forgotten. It is therefore extremely unfortunate, to say the least of it, that the invention of the cinema has provided a new and incomparably effective method of keeping them fresh in the public mind. The controversy over the film *Dawn* illustrates both the mischief which can result from the display of films of this type and the inadequacy of the at present only method of dealing with it. And in this case the British Government admittedly showed the greatest good-will. It would be absurd to expect that all Foreign Secretaries would be willing, like Sir Austen Chamberlain, to brave the prejudices of their countrymen for the public good. Such matters can only be settled without friction by an appeal to an unprejudiced neutral body whose only object would be to preserve international harmony. As stated above, such a body already exists at The Hague.

It may be objected that if film producers had to take into their calculations the possibility that a film might become the subject of a costly law-suit at The Hague, terminating in its being banned from exhibition in any country, historical films would no longer be produced. The British Government might object to a French film showing the burning of Joan of Arc,

while a film showing the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar might be the subject of a protest by Mussolini on the ground that it represented an act of Italian aggression. The answer to this is, of course, that the Court of International Justice at The Hague would have to exercise common sense like any other judicial body. At first, there might be some little difficulty until a clear boundary line had been laid down by decisions of the Court between what was harmless and what was harmful. In any case, when a frivolous appeal was dismissed, all the costs would be borne by the Government complaining, together, perhaps, with the payment of compensation, while the action would give the film a valuable and world-wide advertisement.

It may be objected also that it is only fair that a country should suffer for its past misdeeds. If it learns to blush for shame at the exhibition of its crimes, it will be less ready to repeat them in the future. There is something in this, certainly, although it seems hardly fair that a man should be expected to blush for shame for the doings of his grandfather's generation. The real objection is that it leads to retaliation. What State has not skeletons in its national cupboard? Without going so far as to say with Anatole France that 'the life of a people is but a succession of miseries, follies and crimes,' the fact remains that, if one cares to seek for them, incidents best forgotten can be found in the history of any nation. If the burning of Louvain is a fitting subject for a film play, what objection could be taken to a film dealing with the burning of Cork by the 'Black and Tans' or with the destruction of Damascus by General Sarrail?

The mischief which such pictures would do in arousing national animosities and, when shown in the East, in lowering the prestige of the white man does not depend, as some people seem to think, upon whether a correct version is given of the incident in question. For example, in the opinion of the present writer, General Dyer was entirely justified in dealing in the drastic manner he did with a most dangerous situation. But a film dealing with the so-called Amritsar massacre would be a most undesirable production, however accurate it might be, because many people take a different view of the incident. In the same way, it is absurd, in the present writer's opinion, to denounce the execution of Nurse Cavell as a crime in view of the fact that any of the belligerent nations would have shot a man caught doing what she admittedly did without the justice of the penalty being called in question by anyone. It is simply ridiculous for a generation that boasts of having established sex equality in all matters (even to the extent of giving votes to girls of twenty-one) to claim that Nurse Cavell ought to have received preferential treatment because she was a woman! At the same time the German

Government were justified in objecting to the exhibition of the film *Dawn* because illogical opinions still persist on the matter. The German Government would be still more justified in objecting to a film dealing with the execution of Captain Fryatt, where the conduct of the German military authorities was utterly inexcusable. In a prosecution for criminal libel it is no defence for the defendant to plead the truth of his libel, the legal maxim being 'The greater the truth, the greater the libel.' He must go on to plead that not only was his statement true, but also that it was in the public interest that he should have published it. The Court of International Justice should apply the same rule. The question should be, not whether a film play gave an accurate version of a particular incident, but whether it was in the public interest that the incident should be recalled to men's minds.

It may be contended that the League of Nations could do little to check the production of films on controversial subjects because the United States, the greatest of all film-producing countries, is not a member of the League. This is unfortunately true, but the difficulty is not necessarily insurmountable. Although not members of the League, both the United States and Russia sent representatives to the Disarmament Conference held recently by the League, while the United States co-operates with the League's Health Organisation, the Health Committee even including a permanent American member There is no reason to assume, therefore, that the United States would be unwilling to co-operate with the League in this matter also In fact, the idea that the cinema industry needs some form of international control is already being seriously discussed in America. Mr. Seabury, a member of the American Bar and a recognised authority on all matters relating to the cinema, has recently published a book, *Motion Picture Problems*, in which he actually argues that the cinema industry of the entire world should be placed under the control of the League. Put shortly, his argument is that those who control the industry have no sense of public responsibility and pander to the lowest tastes. The average film, he declares, 'is concerned only with crime, sex and money played down to the crudest and most elemental form.' Certainly many recent productions justify the complaint that film plays are written by the half-educated for the half-witted; but in England most people will doubt whether popular tastes can be raised by legislation, and in any case will consider such an aim quite outside the scope of such a body as the League. It is submitted that it is only when a film could have an influence upon international relations that the League should be empowered to interfere.

The League of Nations already includes within the scope of

its activities such matters of international importance as the control of the sale of opium and other drugs, white slavery, sweated labour, and the prevention of disease. Film producing is an international industry, and, so far as its effects are of international concern, it should be subject to international control.

F. J. P. VEALE.

THE GALLEYS OF CALIGULA

First Phase

It is a singular fact that, while the Lake of Nemi and the Temple of Diana on its shore are variously mentioned by classic authors, including Ovid, Virgil, Strabo and Pausanias, there is no direct reference extant in ancient literature to the Galleys of Caligula, Suetonius, however, tells us that the emperor ordered the construction of ships in cedar-wood. The poops were covered with precious stones, and the vessels contained baths, galleries, dining-rooms, as well as gardens full of fruit trees of every kind, but these ships, he continues, were used to coast along the shores of Campania.

There is no record of the ships of Nemi, the relics of which are now being salved after immersion in the lake for nearly 2000 years. Caligula built many ships, palaces, and bridges. His extravagance was a mania, and everything he did was calculated to prove an imperial tyranny which he regarded as a divine right. When we remember that he constructed a bridge from Baiæ to Puteoli in order to ride across the sea, when we recall that he erected temples to his own godhead and placed therein golden statues of himself, dressing them in clothing such as he wore himself, when we consider his incest and murders, the ships of Nemi were but an incident in a sensational career But they were a detail which became an immortal legend, and eventually, thanks to Mussolini and a few ardent archæologists and artists, a legend that is again a fact.

We are nearing the solution of this great mystery. One ship of Nemi is completely visible; the other, let us hope, will be brought to light before the end of the year. The voluptuous feasts and curious revels celebrated on these floating palaces will ever be the subject of romantic speculation.

When these ships sank out of sight, the illustrious days of Rome were passing. Twilight had fallen across the greatest of empires, but the glimmer of its splendour remained.

Even in the Dark Ages the dwellers amid the ruins by the lakeside believed in the secret ships, and their knowledge was no

doubt handed down by word of mouth generation after generation. The fishermen tore their nets on some colossal wreck and brought up coins, large copper nails, pieces of wood and mosaics. But Christianity turned away from such pagan things as from things accursed, and the great shadows which, in certain atmospheric conditions, could always be seen under the water might well have been suspect as diabolical symbols.

Not until 1446, when the Renaissance looked to pagan Rome for inspiration, was there any sort of official inquiry into these nautical mysteries. Cardinal Prospero Colonna, lord of Nemi and Genzano, invited the engineer Leon Battista Alberti to try and salve the galleys.

Alberti constructed a raft and erected thereon windlasses to which were attached ropes with grappling-irons. He brought up part of the prow and other objects which excited much curiosity among the Roman intelligentsia of the time, but Alberti wisely realised that his methods were only destructive, and the work was abandoned.

Another effort to probe the secret was made in July 1535 by Francesco De Marchi, a great military engineer and architect. His experiments are especially interesting because he had recourse to a diving apparatus invented by Guglielmo di Lorena, and it is believed that the waters of Nemi were the first to be entered by a diver in the mechanical sense. De Marchi, in the lively description of his adventures, explains the instrument in which he lescended to the bottom of the lake. It was a box, 5 palms long × 3 broad,[1] working on the principle of a diving-bell, covering the tpper part of the body and leaving the legs free to move about. n this machine he remained under water about an hour until the old and bad air compelled him to come up. The box was fitted rith a crystal, through which, on sunny days, he could see objects under water. About the size of a man's hand, it had the disadvantage of acting as a magnifying glass, and De Marchi tells us hat the little fish called *latterini* (which are not unlike our whitebait in size and taste) appeared as long as an arm, and had he not been informed of this phenomenon he might have been afraid. One can well imagine the terrifying spectacle of being surrounded by swarms of minnows enlarged to the size of a pike. As it was, he *latterini*, resenting the intrusion of a man in their own private domain, did not hesitate to show it by stinging him in the most ender parts of his anatomy.

De Marchi, however, confirmed the fact of one vessel, calling t the barque of Trajan, and reported its approximate shape and he existence of a superstructure, but he did not attempt to enter t for fear of losing himself. Had he fallen, his machine would have

[1] 1 metre [illegible]

filled with water, and only a good swimmer could have extricated himself from such a dangerous predicament.

The efforts of De Marchi, like those of Alberti, resulted in a small harvest of relics and a great deal of damage. 'I fastened,' says he, 'part of the ship to a crane which was supported on a raft above, and sixteen men hauled up enough pine, cypress and larch timber to load two good mules. Also I found a piece of paving of a beautiful red colour. Upon my trying again the same method, the cable broke and the work was abandoned.'

Peace reigned over the lovely waters of Nemi for nearly three centuries. Not until 1827 was any further attempt made to explore the wrecks, when Annesio Fusconi undertook the search for sunken treasure on a fairly ambitious scale.

He used the diving-bell invented by Halley, by means of which several persons could work under water. Fusconi made a scientific assault on the galleys. His experiences are still on record in a rare pamphlet, *Memoria archeologica idraulica sulla la Nave dell' imperatore Tiberio, Roma* 1839, an extract of which has its historical value.

The Halley apparatus, improved upon by Fusconi for the experiment at Nemi, was a vase in the form of a truncated cone with the top closed and the base open. The upper part of the bell was fitted with strong crystal which admitted light into the interior of the machine. The essential difference between this bell and the invention of Halley was that air was pumped down into it.

Of the other machinery, there were two stages or rafts which, joined together, measured 87 palms long and 37 palms broad. This was supported on the water by a number of empty casks. A machine was always ready to pump out the water from these casks and fill them with air to keep the stage afloat. In the middle of the raft and immediately over an opening three trestles were erected, the central one being larger than the other two, and from this one the diving-bell was lowered and raised by means of a pulley.

The bell could accommodate eight men. To give it equilibrium, and to assure a vertical descent without rocking, 16,000 lb. of lead was placed round the lip. By the aid of the lesser cranes the necessary tools and receptacles for small objects were lowered.

Instead of Halley's barrel device, Fusconi made use of an air-box placed in an angle of the raft to which were attached two tubes of flexible leather which connected with the top of the bell. From cylinders of a new invention air was pumped into the diving-bell, which could be regulated at the will of the men in the machine according as they desired to renew the atmosphere and release the bad air.

Communication between the men in charge of the operations above and below the raft was made in writing. For this purpose a rubber tube fixed to a long cord was passed up and down, and

written instructions were enclosed in it. The raft was furnished with a rudder, and two or more rowers could move it about from place to place. To increase the light in the bell the interior was treated with a white luminous varnish. The divers were provided with thick flannel clothes dipped in a liquid which made them impermeable. In this garb they could work many hours under water without suffering from dampness or cold.

In the second chapter of his book there is a description by those who took part in the work :

> Comforted by the example of those illustrious men, worthy of the name Italian, without any reward other than that of their own courage, Signor Fusconi began his experiment in 1827 We have discussed his machine and his efforts to avoid danger. It but remains to show how he, with the considerable expense of 30,000 lire from his private fortune, carried out the work. An immense quantity of wood, iron, and lead was transported from Rome to Genzano and then down to the lakeshore. The raft was built, launched, and anchored over the place where the galley was supposed to be. A large stand was constructed on the shore to accommodate a crowd of spectators, including the diplomatic corps, members of the Roman nobility and distinguished foreigners who had been invited for September 10, the day on which the work was begun.
>
> The divers went down in the bell, and within a short time gave the signal to ascend, bringing up with them some bricks inlaid with iron bearing the inscription 'Tib Cæs.' and various metal nails. This performance was loudly applauded by those present

It was the hope of Fusconi to extract the galley piecemeal from the lake, but inclement weather put an end to his operations, the year 1827 being remarkable for its heavy rainfall. This made the waters of Nemi so cold that the divers could not descend.

The objects recovered by him from the lake were more than those of the other adventurers, Cardinal Colonna, De Marchi and Alberti, put together

We can only thank fortune that Fusconi was frustrated from carrying out his intentions, which would have meant the entire destruction of the vessel. To him and the men of the Renaissance must be attributed more damage than to the action of time and the water. With the Fusconi effort ended what may be described as the old as distinct from the new discoveries which began in 1895.

In this year Signor Eliseo Borghi employed an expert diver to make researches. The first object to be recovered was a small cylindrical bronze, bearing the head of a lion of exquisite workmanship. The box formed part of an anchor column, and some of the wood of the said column was attached. Other bronze heads of a wolf, hyena and Medusa were found, in addition to many beams and nails. Most of the heads bore in their mouths a ring, but critical inspection revealed that they were of an ornamental

value, a decorative note at the end of some beam. The rin which were held only by the teeth of the animals themselve could not have served for mooring anything heavy. Another fi was a grating of pure bronze which was probably used horizontal as a ventilator on board the galley. Lead tubes and plate bearing the stamps 'C. Cæsaris. Aug Germanici,' identified th derelict with Caligula.

All these relics are in the National Museum at Rome. Whil Di Borghi's investigations were proceeding the fishermen brough information that, in the neighbourhood called Sasso di Germanico at about 200 metres from the shore, they had discovered th whereabouts of another wreck. The diver went down in the new locality and proved the existence of a second ship lying in about 20 metres of water. He brought up a large quantity of beams an a bronze inaugural hand similar to that found in the Tevere in 1886

Di Borghi's experiment was the last great violation. Though deplorable, it had at least a speedy reaction in the minds of thos who had the true interest of these treasures at heart. Th vandalism of 1895 caused an indignant protest, and the Govern ment forbade any further pillage.

The Minister of Instruction then invited the naval enginee Vittorio Malfatti to study the galleys and all the problems referring to them, and it is to him that we owe the precise knowledge o their size, structure, and position in the lake It was he who als first suggested the draining of Nemi. Since that time the matte was constantly before the authorities Many famous writers, artists, and engineers—Lucia Morpurgo, Carlo Montani, Felice Barnabei, Costantino Maes, among others—combined to awaken interest and enthusiasm in this historic question. In 1927 a Commission, presided over by Senator Corrado Ricci, the distinguished archæologist, published plans for the recovery of the ships. The matter was put before Mussolini, who, with characteristic decision, ordered the engineers to drain the lake, a work of truly Roman magnitude

Salvage of ships in these days is comparatively simple. To extract two wrecks from still waters of the Lake of Nemi is not a task to baffle any competent engineer. But the archæological value of these vessels resides in their preservation intact as far as possible. It was hardly likely that such antiquities embedded in mud, sand, and weeds could be raised without damage. Furthermore, in the course of centuries, and having regard to previous efforts at salvage, parts of the ships must have become detached. The ideal objective was to salve them in entirety, not to rescue them in fragments. Only by a complete survey of the galleys and the *débris* surrounding them could their reconstruction be properly effected.

The Lake of Nemi, known to the ancient world as Diana's Mirror, lies amid the Alban Hills, 15 miles from Rome, and is volcanic in origin. The sides of the crater are steep, and to lower the water of the lake sufficiently to uncover both ships necessitated the absorption of about 22 metres in depth. The volume of water involved was 31,000,000 cubic metres, leaving 7,000,000 cubic metres in the lake. The surface of the lake, normally 1,719,000 square metres, would be reduced to 908,000 square metres. Where to send the water was the next question. The most convenient outflow was the antique emissary, a work dating from Etruscan times. This venerable aqueduct was inspected and made serviceable again, after hundreds of years, by the engineers. Where time had injured it the passage was restored. Through this channel the water finds its way across the valley of Ariccia to the sea.

The preparation for this colossal feat and the installation of four great electric pumps occupied many months of laborious work. In October last, with an appropriate speech, Mussolini set the machinery in motion.

Night and day the pumps drank up the lake at the rate of 5 centimetres every twenty-four hours (which rate has latterly been doubled by the work of extra pumps). In the month of April last a beam of the first imperial barque appeared above the water and was promptly honoured with the Italian flag. The ship is now completely exposed, and her size and style are known. She is 64 by 20 metres, which coincides approximately with the facts obtained by Malfatti over thirty years ago.

The damage caused by the earlier attempts at treasure-hunting is obvious. Much of the woodwork is missing, but at least half of the ship was so deeply interred in the mud of the lake's bed that it escaped the teeth of the grappling-irons.

It is too early to give a detailed description of the galley. The whole mass has to be carefully cleaned, and every fragment, both inside and out, pertaining to it placed in position.

But a preliminary study of the relic is a unique lesson in Roman shipbuilding, and, even if these vessels were specially designed as pleasure-boats, the woodwork, nails, rivets and plating on the hull are the only records we have of the actual methods of Roman shipwrights

Already many structural facts have been gleaned by technical experts. The keel of the first galley is 40 by 30 centimetres in section ; the central carling, which is an inner keel, is 30 by 20 centimetres. Many of the beams connecting the ship's sides are intact. The ribs of the hull are placed at intervals of 48 centimetres.

An interesting feature of the planking of the sides of the galley

is a thick fabric, like felt, placed between the wood itself and the outer plates of lead. This material is of a dark coffee colour, and still possesses some strength and signs of the warp and woof. The metal plates are held in position by copper nails, similar to those already in the National Museum in Rome.

In a recent interview Senator Ricci offered a likely theory as to the way in which the ships were sunk. Several probabilities have been put forward, the most sensational being that Caligula ordered them to be scuttled while his guests made merry, sending his friends and the treasures that must have adorned these floating palaces to a sudden and dramatic end.

Senator Ricci is no doubt nearer the truth when he tells us that the ships, after the death of the emperor, were abandoned and fell into disrepair. An attempt later was made to haul them to the nearest shore, the better to despoil them of their movable ornaments. It is significant that both the galleys rest with their sterns to the lakeside and their prows towards the deep water, also that there is no trace of a landing-stage or place of anchorage in this part of the lake. It can be assumed that ships of such length and bulk would have been anchored at a point where the water reached a depth of at least 35 metres. In towing the boats, heavily encumbered with mosaics, gilded architecture and leaden plates, they heeled over near the shore and sank.

An explanation of the existence of two ships is that one was the royal residence and the other, though larger, was an attendant vessel.

It was hoped that the draining of the lake would reveal important vestiges and perhaps statues belonging to the several ancient villas and the temple of Diana Nemorensis, but so far little has been found. A discovery of value, however, is part of the old Roman road which led from the hill at Genzano to the lakeside. This was unearthed in making a new highway, and the limousine now runs smoothly over the very stones that echoed to the hoof of horse and shoe of patrician and slave

What of the effect of this great work on the appearance of the lake and surrounding fields? People who have not seen this beauty spot in the Alban Hills may recall Turner's poetic vision of Nemi, which is reproduced in Sir James Frazer's monumental work, *The Golden Bough* It is the identical place where grew the sacred tree which was the symbol of eternal life in one of the primitive creeds of mankind.

To-day the melancholy of death is upon the lake, and Diana would be afraid to look into her mirror. Since the water has been withdrawn many of the fields have crumbled as from the effect of an earthquake. Fissures appear here and there, and fine trees, robbed of their sustenance, have failed to put forth foliage. Some

robust beeches have fallen headlong amid the ochre-coloured stones, now glaring for the first time since creation at the summer sun. On the Genzano side a heavy landslide, making a thunderous noise, put the engineers on their guard against a similar collapse elsewhere.

The aspect of Nemi to-day is sad, but the onerous work goes on in the cause of art and science.

No mystery should be closed to the prying eyes of the archæologist. But never again will the world meditate at Nemi on the strange, romantic story of the two Roman galleys shrouded in an impenetrable crystal tomb. They are being salved from the gulf of Time.

We now await the second phase of this great and ideal effort of Fascism.

ALBERT BUHRER.

PLATO'S QUARREL WITH ART

THE ravages and desolation of the Dark and Middle Ages, following on the repeated plundering of Italy and other countries by barbarians or warring factions, destroyed or buried the incredible riches of ancient art in all its forms Here and there a few specimens of ancient architecture survived from the tremendous solidity of their construction or because they were situated in lonely places or had been appropriated for the service of the Christian religion. And when, with increasing security of life, artists began once more to create their forms, it was first the Church and then the State which employed and wholly occupied their powers. Then from being the decorator of churches and public buildings art passed again into the service of private patrons, and the easel picture and portrait began the series of magnificent private collections in the palaces of the rich throughout Europe. Ancient sculpture was eagerly sought for beneath the accumulated dust of centuries and passed into the hands of the wealthy. Works of art became treasures of art for whose possession men were once ready to commit crimes and now pour out their thousands of pounds. Their values depreciate or appreciate according to even more incalculable influences than those of the Stock Exchange, so that they have become a very profitable form of investment, affording a thrill of excitement similar to a deal in 'mines' or 'industrials' The consecration born of financial wonder has replaced the earlier religious or social feeling for works of art, and where financial aspects or modes of popular taste cannot intrude the peculiar 'museum atmosphere' spreads a magnifying and sanctifying spirit upon its possessions.

Perhaps none of the better aspects of modern civilisation would more astonish a Greek of the fifth century B.C , if one could return for a while to Europe, than the consideration and devotion which are shown to the slightest relics of Hellenic art. The sight of so many museums filled with more or less ruined specimens of that art, bought at a high price and jealously watched over by numerous officials, admired in perfunctory or rapt fashion by a continuous stream of visitors, minutely examined and voluminously explained by learned men of all nations, would provoke

from him an unfeigned if less contemptuous astonishment than most of the aspects of our exaggerated social life and over-advertised progress.

The existence of museums has worked with strange effect on our attitude towards art. The princes and rich men of the Hellenic world formed private and public collections of the art of the past, but that art represented a natural and living tradition. The Romans are the real originators of museums and of the artificial cult of art. Eager to appear a cultured and artistic people, when their native qualities had raised them to supreme power, their rich men and princes and emperors searched and ransacked Greece and the cities of Asia for works of art with which to decorate the open spaces and temples and libraries of Rome, their private palaces and villas. The work of art, detached from its national, religious and social associations and transplanted into Italy, became an article of *vertu*, valued as the work of a rare or famous artist, and contemplated as beautiful in itself without further significance. From this time onwards we find schools of artists renouncing true creative effort and setting themselves to reproduce in their work the qualities of archaic Greek sculpture to supplement the limited supply of originals.

Those who approach the study of ancient art naturally do so with the conceptions of the culture of their own age, and find it difficult to appreciate exactly the position which art occupied in the general scheme of things in Greece during the fifth and most of the fourth centuries B C before the satisfaction of the æsthetic emotions had been recognised as an end in itself or a cult of art established. In those centuries sculpture and painting were handmaids in the service of the religious and social aspects of the State. Early statues were preserved and respected, not from antiquarian interest or æsthetic delight in primitive simplicity, but from definite feelings of religious veneration. Such feelings did not exclude the recognition that one statue might suggest more adequately than another the divine nature of the god so represented. Dio Chrysostom found the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia the most perfect expression of the supreme god for all who admit the existence of divine beings in the world. The greatness of art lay for him, as it did for Plato hundreds of years before, in the influence for good which radiated from it. The statue of the Olympian Zeus was not more holy than a primitive image, but its moral and religious value, its power for good, was infinitely higher. The modern spectator can only reach that standpoint by an effort of historical imagination ; at other times he is left with the sculptured or painted form as something that delights him without further implications.

It would seem that much of our modern æsthetic feeling has

arisen from the examination of the art of the past, torn from its original position and spiritual associations, and artificially enhanced in value by its scarcity. The statue of Apollo or Hera is no longer seen in the sanctity of its temple by the believing mind and reverent eye; the altar-piece has been too often taken from its place in church or monastery and is now gazed at by a sceptical or indifferent stranger. The original unity of the work has been broken, and a distinction between permanent and temporal elements in a work of art has been set up. In looking at a Florentine or Venetian altar-piece we are bidden to consider the colour or the design as the permanent and true æsthetic elements which must be somehow enjoyed apart from the subject-matter, which may or may not be approved by the spiritual or intellectual development of the spectator.

For the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries and the earlier part of the fourth such a division did not exist, nor were religious or artistic values established as ends in themselves independent of political and social purposes. It is from disregard of these circumstances that Plato's strictures upon art have appeared so severe, and even unjust, to modern readers, accustomed to pay an unquestioning homage to the slightest remains of the art of his age. The standpoint from which Plato regards art is not only very different from ours, but different, though to a less degree, from that of his contemporaries. They may have thought that he attributed too much influence to art in taking the trouble to limit so strictly its themes and form. We are astonished that he fails to recognise the uplifting and religious power of the art of the Periclean age, and that he counts it all as a form of imitation, and classes the artist with the Sophist as a maker of images against whom we must be on our guard. Yet it is evident enough that theoretically he admits that art is an important influence in life; what he fights against is its separation from the general life of the city-State. We acquiesce in that alienation. Plato, living in an age when that alienation was beginning for the first time in any culture of which he had experience, and concerned chiefly for the saving of society as a whole, fights with all his powers against any disintegrating influence. His end is to restore or achieve the unification of human activities directed to one end, the knowledge and realisation of the good

Before examining Plato's personal views upon art it may be well to consider the general feelings of the Greeks of that period towards art, in which he, too, as a Greek, naturally shared. It is not only Plato who surprises us by passing so lightly over the masterpieces of Greek sculpture and painting and architecture, mentioning Phidias and Polygnotus merely as being the most accomplished members of a particular class of workers. The

writers of the Periclean age, Herodotus and Thucydides, the orators of the fourth century, say nothing at all about Athenian art or accept it as a natural appendage to civic life. We might have expected Pericles to say something definite about it in the *Funeral Oration*. All he says is that 'we are lovers of the beautiful' and 'our homes are beautiful and elegant, and the delight we have daily in them scares sadness away.'[1] And when the orators recall the glories of Athens it is the political achievements, the victories and courage and endurance of their ancestors in the fifth century, not the plays of Sophocles or the works of Phidias or Ictinus, which seem to them memorable. Or if they quote from the poets of the past, it is not to praise the artist, but to draw lessons of noble patriotism and wisdom, just as Aristophanes, in the earliest work of Greek literary criticism that we possess, praises Æschylus for inspiring his fellow-citizens with courage and asserts that a poet should make men better. Yet those few quiet words of Pericles, if we read them with an alert imagination to realise their full significance, reveal very clearly, not only the sensitiveness of the Athenians to beauty of form and artistic achievement, but its omnipresent activity. How many moderns, for whom Art has come to have such a large capital letter, can say that it is a daily influence in life? Perhaps it was just because it was a permanent daily influence that their writers pass easily over it as they pass over the sunlight and atmosphere of Athens, and acknowledge so scantily the debt they owe to their artists.

What reasons are there for this cool recognition and acceptance of what seems to us so precious and mysterious a manifestation? First, there is the greater absorption of the Greeks in actual life. It is impossible to read the record of Athens in the fifth century B.C. without feeling that there was practically none of that detachment from the general life of the State which is so common in the modern world. It was not that they had to toil for their daily bread Slave-labour, the payment of various public services, abstemiousness in eating, and hardy constitutions saved them from that continuous or exhausting physical work which checks any form of thought; it did not, on the other hand, turn them into secluded critics, but gave them liberty to occupy themselves as citizens with politics and to enjoy themselves with their fellow-men. In the hostility to Euripides we can see the natural suspicion of the active Athenian against any critical aloofness towards life. 'We regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs not as a harmless but as a useless character.' Life fascinated them—especially the corporate life of the State, which was then making its first voyage across unknown seas to an unknown land. Public rather than private life was the great

[1] Marchant (Macmillan & Co.).

adventure. They realised very clearly the uncertainties and limitations and suffering to which the individual was subject; but they did not renounce life and retire into an inner world, nor did they use their artistic powers to create forms and visions which might console them for the deficiencies of the present. The description of art as a 'consolation of exiles by the waters of Babylon' is not true of that age, and there is more truth in the application to them of Carlyle's words that they were 'too much at home in Zion.' With unclouded vitality and untroubled nerve they welcomed life among the living, and unquestioningly regarded the union of mind and body in a living being as possessing a higher power of beauty than any work created by man's hand. The antithesis or parallelism of 'art and life' which is so familiar to the modern world did not exist for them. Their identification of beauty and goodness led away from art to life, and in the *Funeral Oration* Pericles censures art as dimming rather than increasing the truth and beauty of reality. 'We shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day.'[2]

The sphere of the beautiful has become very circumscribed in the modern world, and we are no longer quick, or even able, to see beauty in many phases of life where the Greeks readily felt its presence. It is now unduly confined to impressions received in museums or concert-halls, or in fine scenery, and not discovered in the relationship of friends, in the proportions of bodies rather than in facial expression, in general orderliness and balance of action and thought. The two adjectives 'beautiful' and 'good' (καλός, ἀγαθός) were almost inseparable in judging the actions of an Athenian where moral qualities were to be displayed. Here, again, the beauty of 'the living' exercised its spell, and naturally received a higher value than the 'lifeless' beauty of sculpture or painting or architecture.

The Greek admiration of physical beauty has been often dilated upon, but the implications of that cult have not always been brought out so clearly Our attention is chiefly concentrated on the beauty of women, the grace and charm of their form, especially in expression of face and head No sensible person, who surveys the sculpture of the Greeks, can think that they were oblivious to female beauty because their standards of married life and the relationship of the sexes were so different from ours. But they were also very sensitive to male beauty—sensitive, as we know, to the point of aberration. This fuller enjoyment of the beauty of living form, male and female, may also help to explain to a considerable extent their coolness

[2] Jowett.

towards artistic form in sculpture. During the fifth century B.C. and much of the following one we feel that the general attitude towards sculpture and painting is that of Browning's rider:

> And that's your Venus whence we turn
> To yonder girl that fords the burn.

'When a beautiful soul harmonises with a beautiful form, and the two are cast in one mould, that will be the fairest of sights to him who has an eye to see it.'[1] In the same way Socrates turned away from the trees and streams and hills of Attica, which could teach him nothing, to the men and youths of the Athenian streets.

Again, we must remember the nature of the Olympian gods and their effect upon the Athenian attitude to sculpture. The Olympians, as they appeared to the men of the fifth century from the Homeric poems, are themselves an artistic creation, uniquely endowed by literature with form and personality. The divine bodies fashioned by sculptors for the chamber of a temple or its pediments may have hardly seemed ideal, or, at least, no more than imitations of literature, to minds which drew their conceptions of divine bodies and powers from the *Iliad*. Phidias is supposed to have been inspired by Homer's presentation of Zeus in creating his statue for the temple at Olympia, and the thoughts of the spectator must in general have been carried away from the sculptured form of the living god of Olympus or Delphi, who, though he may not have possessed a more perfectly proportioned and developed body, possessed what the statue did not possess, an immortal power of thought and action, with all the delight that thought and action, freed from the limitations of human life, must contain. The sculptor's and painter's work had not that vitality of life which fascinated the Greeks, which made them find the beautiful most of all in the living, nor could it compete with the greater freedom and movement of life possible in literary representation.

Lastly, all sculpture and painting, which was not industrial, was created and remained under religious influence either in temples or as votive or dedicatory offerings in sacred precincts, and was never so divested of content or illustrative purpose as to become simply a beautiful object displayed for æsthetic contemplation. And much of it could only be seen from a distance, and formed part of a decorative system. We admire the beauty of the so-called Theseus and the rest of the 'Elgin Marbles' from a distance of a few feet. The Athenians saw them raised 50 or 60 feet above their heads; the mass of monumental Greek sculpture was seen in this way, or else, in the case of the statue of the

[1] *Republic* (Jowett).

god to whom the temple was consecrated, in the dim light of the sanctuary. The effect of this placing was not an appreciation of individual excellencies or a conscious relationship to a particular form, but a general impression of harmony and beauty. Such is the function and influence of art which Plato welcomed in a well-known passage in the *Republic*, where he describes how great an advantage it is, if youth dwell 'in a land of health amid fair sights and sounds, and receive the good in everything; and beauty, the effluence of fair works, shall flow into the eye and ear like a health-giving breeze from a purer region and insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of vision.'[4]

But though Plato undoubtedly shared in the general attitude of the Greeks towards works of art, his criticism rests principally upon his own theory of the beautiful which springs from his conception of reality. He held that justice, knowledge, temperance and beauty, as seen in earthly things, were faint and inadequate realisations of the perfect justice, knowledge, temperance and beauty dwelling in the 'place above the heavens' which human souls beheld more or less completely in their pre-natal existence. The perfect delight of that vision and the beauty of those original 'forms' are recalled on earth by the sight of beauty, etc., in material objects causing the beholder to long for them and to refuse to rest content with the imperfect glimpses offered to him in this or that sensible phenomenon. The various manifestations of beauty or temperance are only incitements, or helps to the individual soul on the way to perfection, the flight from 'this world to the other,' the process of becoming like God And thus it is that in the *Symposium* Plato presents the perception of beauty on earth as various stages in a process by which the soul rises from point to point in a continually widening vision of beauty, as the reality of all things. The desire to see and enjoy beauty is the spur which urges the soul onwards, each particular glimpse awaking more keenly in the spectator the thought of 'Beauty itself, clear, pure, separate, not gross with human flesh and tainted with colours and decked with perishing gauds—what thinkest thou, if he could behold Beauty Itself divine, uniform.'[5]

Plato's detailed criticism of art is chiefly known from various passages in the *Republic*. But the *Sophist*, a much later dialogue, puts in shorter and sharper form what he felt to be the cardinal weakness and insufficiency of artistic creation. Imitation, the Stranger says, is a kind of creation of images, not of real things Creation, the power which causes things to exist not previously

[4] Jowett.
[5] *The Myths of Plato*, p. 417 (Stewart: Macmillan).

existing, is of two kinds—human and divine; those things which are said to be made by Nature are the work of divine art, and things which are made by man out of those things are works of human art. These two classes of objects fall into two divisions. Divine art contains in one class all animal life, the elements, etc.; in the other are placed natural reflections or images of such things or dreams visiting man in sleep. In the same way human art is divided into two classes, one of humanly-made realities, such as house or temple, and the other containing the images or imitations of such things, *e.g.* a painted house or temple. This second class of humanly-made reality is described as a sort of 'dream created by man for those who are awake,' a vivid and illuminating description of the peculiar spell of good art, but none the less a clear proof of the unreality of art in the more serious business of life. This art of image-making is also divided into two classes, one executing the copy in the exact proportions of the original, *i.e.* a model, the other including sculpture and painting, in which deception is practised in the proportions to produce the required effect. Such imitations are only appearances, and the art of making them is called the 'phantastic' art. The artist's work is, then, as Socrates says, three degrees from the truth and as far from real beauty. So strong and precise is Plato's view that sculpture and painting are a form of deceptive imitation that he does not seem to have seriously contemplated the possibility that such artists might be inspired in their work by a recollection of the vision of 'heavenly beauty.' They are no more than craftsmen, and if their work possesses beauty it is the beauty of copying successfully human proportions and harmonies without any infusion of spiritual value. What they do successfully is done on reasoned knowledge. The inspiration which tragic and dithyrambic poets claimed had no value in Plato's opinion—it was unreasoned, and might be good or bad. Everywhere we see the over-intellectualised quality of the Athenian mind. No doubt Plato believed that the philosopher would make the best artist, if he could be spared for such achievements.

> I cannot help feeling [Socrates says in the *Phædrus*] that writing is unfortunately like painting; for the creations of the painter have the attitude of life, and yet if you ask them a question they preserve a solemn silence. And the same may be said of speeches. You would imagine that they had intelligence, but if you want to know anything and put a question to one of them, the speaker always gives one unvarying answer. And when once they have been written down they are tumbled anywhere among those who may or may not understand them and know not to whom they should reply, to whom not. (Jowett.)

The view which Socrates held about the dumbness of painting would apply equally well to sculpture, nor does he separate

[illegible] they might [illegible], as he [illegible] on a lower level than the 'heavenly rhetoric' which he was always seeking, which was not even the eloquence of 'apocalyptic vision' in the winged soul, but the living word working from mind to mind through speech, 'which has a soul and of which the written word is properly no more than an image.' *The burden of Plato's criticism of art is that it is divorced from the advancing or moving world of thought, separated from the dialectic of actual experience, and therefore unable to adjust itself to various types of temperament which react to very different appeals. As the rhetorician must study and be able to recognise the various types of human nature with whom he has to deal, and must adapt his speech to their nature, so the work of the artist cannot hope to exercise an universal appeal, but will satisfy the emotional needs, either higher or lower, of this or that type of character*

The satisfaction which anyone receives from regarding a beautiful object, whether it be a body, colour, figure or institution, is held by Plato to be pleasure. In the *Philebus* he establishes a class of 'pure pleasures' derived from the perception of certain mathematical forms or figures, sounds, smells and learning. Thus he accepts, no less than the modern æsthetic theorist, a contemplative attitude, a 'pure artistic emotion,' towards certain things, but the difference lies in the name and value which Plato assigns to the feelings aroused by the object He calls it pleasure, and pleasure is the most uncertain and worthless of standards by which to judge anything, so that the object whose content or significance is wholly expressed by the pleasure which it excites in the spectator is something very unimportant in the scale of human values. 'That only can be rightly judged by the standard of pleasure which makes or furnishes no utility or truth or likeness, nor on the other hand is productive of any hurtful quality.'

In the *Gorgias* Socrates says that an object, animate or inanimate, is beautiful because it arouses pleasure or is useful or combines both qualities. Now, if the object simply gives pleasure, it is on the lowest plane of material objects of contemplation, something which is neither useful nor harmful. 'If there be any music'—and the contention would hold good of other forms of art—'of which pleasure is the criterion, such music is not to be sought out or deemed to have any excellence' But because all forms of art—sculpture, painting, music and literature—are in Plato's view imitative, that is, in relation to some other form of reality, the contemplation of them involves of necessity something more than pure pleasure. What use are they as imitations or

...tations of something for the spectator? Are they not ...deceptions or hindrances in the pursuit of the truth, giving ...red copy of an original which itself only forms part of the ...of appearances?

...Wer das Tiefste gedacht liebt das Lebendige,' wrote Hölderlin ...two-stanza poem called *Socrates und Alcibiades*, and showed ... as so often, his insight into Greek thought and life. The ...ary Greek feeling for life, for the beauty of the human body ...e highest form of life, was immediate and unreasoned, a ... enjoyment of appearances, coming from a sense for pro...n and usefulness in things. Plato passes behind the beauty ...ysical appearance and posits a more permanent form of life, ...ife of the soul, which is nourished by beauty and the other ...s' forming together a spiritual world. It is the 'ideas' ...h live in the truest sense, for they communicate, in some ...terious manner, movement and desire—that is, life—to the ...l, and engage it in that dialectical process which leads to eternal ..., freed from the waste and barriers of material things.

The statue, the painting and poem are lifeless things; they ...n, as Socrates says, give only an unvarying answer, and they ...e all imitations of the world of appearances, less true than ...ose appearances which are themselves imperfect forms of ...ality In most places where Plato discusses the beautiful, ...nd especially in the *Phædrus* and *Symposium*, his examples ...re taken only from the world of physical or spiritual life, things ...which can participate in the development of the individual soul ...nd society. It is not the statue, or the painting, or the tragedy, ...which makes the 'lover' bring forth spiritually, but the hands or ...ace or total presence of a living being, or the beauty of a good life ...r of science, all of them factors or active powers in the one ...piritual process, changing themselves just as they cause others to ...hange. The beauty of the living is much more precious than the ...eauty of the inanimate. The statue of a man cannot compete ...ith the living creature; the representation of the god falls far ...hort of the spiritual nature of the divine. Such works are them...elves the creations of men, who have conceived them they know ...ot how, and they are only considered by Plato to have value ...s an inspiration to goodness; and apparently only in poetry and ...usic did he discern the possibility of such power and complain ...f the general indifference to their high calling. The 'impressive,' 'significant' values, the peculiar 'æsthetic emotion,' 'transcen...dental feeling,' the sense of that 'which was and is and ever shall ...e,' which the modern world discovers in works of art, acting ...ke a spell, experienced in a moment of passionate contemplation, ...f Plato had so analysed the effect, would, we cannot help feeling, ...till have been placed under the head of pleasure, and not even

regarded as 'pure pleasure' because it is often a craving, and criticised as an unimportant and selfish experience, fostering particular and anti-social impulses in the character.

How thrilling it would be to discover a dialogue by Plato on the beautiful in which the Parthenon should be the chief illustration. We shall, it seems, never know what thoughts or criticisms passed through Plato's mind when he went up to the Acropolis. But the thinker who in the *Philebus* has assigned such a high place in the Good to qualities of measure, symmetry, limit and sufficiency, can hardly have failed to appreciate the realisation of those qualities for a certain purpose in that building. Surely he must have recognised there an incorporation of beauty, yet limited and inanimate. It was a useful and beautiful dwelling-place for the statue of Athens' goddess. What more could it be? How much did it or could it influence the souls of those who saw it in their daily comings and goings? Did not the very perfection of its precision, its essential finitude, repress or frustrate those infinite longings, those 'shadowy recollections' in the soul, which Plato held to be so precious for the good life? No doubt it gave him, as it gave many other Athenians, great delight. It was beautiful in the essential Hellenic manner But how could it influence the beholder, communicate to him anything more than pleasure, impart an active principle of harmony and fairness to strengthen the will? How could its silent form express the secret of its perfection and urge others to perfect themselves? It could not teach, for the essence of teaching in Plato's thought is the power of argument to convince by reason—the eternal dialogue of one fair soul with another. It could but take its place among those other 'effluences of fair works, which insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason'

In the *Sophist* and the *Laws* Socrates is no longer the sustainer of the dialogue, so that we may take the speaker's words to represent Plato's views on art as it was at the time of writing. The *Laws* is the last of his works, probably unfinished at his death in 348–7. The *Sophist* is also a late work. Both books were written at a time when the tendencies of fourth-century art were clearly revealed, but there is little difference between the art criticism of these dialogues and those of the earlier period when Socrates is the speaker, whose criticisms are held to apply strictly to the art with which he was familiar—that is, down to the end of the Peloponnesian War. Yet it is difficult to avoid the feeling that it is really fourth-century art which inspires the sharp strictures of the *Republic* no less than the *Laws*. When the *Republic* was written the rhetorical feebleness of tragedy—how distasteful the late plays of Euripides, the *Orestes* for example, must

ave been to Plato !—the extravagances and virtuosities of choral oetry, were already obvious. The pathetic wistfulness of kopas' sculptures, the well-nourished handsomeness and superior loofness of Praxiteles' figures, were slightly later developments. But they all displayed qualities which Plato held to be detrimental to the true moral life, and ought not to be displayed for ublic attention. Such art was little likely to 'draw the soul nto sympathy with the beauty of reason.' Personal sentiment nd the cult of art as an end in itself were beginning to make their isintegrating influence very evident. Art was drifting away om the political and religious service of the State, and becoming occupation for idle people. And it is in the *Laws*, the work of old age, that Plato, conscious of these tendencies—conscious, of the great power of art both for good and evil—makes a nite constructive effort to use art for the saving of society. pages devoted to that attempt in the *Laws* are among the t interesting of that absorbing book.

In the *Republic* and several other dialogues Plato describes artistic activity, as he knew it in Greece, by a word which nifies amusement or play with a suggestion of childishness in it ιδιά); but it is in the *Laws* that he works out its true significance and its conventional opposition to seriousness (σπουδή) the service of his synthesis of life and art

He saw that art, like play, can amuse and engross; but it ked true seriousness, and the most popular forms of it— instance, drama—were simply a spectacle in which the ectators had no active part. The art which Plato longs for and eaches in the *Laws* is a social art, which can draw together and cupy the mass of citizens, not as spectators, but as creators and rticipants—for instance, choric song and dance or hymnging. At present, Plato says, people do serious things, such as r, for the sake of the pleasant things of peace, but the ideal the law-giver should be to combine for one end the powers of y and earnestness which are now expended upon separate opposing ends. Play must become earnest, and earnest ngs must become play, War and political duties must be rformed in the willing spirit of artistic enjoyment, while the tistic activities, in the Platonic sense, must be performed iously, as service to God. One spirit will animate all the actions life, so that instead of the two worlds of art and life there will one world of life in art and art in life. And he gives solemn pression to that vision in the words which the law-giver dresses to the tragic poets who wish to give performances of eir plays.

We also are poets according to our ability of the best and noblest gedies, for our whole state is an imitation of the best and noblest life,

which we affirm to be indeed the very truth of tragedy. You are poets and we are poets, your rivals and antagonists in the noblest of dramas, which true law, and that only, can carry out in act, as our hope is.[6]

Plato's view of art as a social and religious force has been perhaps most nearly realised in the early period of Italian painting, when churches and State buildings exclusively occupied the artist, and in the great music settings of the Roman Catholic liturgy. Music he held to be the most potent of all art forms, for 'it penetrates most deeply into the soul,' and in Plato's plan 'community singing' would carry with it in words the teaching which was to mould the characters of his citizens. The delight of art was to be the fusing force by which social, political, and religious aspects of life would be unified and one spirit would animate the whole. It was to be a common spirit of joy in which distinctions of duty and pleasure, of work and play, would disappear—not very different, perhaps, from the 'Grace' (χάρις) of the early Christians which so impressed their pagan contemporaries. 'Every man and woman should walk seriously and pass life in the noblest of pastimes . . . we ought to live sacrificing and singing and dancing, and then a man will be able to propitiate the gods and to defend himself against his enemies and conquer them in battle.'[7] There would be no need then of dramatic or tragic performances in a city, for life itself would have become the perfect drama, lived by men and women, and not represented before them.

G. M SARGEAUNT

[6] *Laws*, 817 (Jowett).
[7] *Ibid*

THE HIGH ROAD TO INDIA: 1829–1929

A HUNDRED years ago Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn was commissioned by Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, to proceed from London to India by way of Egypt; his mission, apart from carrying certain dispatches addressed to Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, was to report on the practicability of the regular navigation of the Red Sea. This officer had already been conspicuous owing to his almost fanatical advocacy of the use of steamers for expediting communications between this country and India, the route he favoured being the ordinary one by way of the Cape of Good Hope, then, of course, the only unbroken sea route. He publicly protested, indeed, against his name being associated with any steamship scheme except that by way of the Cape. His rather sketchy plans had been approved in Calcutta, and he had come to England to secure the support of the East India Company. He did not succeed in official quarters, nor were Indian merchants in this country in sufficient number favourable to his plans. So, having failed in his mission, he was directed by Lord Ellenborough to return to India, studying conditions in the Red Sea. He was instructed to proceed with haste! He left on October 28, 1829, and, travelling by way of Dover, Boulogne, Paris and Milan, reached Trieste on November 8—a distance of 1242 miles in eleven days. He was nineteen days going from Trieste to Alexandria in a sailing vessel—a distance of 1265 miles. Proceeding to Rosetta by donkeys, 33 miles; to Cairo by boat, 150 miles; and to Suez by camel, 72 miles, he arrived at Suez on December 8, being nearly twelve days on the journey, including an unavoidable delay of three days. He waited at Suez, in expectation of the arrival of the East India Company's steamer *Enterprise*, which he was under the impression had sailed from Bombay to that port, but left on the 9th, in a native boat, for Cossier, which he reached on the 13th, and, after a further delay of five days, proceeded to Jiddah (a distance of 660 miles from Suez), which he reached on December 23. The time occupied in getting to Jiddah from London was thus forty-one days sixteen hours.[1] At Jiddah he

[1] *History of the Indian Navy* (C. R. Low).

learned that the *Enterprise* had broken down, and after waiting eighteen days he sailed for Bombay in a native baghalah, but the same day he was taken out of her by the Company's vessel *Thetis*, which arrived at Bombay on March 21. This is the record of Lieutenant Waghorn's journey to India with all dispatch! It conveys some idea of the pioneer's adventures 100 years ago. The ordinary traveller to India at that time was content to sail by way of the Cape, congratulating himself on his good fortune if favourable winds enabled him to reach his destination by one of the famous East Indiamen in ninety days.

In the present year (1929) an aeroplane has been flown from Cranwell aerodrome to Karachi, a distance of 4130 miles, in fifty hours, and a regular mail service to India for passengers and freight has been established, with the result that Viscount Peel was recently able to write to the Viceroy a letter opening with these words: 'This is the first time that it is possible for a Secretary of State to write a letter to the Viceroy with the assurance that it will reach India within a week of its dispatch, and I desire in the letter I transmit, as one of its first-fruits, to acclaim this new achievement in the compression of time and space.' India has been brought within a week of England Some years ago Rudyard Kipling declared .

> Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
> Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great Judgment seat.

East and West have not met, it is true, but they have been brought very close together in the matter of time, with results, political, economical and social, which it would be difficult to exaggerate.

In knowledge of this great aerial achievement, which illustrates that the miracles of yesterday are the commonplaces of to-day (so little interest has it excited), it is not without interest to glance back over a little more than 100 years when the suggestion was made that the time distance between England and India might be appreciably shortened by adopting the overland route by way of Suez and using steamers. In May 1822 the *Asiatic Journal* published a letter, which was evidently written satirically, in which it was stated .

> A Captain Johnston has suggested a plan for opening an intercourse with India by means of steam vessels, and the details he has furnished respecting it are so specious, and all the obstacles in the way of its success are so admirably disposed of, that it is astonishing the projector has not been deluged with contributions or subscriptions already, and that a steamer is not unloading in the port of Suez

This was, in fact, the first serious proposal for adopting the route by way of Suez (using steamers) in place of the much longer

journey by sailing ship round the Cape; and the pioneer was not 'a Captain Johnston,' but Lieutenant J. H. Johnston, R.N., an officer of the 'Old War.' He had already shown himself completely out of sympathy with the Board of Admiralty, which had protested against the very idea of steamships. The official attitude towards the steamship had been revealed when the Colonial Office suggested that the mails from Malta to the Ionian Islands then a British Colony) might be carried by steamer. The Admiralty, in reply, officially regretted

he inability of my Lords Commissioners to comply with the request of the olonial Department, as they feel it their bounden duty, upon national and ofessional grounds, to discourage, to the utmost of their ability, the ployment of steam vessels, as they consider that the introduction of am is calculated to strike a fatal blow to the naval supremacy of the pire, and to concede to the request preferred would be simply to let in thin edge of the wedge, and would unquestionably lead to similar mands being made upon the Admiralty from other departments.

At a time when the steamship was regarded in many quarters th the utmost aversion, Lieutenant Johnston became its ampion He was responsible not only for familiarising Anglo-dians with the possibility of steamers being employed on the ed Sea route, thus considerably shortening the journey from ngland to India, but he laid the foundations of the inland avigation services of the Eastern Empire after proving the dvantages which the steamship possessed over the sailing vessel. ny ordinary man would have been discouraged by the frowns e encountered at first from the directors of the East India ompany and the cold water which the Indian merchants poured n his proposals, protesting that the flavour of their tea, in par-icular, would be ruined by carriage in a smoky, smelly steamer. ut this officer, with the support of a few enthusiasts, persevered nd in the end triumphed. It was a long struggle, and the wonder that he was not ruined. In knowledge of the extent to which team navigation has cemented the relations between this country nd the Indian Empire and has assisted in promoting the pros-erity of the Indian people, tribute may be appropriately paid to he memory of the naval officer who first pleaded that steamships hould replace sailing ships and that the quicker and shorter Red ea route should be used instead of the familiar Cape route.

James Henry Johnston entered the Royal Navy, at the age f sixteen, in the year 1803, and as signal midshipman in his first hip, the *Spartiate* (74), under Captain Sir Francis Laforey, he ook an inconspicuous part in the Battle of Trafalgar. Later on e was in her boats at the destruction of a large fleet of the nemy's gunboats off Gaeta and then became A.D.C. to Sir rancis Laforey, and beachmaster, on the occasion of the capture

of the islands of Ischia and Procida. When he left the *Spartiate* he joined the flagship of Collingwood, the *Ocean* (98), and by that officer he was promoted in December 1809 to an acting lieutenancy in the *Canopus* (84), the flagship of Rear-Admiral George Martin, and was confirmed as his lieutenant by the Admiralty by commission dated February 16, 1810.

So far this young officer had no reason to complain, for he had attained lieutenant's rank within seven years from his first entry into the service. As lieutenant of the *Canopus* he volunteered to command the night guardboats at the Pharo of Messina, and was appointed to watch the movements of Murat's fleet, which threatened an invasion of Italy On this duty he was attacked by fever and ague, which, after the retreat of Murat's army, compelled him to return to England.

A few weeks of native air [a contemporary record states] sufficed to restore his health, and after a perilous winter cruise off the Texel, he again visited the Mediterranean as junior lieutenant of the *Kite*, sloop, in which he returned to England as first lieutenant, 1815, having in the interim acted for twelve months in command of the *Quail*, cutter, in the Grecian Archipelago. On paying off the *Kite* he was appointed first lieutenant of the *Levant* (10), which he paid off and manned again, on the peace establishment, after the Battle of Waterloo.

Peace, as many naval officers of the present century have learnt in their own bitter experience, means unemployment. Lieutenant Johnston had done good service entitling him to consideration, but he came to the conclusion that he had little chance of further employment in the Royal Navy. So, having some relations in Calcutta, he took passage to India in 1817. The Marquis of Hastings having spoken to him about the wretched state of the European seamen, then destitute in Calcutta, Johnston determined to make an attempt to ameliorate their condition. With that end in view he purchased the hulk of the *Prince Blucher*, and, with the assistance of the Government, converted her into a depôt or sailors' home His success in this endeavour marked him for the service of the Honourable Company, and in 1821 he was appointed marine storekeeper and naval paymaster. He returned to England to make arrangements for transferring his family to India

Steam navigation, then in its infancy, was beginning to impress progressive minds with its importance For some time Lieutenant Johnston had been studying the problems associated with the improvement of communications between India and the British Isles, and he determined to make himself master of the theoretical elements of steam propulsion, as well as to obtain a practical knowledge of the marine steam engine. By the time he was satisfied that he had acquired sufficient knowledge of the

subject unforeseen circumstances had robbed him of his appointment under the East India Company. But he was not dismayed. He had faith that the marine steam engine would triumph, and he sat down to write a pamphlet explaining his ideas for shortening the journey from England to India.*

An age-stained copy of this pamphlet, dated 1823, shows that this officer's ideas were far in advance of those of most of his contemporaries. It is entitled *Prospectus for Establishing by means of Steam Navigation a Communication with Calcutta and the East Indies Generally, via the Mediterranean, Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea · The Voyage out and home to be completed within* 120 *Days*. In view of the opinions as to the steamship then held in many responsible quarters, it must be confessed that this enterprising and foreseeing officer, in explaining his scheme, indulged in language which must have seemed almost ridiculous to many of his readers He claimed that 'steam vessels would encounter severe gales with even greater advantage than those provided with masts and sails,' and he professed to regard it as superfluous to dilate 'on the very great advantage which would derive to merchants individually and the public generally by means of speedy communication with our Asiatic Dominions.' He went on to explain how this new road might be opened up 'with the prospect of a fair remuneration to those who are its promoters and supporters' The rest of this eleven-page pamphlet is devoted to a description of the route to be followed and the time which would be taken in traversing it, the type of ship to be employed and the coal consumption, the last pages being devoted to a financial statement as to the cost of putting six vessels on this service. After a lapse of over 100 years this explanation by the pioneer of steam navigation to India is of historic interest.

Vessels should be fitted for the accommodation of 25 passengers, and from 50 to 100 tons of cargo; to be manned with a crew of 20 men, including mates and artificers; to be completed to 20 days' provisions and water; to sail on the first day of every month, from Plymouth to Calcutta. The vessels may readily be contracted for, and built under inspection, for 20*l*. per ton; and the engines will cost, probably, 5000*l*. each; or in round numbers, the vessel may be completed for 14,000*l*

The estimate of the outlay and receipt for the first twelve months may be—

	£
Six vessels, of 400 tons and 100 horse-power, at 14,000*l*. each	84,000
Invested in coals at the depôts	36,060
Invested on camels	1,200
Capital invested	£121,260

* So far as can be ascertained by reference to the history of steam navigation in India, no use has hitherto been made by historians of this document.

	£
Insurance on 121,260*l.*, at 10 per cent.	12,126
Wear and tear of engines, 30,000*l.*, at 20 per cent.	6,000
Do. on wood and iron, 54,000*l.*, at 15 per cent.	8,100
160,000 miles of fuel, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per mile	20,000
Grease, stuffing and packing for 6 engines	1,000
6 principal engineers, at 70*l.* per annum	420
36 engine men and stokers, at 35*l.* per annum	1,260
6 commanders, at 200*l.*	1,200
12 mates, at 48*l.*	576
70 seamen, at 24*l.*	1,680
Victualling 106 men, at 20*l.* per annum	2,120
Port charges, a rough estimate, the Calcutta pilotage being exceedingly heavy, a great reduction may be expected, say each voyage 50*l.* for 20	1,000
Passage of the Isthmus	3,000
Mess	10,000
Commission, 2½ per cent.	1,712
Total outlay	£70,194

Johnston confidently stated that a full complement of passengers would be obtained on each voyage and added that 'the price fixed at 200*l.* is the lowest usually paid for inferior accommodation on board a ship trading to India.' His calculations led to the conclusion that the service would result in a profit of 41,931*l.*, and he looked forward to the time when it might be possible to reduce the passage money to 150*l.* He protested that his estimates were moderate, and that there was every reason to anticipate the financial success of this scheme.

He seems to have had influential friends in England who were impressed by his plea for opening up quicker communications with India by means of steamers, though they did not favour the Red Sea route. A public meeting was held in London in support of his proposals, and he was commissioned to go to Calcutta to win support. He decided on an adventure, so instead of going round the Cape of Good Hope, as his friends and supporters intended, he decided to travel by way of Suez, the future route, as he believed, to India. He was so impressed with the advantage of the shorter route, even in the unfavourable conditions under which he suffered on the journey, that henceforth, in opposition to the views of his friends in London, he became an unwavering advocate—for some time a lonely advocate—of this new line of communication.

At a subsequent meeting in Calcutta it was announced that the proposal of a more speedy communication with England by means of steam vessels had met with the approval of Lord Amherst in Council, who was prepared to recommend towards the promotion of the enterprise a 'gift of 20,000 rupees' by way of

premium 'to whoever, whether individuals or a company, being British subjects, should permanently, before the end of 1826, establish a steam communication between England and India, either by the Cape of Good Hope, or Red Sea, and make two voyages out and home, occupying not more than seventy days on each passage.' For this object about 80,000 rupees were raised in India, and on the news reaching England a meeting was held in London, at which more money was collected and an order was given for the construction of the *Enterprise.*

Johnston, having completed the object for which he had been dispatched to India, returned to England by way of the Cape, and on his arrival in London inspected the *Enterprise*, which had been laid down in the yard of Gordon & Co., Deptford, and was two-thirds finished. The dimensions of the *Enterprise* (479 tons register) were 122 feet length of keel and 27 feet breadth of beam; her paddle-wheels were 15 feet in diameter; she was supplied with a *copper* boiler in one piece, weighing 32 tons and costing 7000*l.* Her total cost was no less than 43,000*l.* She was equipped with two engines of 60 horse-power each. Provision was made for about 300 tons of coal. There being no intermediate coaling stations, it was realised that it would be necessary to husband the stock of coal and use fair winds whenever possible. On her completion she was placed under Johnston's command, and sailed for Calcutta on August 16, 1825, his orders being to go by way of the Cape. The *Enterprise* reached the Cape on October 25, 1825 (the fifty-eighth day after leaving Falmouth), when, to quote the *Johannesburg Star*, 'a great crowd gathered on the foreshore to admire the wondrous object that could move at will without regard to the direction of the wind and to the accompaniment, it must be said, of a mighty puffing and volume of smoke. As she dropped anchor, she received a salute from the guns of the Castle which was returned by her commander in time-honoured style.' From the Cape the *Enterprise* continued her voyage under steam to Calcutta. Although 113 days on the passage, she was only 103 days under way, as ten days were spent in stoppages to replenish her stock of coal.

The greatest run the *Enterprise* made by sail in twenty-four hours was 211 miles, the least 39 miles; the greatest by steam assisted by sail was 225 miles, the least 80 miles; the greatest heat in the engine-room during the voyage was 105·5 degrees, that of the air at the same time being 84·5 degrees; the total distance was 13,700 miles and the consumption 580 chaldrons of coal, being nine chaldrons per day for 64 days, the rest being under sail; 'the speed of the engines, in calm weather, was 8 knots an hour, the log giving 9 from the wash of the paddles.'

Johnston's friends and financial supporters were not greatly

impressed by this voyage, which suggested to them that the use of steam vessels on the Cape route, at any rate, was impracticable, as indeed Johnston himself had foreseen. His conclusion was that the adoption of the steamship was bound to come, but that this new method of communication would be employed on the Red Sea route. For the time being, however, the subject lost interest. The *Enterprise* was bought by the East India Company, which was in need of transport for the first Burmese War.

In April 1829 Captain Johnston—to give him the courtesy title by which he was known in India—was appointed to 'the general command of the steam vessels of the Bengal Presidency,' a grandiloquent title signifying little. Lord William Bentinck subsequently called upon him to report on the feasibility of navigating the Ganges. As a result of this survey he was directed to proceed to England in the following year to interview the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He submitted designs, which were approved, of the steamers which plied on the Ganges for many years with complete success. On his return to India he was appointed 'Controller of Government Steam Vessels,' and devoted himself to the development of steam navigation on the rivers of India. As the number of vessels steadily increased, so the problem of keeping them in an efficient condition became an embarrassment. Captain Johnston had also to complain of the inefficiency of the European engineers With the assistance of a small group of engineers, engine-drivers, and boiler-makers transferred from England, he began the development of a dockyard. He obtained possession of a swamp with a few decayed and detached buildings at Kidderpore, and this unpromising site was converted into a place of refreshment and repair for the steam fleet under his orders and became the place of training of skilled engineers When Captain Johnston retired in 1851 he left behind him an establishment adequate to the performance of every kind of work both in building and repairing steam vessels, while the training school which he had established not only sufficed to supply the personnel of all the Government steam vessels, but in some measure met the demand of private firms. The Government of Bengal placed on record the debt that India owed to this officer ·

It was Captain Johnston's distinction to have brought out under his command the first steamer that ever reached India: and it is now the Deputy-Governor's agreeable duty to congratulate him on the completion of a long and honourable career, as the head of the Sea and Inland Steam Service of this Presidency, which, commencing with the charge of a single vessel, has ended with the charge of a numerous fleet of sea and river steamers; of a school of Native engineers, and of a Steam workshop, capable of doing anything that can be required in building steam vessels and repairing their machinery. Of the success of the River Steamer

Establishment, the school, and the workshop, Captain Johnston, has peculiarly the merit, as all were planned and organised by himself.

Though Captain Johnston was preoccupied during these years with the problems of the internal water communications of India, others were carrying on his pioneer work at sea. The progress was slow, and the result of the work confused the public mind. Controversy raged for some time in India as to the relative merits of the Cape and Red Sea routes. These differences of opinion were settled in 1830, when the East India Company's steamer *Hugh Lindsay* sailed from Bombay for Suez on an experimental voyage under Commander John Wilson, who was in full accord with the views of Captain Johnston The *Hugh Lindsay* was a steamer of only 411 tons, with two 80 horse-power engines; she had been built to carry five and a half days' consumption of coal, but for this voyage provision had been made for eleven days' steaming The experiment was successful, though the *Hugh Lindsay* arrived with only six hours' consumption of coal in her bunkers. The voyage occupied twenty-one days and eight hours: Wilson returned to Bombay in nineteen days and fourteen hours.

But the honours of actually opening up this sea route to India, which Johnston had so consistently advocated, must be shared by Lieutenant Waghorn, to whom reference has already been made. Early in 1831 he resigned the Company's service, as he said in a pamphlet, 'the better to further the object of steam navigation between England and India' After many years of hard labour, means and health being sacrificed, he succeeded in establishing the overland communication through Egypt The historian of India's Navy comments on this record in decisive terms:

> It appears that Mr Waghorn's services in furthering the overland communication which is such a boon to England were incalculable, but when his advocates call him the 'pioneer' of steam navigation, they do a grave injustice to Captains Johnston and Wilson The former performed the first voyage round the Cape in a steamer and the latter the first voyage by the Suez route, under steam alone, and ultimately Commander Wilson's reports to the India House, his pamphlet, published on the 19th of July, 1833, but more than aught else, his seven voyages in the *Hugh Lindsay*, demonstrated the fact that steam communication between England and India was a *fait accompli* and had passed beyond the region of cavil or experiment.

Until 1848 no private steamship company engaged in the Indian trade, but some years previously a regular service had been established between England and India, ships of the Indian Navy being employed on one side of the Isthmus of Suez and vessels of the Royal Navy on the other. The method by which the mails were conveyed to and from India up to September 1840 was by means of steamers plying monthly between Bombay and

Suez, and thence by Government steamers from Alexandria to Gibraltar, where they met the mails brought out by the Peninsular Company from England. As the steamers of this company had to call at Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, and Cadiz on their passage to and from Gibraltar, and as the Government packets employed between that port, Malta, and Alexandria were of inferior power and speed, the transmission of mails by this route was necessarily slow, and generally occupied from three weeks to a month between England and Alexandria.

The time taken by the mail was so long as to hinder trade. At length the Peninsular Company was asked to prepare plans for an improved steam service to Alexandria, and thus this company, having satisfied the Admiralty as to the feasibility of its plans, became the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. Year by year the services were improved, first under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Sutherland and later under the chairmanship of the Earl of Inchcape, whose public services were recently recognised by His Majesty. Another chapter in Anglo-Indian communications is now opening owing to the triumph of the aeroplane. There is no reason to believe that the aeroplane will supersede the ship of the sea, but it may rather be anticipated that it will be a complementary agent in reducing the time distance between East and West.

ARCHIBALD HURD.

SCOTS POETRY TO-DAY

If the present generation of Scottish singers has produced no great and outstanding figure, it has at least poured forth an astonishing torrent of verse of a standard considerably higher than that of the age which immediately preceded it. Whether the phenomenon, remarked in these pages[1] some three years ago, may justly be alluded to as a 'Renaissance of Scots Letters,' as Mr. C. M. Grieve, its mentor, labels it, is quite another matter. It is, perhaps, too conscious in effort to partake of the character of a natural uprising of song, although, of course, it might well be argued that movements of the kind are rarely unconscious in origin.

Since 1926 the 'renaissance' has passed through stages sufficiently comprehensible and in line with expectation. It has chiefly affected Scottish journalism and the Scottish teaching class. The small band of cultured and cosmopolitan people in Scotland have taken very little notice of it, preferring to follow the worship of gods alien to the soil—Masefield and Drinkwater—whose works they celebrate in their Speaking of Verse Society and cognate literary clubs. But neither they nor the 'renaissance' are the nation. Scotland still cleaves mightily to her vernacular, and volumes of verse couched in it sell remarkably well. But these are chiefly by such authors as Mr. Charles Murray and Miss Violet Jacob, who write in Scots of the 'Kail-yaird' School, which is anathema to the 'official' renaissance and its adherents.

Is the great bulk of modern Scottish poetry, whether written in English or Scots, actually recognisable as an emanation from the Scottish psychology? That is a question of no little difficulty and complexity, but I believe that most unprejudiced critics will agree that on the whole it certainly bears the veridical marks of Caledonian provenance and mentality. It is, as poetry is found elsewhere to be, chiefly produced by the middle and professional classes, although a very considerable number of singers belonging to the working class, miners and others, have entered its ranks as recent recruits. The middle class is, in Scotland, peculiarly

[1] 'The Scottish Literary Renaissance,' July 1926.

conservative in its associations with the soil, and has a strong and frequently unwitting prejudice in favour of the Caledonian environment. Less than any other educated British class has it cultural or leisure-time relationships with England or the Continent, preferring to spend its leisure in the country or among the hills, and to this quite extraordinary affection for the Scottish scene is certainly to be traced its almost artless impulse to hymn the beauties of mountain and lochside, although it must be confessed that much modern Scots verse is written in praise of either a Lowland *milieu* or a rather generalised Scottish canvas, which is perhaps the reminiscence of a synthetic view of Scotland recollected in the fervour of composition.

Again, as in all national poetry, there is a distinct unity of note and sentiment. A sameness pervades the whole corpus of Scottish verse, giving to it a definiteness of outline, and even of phrase, which indicates not so much a mere unity of intention, as in the case of a school, as the psychological accord of a common racial viewpoint. Even is this discernible in peculiarities of metre, which, more perhaps than outlook, are referable to imitation, or to fashionable or traditional sources. Where the veritable Scottish lilt is employed naturally and with due restraint it is sufficiently acceptable. But when it becomes a habit or a trick, as it too often does, it is apt to pall or even to irritate. Too many Scottish versifiers assure us that they are fond of 'the fine road, the brave road,' leading to the core of some mountain fastness, or that: 'O it's me for the wild hills, the high hills, the dark hills.' Clichés of the kind are much too frequently and distressingly apparent; false Celticisms abound, and are seldom handled either in a craftsmanlike manner or convincingly.

Indeed, poverty in craftsmanship and technique is the bane of much Scots poetry at the present time This arises from ignorance of the processes of poetic workmanship, a native impatience and lack of flair, and, when the prosodic triumphs of Gaelic and Middle Scots verse or the surprising technical beauty of the ballads are remembered, this appears sufficiently perplexing. Until Scots versifiers study poetical technique, and Scottish traditional technique for preference, it is obvious that sham archaisms or the meretricious acceptance of a Celticism gained at second hand will continue to vitiate a great deal of work otherwise sound and fine.

Scots poetry, too, loses labour in another direction. It strains mightily to regain the strange remoteness of the ballads and of Celtic poetry, that 'otherwhereness' so characteristic of the weird and supernaturally beautiful Scottish verse of the past, inherent in the soil and environment. The rarity, the egregiousness of this gift is not sufficiently recognised. Although it is more commonly encountered in the Scottish ballads and in Gaelic

poetry than in English verse, it is still extraordinarily rare even in these—much more unusual, indeed, than is generally imagined by many who have quite an extensive knowledge of poetical tradition. No quality is so preciously singular, indicating as it does the essence and extreme of poetical vision and endowment, but it is obvious that recognition of that fact alone does not equip a poet for its capture or for the apprehension of its profound value. To attempt to counterfeit it is more poetically heinous than to essay the fabrication of a lilt or rhythm where little or no ability to do so is inherent in the maker. Yet one constantly encounters the effort to do so. Naturally, it almost invariably fails, and disastrously, and it may not be inappropriate to many youthful Scottish poets and some older ones to remark that it is more worthy to sing naturally and humbly of scenes and ideas which have moved them than to attempt the recapture of a mystery of faerie which only one poet in ten thousand, perhaps, possesses the rare faculties to seize and transmute into the terms of human speech.

At the same time it is abundantly noticeable that modern Scots verse leans much more towards the mystical than the philosophical—that it is, in short, much more deeply infused with and concerned with the 'otherwhere' and the remote than with any mere statement of thought, as modern English poetry so notoriously is. This is the more remarkable when the metaphysical qualities of the Scottish mind are considered. It arises out of the circumstance that the Scot as poet and the Scot as metaphysician are two entirely different individuals. The duality of the Scottish mind has long been a phenomenon apparent not only to itself, but to outside observers. It is capable of protean and almost thaumaturgical leaps and changes of mood, baffling and disconcerting to the stranger, and only to be accounted for, perhaps, by some quality of mind resulting from racial composition and admixture, or, less probably, from environment in a region where extraordinarily rapid effects of scenic lighting and weather follow upon each other with astonishing frequency.

From whatever source it arises, it is indisputably present, not only in Scots poetry, but in Scots music, its natural congener. Music is, perhaps, one of the most certain, and indeed inevitable, tests of race, and the philosophical note is scarcely to be discerned in any native Scottish musical composition, as it is, for example, in German and Russian music of the more sophisticated type. In short, whatever the gifts or disposition of the Scottish race for or toward the metaphysical, it certainly does not obtrude itself in Scottish poetry as a whole, and most assuredly not in modern Scottish verse. Consideration of ethical or moral views there

may be, especially in the work of the Middle Scots poets and in those of the eighteenth century. But this seldom or never rises, or sinks, to pure metaphysic, as in the work of many English or German poets, and the good sense and taste as well as the tendency of the Scot in poetry is thus apparent. The metaphysical in verse is, indeed, a phenomenon of the last two centuries at the most, and it is unlikely that Scottish poets, with a clear sense of the psychological rather than the metaphysical provenance and property of poetry—which is, after all, a thing received, or subconsciously conceived, rather than thought out by logical processes—will ever cast the consensus of their opinion and predilection in favour of the metaphysical Scots poetry will remain, apart from the lumbering processes of thought and argument, an art of the soul at its different levels of attainment and power of receptivity, and not an art of the mind. It is also symptomatic of the trend of Caledonian feeling in this regard that such poetic efforts at introspection as have appeared at all are of the most vague and shallow description

The important question of the manner in which the Scottish language has been and is being influenced by present-day Scots poets also demands consideration. Two distinct efforts have been made to render it more sophisticated and suitable for the higher flights of poetry, one rather more elaborate than the other. Speaking frankly, neither has been successful, nor has one or other made any impression worth alluding to save among a very limited circle, although both contain the germs of possible improvement. This is probably due to the fact that both were too sweeping in method, the results, indeed, proving almost of the nature of burlesque in some extreme cases. Although the intention in both instances was of the best, in practice it was so abused as to eventuate in oddity and even absurdity at times.

The more elaborate and serious of these endeavours was that sponsored by Mr. C M Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid), who believed that what he dubbed 'synthetic' Scots—a melange of the vocabularies of the several Scottish local dialects reinforced by older forms—would afford the native poet a more suitable medium of expression. Even had this method, one now sees, been employed with care and scholarship, it could scarcely have resulted in a very happy admixture, owing to the difficulties attending selection and comprehension, to say nothing of the demand of poetic speech for a medium which shall not only be absolutely familiar to the writer, but capable of being set down instantly, as inspiration so clamantly requires. But when it became evident in his *A Drunk Scotsman Looks at the Thistle* (a poem impossible to quote from) that its creator was ruthlessly trawling the pages of the Scots dictionary for words and expressions of fantastic,

droll and whimsical sound and appearance, and this not occasionally, but almost constantly, it was apparent that the method was not only synthetic so far as its verbal eclecticism was concerned, but must also be so in its composition, that is a comparatively slow process of piecing together quaint and generally unintelligible words and phrases almost in the manner of a rebus or crossword puzzle. The great majority of Scotsmen, even those acquainted with the language, were totally unable to comprehend the meaning of at least one-third of the expressions made use of, and it was evident that their quite arbitrary employment rendered them practically hieroglyphic to most people, thus making 'synthetic Scots' of little or no avail as a popular written medium, especially as fresh terms were constantly being hunted out and made use of. Of course it is admitted that Mr. Grieve has said that he did not desire to popularise his synthetic Scots; but that is obviously an *arrière pensée*, consequent upon its failure. Moreover, the syntax employed by him was for the most part not based on the usage of the best Scottish models, but was, like that of the Scots employed in the streets of Edinburgh and Glasgow to-day, founded on English syntax Scots has a distinct syntax of its own, and any writer in that tongue who does not recognise this is going as far astray as the schoolboy who essays to translate English into Latin without a knowledge of Roman idioms or the peculiar disposition of words which characterises the genius of the language.

The remaining venture to relume the faded glories of written Scots originated with the present writer, and consisted in an attempt to enlarge the vocabulary of existing Scots by accessions from the more ancient forms of Old and Middle Scots, which he believed would not only enrich it, but render it more suitable for the purposes of the higher poetry He initiated the attempt by writing and publishing a number of poems purely in Middle Scots, a merely antiquarian exercise which carried on the effort only inasmuch as it encouraged one to write with freedom in the language to be exploited, gain a first-hand acquaintance with its idiom, and acquire a convenient glossary. This was followed by essays in verse couched in the novel amalgam of old and new which the writer labelled 'gentlemen's Scots,' to distinguish it from the peasant and urban varieties. But difficulties and inhibitions, similar to those which retarded the progress of synthetic Scots, quickly revealed themselves. So deficient is the vocabulary of modern Scots in terms suitable for the higher or more classical forms of poetry (though serviceable enough for the purest form of rural or ballad verse) that too large an infusion of Middle Scots words had perforce to be introduced. The tendency, in any case, was to overdo the archaic in verbiage, and the result was frankly

disastrous. It had, too, a hybrid form, such as might have be expected from a mingling of the Chaucerian with the speech modern Cockaigne—a ludicrous and piebald appearance; an worst of all, no one understood the bulk of it save its creat alone, though ardent spirits were not wanting who professed comprehend it. Cool reflection revealed it as the result of over-hasty enthusiasm of questionable utility and more th questionable taste.

But, the failure of these media notwithstanding, the indispu able fact remains that standard Scots, as known to-day, mu inevitably be disciplined into verbal and syntactical habits mo consonant with the requirements of literate verse, or remain i its present grovelling condition of a mere congeries of peasar dialects. There are authorities, like Professor Alexander Gray who feel that its strength and appeal actually lie in its rustic atmosphere and simplicity. This implies, however, that it is t be doomed perennially to the expression of the rustic them alone, and that those who desire or are capable of employing it i other connexions must either be debarred from so doing, or mus sink to the level of a vocabulary which the consciously sophisti cated poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries found utterl inadequate and which they were compelled to reinforce from French and other sources.

What precise method should be followed in order to rende the language more expedient for the purposes of literate use th writer prefers for the moment to leave to other authorities, i view of past failures. It must, however, be borne in mind tha for more than three centuries Scots has been totally without literary prose, and, lacking this, the creation of a literary vers seems rather like the creation of a heaven without a correspondin earth. Possibly a scheme based on Mr. Grieve's idea of syntheti Scots, less full in its scope, less wholesale in its search fo bizarre words and expressions, controlled in the first instanc by careful scholarship and more gradual in its approach t popular favour, might meet the case. But Mr. Grieve has state that he does not seek popularity for his particular medium seeming to prefer a consciously hieroglyphic language to b employed among a restricted circle, 'which the great majority o Scots to-day could not understand, and which would only appea to a certain few,' if the statement of his effort as a whole may b applied to the language in which it is couched. But, surely literary Brahmanism of this kind will do little to aid the recovery of an expressive Scots capable of transmuting into speech th higher poetic vision, which, if it does not in its vernacular appea to the humble as to the gifted, cannot be recognised either a inspired or of value to humanity. The values of a dehumanised

poetry couched in a kleptomanic tongue are not only dubious, but manifestly spring from arrogance and exclusiveness—surely never the attributes of the genuine poetic mind!

The deadly seriousness of the 'renaissance' and the cool contempt of its efforts by the more polished West End of Edinburgh is, indeed, symptomatic of a struggle between a native and an alien culture. Mr. Grieve and his disciples have at least the excuse of national fervour to fall back upon when they insist that the Scottish note must take precedence in native letters. But the manner in which he replies to criticism is scarcely accommodated to the purposes of æsthetic debate, being inconsistent in its arguments and illustrations, condemning those to-day whom yesterday he praised consumedly, and shifting his ground in the protean manner of the propagandist.

Nor are his principles very convincing. 'The Scottish Renaissance,' he tells us, 'aimed . . . at producing kinds of work which the great majority of Scots to-day could not understand, and which would only appeal to a certain few. In this way it was hoped to produce what Scotland needs above all else —an *intelligentsia* intensively preoccupied with distinctively Scottish arts and affairs inaccessible to the mob.' Misunderstanding, we are told, was purposely created. The renaissance 'set out to be ununderstandable to all sorts of people.' 'It proceeded from the belief that Scottish arts and letters had been horribly over-democratised, with the consequence that all manner of nit-wits and nincompoops took it for granted that it was every writer's duty or purpose to appeal to *them*.' We may leave it at that. He has also attacked the dictum of another Scots writer that just because the Scots are a metaphysical people they have eschewed the metaphysical in verse, and has mistaken it for an onslaught on intellectuality in poetry, whereas it is manifestly the reverse. The metaphysical vein is not characteristic of Scottish poetry in the mass, which is more inspirational and imaginative than philosophical. It is clear from his plea that Scots poets should follow the Parti de L'Intelligence in France, which wishes to make reason or intelligence rule over sensibility, that he has entirely mistaken the tradition and tendency of Scots poetry, which is, and has always been, obdurately romantic, and the circumstance that his 'renaissance' has touched the riper manhood of Scotland scarcely at all is perhaps the best proof of this.

Considerable additions have been made to the corpus of Scots poetry since the writer last contributed an article on the subject to this Review, and several important anthologies of it have appeared. The most active and important medium for the publication of verse in the Scots language is the Porpoise Press,

of Edinburgh, founded by Messrs. Roderick Watson Kerr and George Malcolm Thomson, and now carried on by Mr. C. C. Graves, an English poet and critic whose natural good taste and typographical experience have raised its publications to a standard of chaste beauty and fine printing probably unequalled by any similar establishment in Great Britain. The Porpoise Press has, indeed, become the natural fountain-head of minor Scots verse. The recent *Celtic Anthology* of the late Mrs. Grace Rhys contained a section dealing especially with modern Scots poetry, but the newly published *Holyrood, A Garland of Modern Scots Poems*, collected by the Rev W. H. Hamilton, is unmistakably the best and most embracive anthology of modern Scots verse which has yet appeared. It has been criticised on the grounds that it contains much matter which appeared in previous collections, notably *Northern Numbers*, edited by Mr C M Grieve, and that it includes too much work of an inferior character, but as its design was to supply a conspectus of the northern muse with a retrospective background, the first contention fails, and the editor has boldly championed the right to include what he calls the 'simpler voices' on the plea that the book is 'a little epitome of human life.' At the same time a few of the best examples of recent Scots poetry have been rather inexplicably omitted. On the whole, however, the anthology will serve as an excellent *précis* of the Caledonian verse of the day and of the day before yesterday.

The singers whose work is here briefly reviewed are by popular and critical consent the most outstanding among our Caledonian poets, and I propose in the first place to give some account of those who have expressed themselves more in the Scots language than in the sister tongue

Among those who have recently applied themselves with acceptance to versification in Scots is Mr. Robert Crawford, the Stirlingshire miner, whose excellence in English verse has long been favourably known and compared with that of Crashaw and Herrick. But in turning to his native tongue he has quite deserted those ideals for the Caledonian tradition and a tendency to 'synthetic' Scots. Perhaps the most characteristic, if not the best, of his recent poems is

'RYESIDE'

The westren hill's already blae :
Hame, aff the braeside, trail the kye
The auld airt waitin' gets the day
An' smoors wi crammasy the sky.

The shepherd whistles, on the hill,
An' Bawtie's bark is sma', faur ower,
Lost in the lift, as if intil
Itsel', a' gethered at this hour.

I lift the mask o' nicht's black yett ;
The burn's like Lethe champagnin'
The braid braes daviely forget
The day, gaun doonhill sliddern'.

Gie me this nicht, the drone o' Lynn
An' hoolat like a sad fruit crier.
Doon deeps nae daylicht soun' could shin
Thir thoom me like a darksome lyre.

Perhaps Mr. Crawford's best recent English poem is

'I Took My Love'

I took my love by a woodside
Which soft grass washes like a tide,
Where drunk bees stagger past the ear,
From Inn to Inn with sudden cheer.

To warm her love I wished her brought
Where the bee sings and Time is nought,
And over Clyde's impassioned skies
The air breaks into butterflies

I took her where the wanton flowers
Can keep the sunshine after hours,
And daisies' puritan-caress
Might teach the kiss of holiness ;

And stayed while beams drew slant, too soon
That soft glow makes an afternoon ,
Then like a wild bird in her side,
Her heart sprang up at eventide.

He has also written many Scottish poems in more rugged and homely vein, among which some are assuredly the most virile and outstanding essays in the art penned this century, which await early publication Not only has Mr. Crawford a perfect command of the language, differing in this from the majority of versifiers in the Doric, but he possesses all those qualities of the veridical Scottish soul which make for our national literary individuality, its quaintness, pawkiness and extraordinary insight into personality But he is a million miles away from the Robert Crawford who writes in English when he handles the native quill, and in this he strikingly exemplifies the dual character of the Scot, and the fashionable and probably correct thesis that we Caledonians are men enchanted, that each of us is accompanied in his life-walking by a 'döppel-ganger,' or, as Sir James Barrie would style it, a 'Maconochie,' a spiritual second or otherman.

The recent work in Scots of Dr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, the King's Sculptor for Scotland, displays the time-honoured ability of that most authentic of Northern bards, and has lost nothing of its ancient fervour. It may be epitomised in

CLASHINRUICH

Up North by Morven side,
  At Clashinruich ;
Where the Gairn rins sweet and clear
  My jo Janet roves
As native as the Deer.

By heathery brae and tarn—
  Yont Clashinruich ;
Or up on a mountain heid,
  My jo Janet dreams
Of the fate she fain would read.

Where the birks are in silver sheen
  Near Clashinruich ;
And the flowers are in wild array
  My jo Janet croons
As if in love she were fay.

But—Sun, or Moon, or Stars ,
  At Clashinruich ,
And wiles o' fairies green—
  My jo Janet sees
By the licht ahin her een

Professor Alexander Gray, of Aberdeen, has recently enriched Scots literature by a compelling and admirably executed series of translations from Heine, which are translations in the best sense of the word in that they transmute the German into the most genuine Doric, instinct with native feeling Perhaps the most happy of these transformations is the translation of *Ich will meine seele tauchen :*

I will sink my saul in the lily,
In the hert o the flower, far ben ,
The lily will tunefully whisper
A sang o' a lass I ken.

The sang 'ill trummle and quiver
Like the kiss o' her bonny mou'
That she gae me ance in the gloamin',
When my dreams o' love cam true.

Miss Marion Angus, another of Scotland's finest singers, has recently published another small collection of songs entitled *Sun and Candlelight* with the Porpoise Press. Although she strikes many varying chords, I think that perhaps the most authentic is that which has produced

'SINGIN' WAATER '

Singin' waater, rin ooto' the mist
  An' doon by the moorland bare ;
The lass that lies in your siller kist
  S'all keep her body fair.

Ye rowed me owre and rowed me owre,
Scent o' the smellin' pine,
Till ma een was bricht as the mossy floo'er
Ma feet like the linen fine ;
An' 'twas a' tae pleasure a licht luve,
A licht luve o' mine.

. . . . .

Singin' waater, rin oot o' the sna',
Syne doon by the brecken green ;
Oh, wad ye bit tak my grief awa'
An' mak ma hert clean ;
In yer glimmerin' fa' or yer dancin' lift
Ma tanglet threids untwine,
An' smoor amang the windy drift
The thochts I fain wad tyne ,
It's a' for the sake o' a leal luve,
A leal luve o' mine.

Miss Angus is certainly one of the most considerable of Scotland's poets, working in the traditional vein of beauty and imagination which has proved so acceptable to her countrymen of all classes and opinion in the past, but that is not to say she is incapable of employing modern metres and poetic effects with equal ease and ability.

Mr. J. G. Horne's *Lan'wart Loon*, a long poem in Scots, published by the Porpoise Press, has recently attracted considerable attention. Written frankly in the Burns tradition, it seems to be couched in a mixture of dialects It is fine, free and vigorous in expression, but possesses little originality, enshrining too much of the spirit of *Tam o' Shanter*, on which it is rather too faithfully modelled. Of the derivative and traditional we have had sufficient in Scots poetry, and merely to strike again and again on the ancient dies will never do, as Mr Grieve has justly remarked. Therefore we must regard *The Lan'wart Loon* as a superfluous, if worthy, echo from a past which can quite patently be left to speak for itself in the light of the acute necessity for a new dispensation of mood and form. The following passage well illustrates the main tendency of the poem :

The day was mair nor haflins thro',
But Tammy thocht he'd time enoo.
The scarrow o' the mune, tho' puir,
Wad licht 'im hame across the muir ,
He'd ha'e ae blink oot ower the cairn,
An' syne for hame to tak' his fairin'
('Twas aye Tam's wey, be't guid or ill,
To seek for ferlies 'yont the hill)
Sae up he hirplt past the linn,
Wi' noo an' than a gliff ahin'.
Whiles haudin' by a wurly scrabble
That yerkt him upwart in his habble,

Whiles shrauchlin' on his haun's an' knees
Wi' nae tuft near 'im for a heeze ;
An', antrin times, he'd traik awa'
To wyde knee-deep in wreaths o' snaw,
Or scoor thro' gullies o' a glen
To fin', maybe, a smuggler's den,
An' sprauchle ben an' farrer ben ;
Or ower the braes a stane he'd coup,
An' lauch to see it stot an' loup
Doon 'mang the whins an' scutt'rin yowes
An' rabbits beekin' on the knowes,
Till, rummlin' to fail-dyke fauld,
The kecklin' an' the steer devald ;
Or noo he'd lint his houchs an' banes
Wanchancy-like on shiftin' stanes
An' slither doon wi' reeshlin' din,
Athin an ell-wand o' the linn ,
But sune's he d fair got ower his fley ,
Whistlin' a stave, he'd rax his wey,
Whaur birny runts wad gi'e a grup
To help 'im aye the farrer up,
For Tammy bood to ha'e ae gliff
Ayont that stark an' beetlin' cliff .
Sae, on he stoitert to the broo
Wi' nae breath left to keckle noo

The actual new tendency is perhaps most justly to be remarked in the poems of Mr William Ogilvie, a gifted young architect, than in any other Scots versifier of to-day, in that he has with unerring touch employed a plain and familiar Scots to illustrate some of the most outstanding peculiarities of modern Scottish life, while still retaining the true Scottish mode of expression and the national point of view His fine poem, *Ma Mither's Aunt*, intense and tragic, has yet all the marks of that Caledonian duality which intrudes on the note of horror, the echo of that subdued and nervous laughter with which the modern Scot usually greets the manifestation of the uncanny ; for the Victorian notion that the weird is rather *matière pour rire* still lingers in the cities of the Lowlands A characteristic passage tells us that

Noo I m in an empty hoose,
Gangin' my lane frae room tae room ,
An' a' the wa's are strippit bare,
An' a' the presses toom.
The flair boards fu' o' dusty cracks
An' bits o' claith an' rusty tacks ,
An' whaur a picter used tae fling,
A shadow frae a shadow string,
Glowerin' like nae livin' thing.

Somebody's opened the entry door,
I heard it gie a click the noo ;

I feel the cauld wind in my hair,
I feel the cauld wind on my knees.
That was [illegible] on the [illegible]
Lifted wi' a breath the [illegible].
Was that a rat, or was it rain ?
Was that the door shut to again ?
I haud the banister for breath,
An' a' thing hings as still as death.

No less racy of our psychology is *The Interruption*, which chronicles the dialogue of a hypocritical old dame with her church visitor and her outburst of spleen on the retirement of the evangelist. Mr Ogilvie knows his folk only too well.

It must be admitted that perhaps the most 'considerable' and knowledgeable of the Scottish poets adhere to English as a medium of expression Although Lady Margaret Sackville, Mr. William Jeffrey, and the Rev W H. Hamilton have essayed Scots from time to time, the bulk of their work, past and present, is couched in English. Lady Margaret Sackville's recent work *One Hundred Little Poems*, published by the Porpoise Press, and consisting chiefly of epitaphs and epigrams, is inspired by a spirit irrevocably Southern, sophisticated and polished as no modern Scots verse is, as the following extracts reveal :

'Oblivion'

As some great house of noble stone
Is wrecked and broken in upon,
Break up my words and deeds Let none
Know where I've stood or whither gone

'A Heart'

If one should take into his hand
A little shining heap of sand,
Open, and let it sea-ward fly—
That was my heart and such am I.

'The Slayers'

'Why did you die ? '—I died of everything :
Life was deep water, robbing me of breath ;
Sorrow, delight, love, music, Winter, Spring
Slew me in turn, and, last of all, came—Death.

The Rev. W. H. Hamilton, who will always be remembered for at least one line of exceptional and re-echoing beauty, 'The lost cause calls me sooner than the true,' writes almost exclusively in English, and is a poet of the fine things of life, high loyalties, sacrifice and noble aspirations, as may be judged from his funeral poem *To the Master of Harmonies* :

'Men make too much of mere mortality.
I'd have them set gay banners floating free
Who seek expression o'er the dust of me . . .
Set my vast music swelling—not that I
Would be once thought on while it floods the sky,
But that it speaks the dreams I have adored—
Defiant, majestic, rapturous in Our Lord.'

This is the half-mystic, half-warlike spirit of the Church of Scotland expressed in metre. In more personal vein is

'The Spirit'

The sunset speaks not, nor the woods,
  Yet in their silence cries
The secret voice of olden moods
  That deep within me rise
It gives the silent fields a song,
  Old tales to every stone,
And calls the bygone folk along
  When I would walk alone.

Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor, the authoress of *The Hours of Fiametta* and much other Italianate wonder, is a poet so well known that little need be said of her verse in this place. Her *Princess of Scotland* remains one of the most authentic poems of the century associated with a romantic race, but of late she has confined herself more to prose Miss Muriel Stuart, the writer of that most striking poem *The Seed Shop*, produced a book of verses, *Poems*, in 1927 in which she collected many of her most recent little verses of marvel.

A poetess of rare moments is Mrs. Georgina Mase, collector of a poetic anthology on the subject of trees Her glorious song on the Elm is, perhaps, the most arresting thing of the kind which has recently come from a Scottish pen.

Miss Wendy Wood is a newcomer who writes in both Scots and English with beauty and expressiveness Her best contribution in the latter tongue is probably *The Quest*, inspired by the rhythm and motion of a railway train :

Into the wood,
Mazed with trees,
Held with blackthorn,
Caught by briar,
A thousand thorn
Perplexities
Deter me
From my heart's desire ;
O God, bestow the singing robe !
Give me the bowl of fire !

Into the dark
Pruned by time,
Mute with longing
To acquire
Through dancing leaf
And doleful wind,
The touch
That will awake the lyre ;
O God, bestow the singing robe !
Give me the bowl of fire !

Her verses in Scots deal principally with the life of tramps and 'gangrels' *The Tinklers* is well worth quoting as a Teniers-like picture of life on the Scottish road :

Haun' us th' bun'le.
Whit hae we in't, m'dear ?
The coggie, the baccy, the pot,
An' the banes fer th' stew.
There's yer auld broken fife,
An' th' spoon an' th' knife,
An' och ! There's a lock o' ma hair.
m'dear.

There's no muckle there
T' mak' us a hame, m'dear ;
But if ye cud find us four walls
Wad be under a thatch,
I wad mak' the fire gleam
On each corner an' beam—
T'wad mak' oor hard livin' a game,
m'dear.

Also among the neophytes is Rhoda Spence, whose verse is mostly in Scots, but *The Buried Forest* in English has attracted considerable notice :

The tree is the coal, and the coal is the earth,
The glory of green is imprisoned deep down
Under the mud which has given birth
To the dreary rows of a mining town.

And the hidden forest a prison is
To the man who might have loved its shade,
Crushing with grimy tyrannies
The rightful lord of the laughing glade.

The birds are silent, the leaves are still,
Where he toils in the place of buried trees.
Yet ever the daily miracle
From out his handiwork he sees.

For tree and blossom glow again
In the scented flames on a million hearths.
Out of his agony and pain
Arise a thousand leafy births.

Oh, lover of home and roofless, save
  The man who brings you forests of fire,
Win him back from a living grave,
  Build him a world of new desire!

Of her Scots verses perhaps the most characteristic is *The Sicht*:

My wife's no wise, and the neebors say
  She shouldna' get leave to gang her gait,
Seekin' by nicht, and roamin' a' day,
  Early and late.

But I see nae hairm, for my Ailie's wise
  In things ayont oor mortal ken.
She has the po'er o' the Seein' Eyes,
  And doon the Glen

She's seekin' aye for the fairy hill
  And oor bairn that's gane this seeven year past.
I ha'ena the hert to cross her will
  And keep her fast. . .

Hoo can I tell her the bairnie's deid,
  And steek the door agin her flicht?
There's nocht but ferlies in her heid,
  But—she has the Sicht!

The verse of other and very well known Scots writers, Messrs. William Jeffrey, Lewis Coutts, Frederick Branford and the Rev. T. T. Alexander, is, so far as the first and third are concerned, almost wholly in English, and in the case of the others in traditional vein. Mr. Alexander has translated many of the psalms into virile Scots, and Mr Jeffrey published in 1928 *Mountain Songs*, which reveal that his muse expands in spiritual power.

Of course it is virtually impossible to give by the quotation of characteristic pieces alone any true impression of a body of poetry. 'Representative' poetry is not inevitably the most excellent and, indeed, it would require at least half a hundred anthological pages to justify it, and I must refer the reader to the collections alluded to in this paper for an actual conspectus of current Scots verse, lest he feel that what I have written of it as a whole is scarcely reflected in the *pièces justificatives* I have placed before him. But that the cult of poetry is certainly advancing in Scotland cannot be disputed. My greatest fear for it is that its natural freshness may be somewhat tarnished by the pseudo-intellectualism which has undoubtedly arisen out of the intensive educational effort which of late years has been such a marked feature of Scottish life, for intensive culture, like intensive horticulture, not infrequently results in exaggerated and scentless blossoms.

LEWIS SPENCE.

JOHANNES SECUNDUS

THAT a young Dutchman who died before he was twenty-five, who wrote in a foreign language, and was during the few years of his brief manhood engrossed in high affairs of Church and State; that he, in spite of all the disadvantages of age, country, and profession, should be one of the half-dozen greatest love lyrists in world literature, in grace and dexterity of wit worthy to rank with Meleager, Catullus, Heine, De Musset, and the best of our English poets, may at first sight seem to be a highly contestable statement. And yet few who have read the *Basia* of Johannes Secundus in the original would care to deny its accuracy. It is true that Johannes is comparatively unknown; but for that there are other reasons than those of actual merit. He lived in the early years of the sixteenth century and still wrote in Latin, so that students of ancient, and students of modern, literature are both apt to pass him by. This, however, does not affect his real excellence. He had as perfect a command of his medium as any artist could desire, and the Latin language in his hands shows us that it is as capable of expressing the sportive fancies of love as it is of recording the grave realities of history and law.

There are many paths that lead to Helicon: some are well trodden, others are almost completely deserted. Among those least familiar to the literary pilgrim must be counted that great mass of Latin poetry which was being produced in nearly every European country during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Few to-day are the readers of the nine books of Petrarch's *Africa*, the three books of Fracastoro's *Syphilis*, or the stout volume of over 1000 pages which contains the Latin poems of Julius Cæsar Scaliger. The very copiousness of this literature is in itself a stumbling block—a selection from the Latin verse of Italian poets alone runs to nearly 4000 closely printed pages—and it must also be acknowledged that not many of the Renaissance Latinists rise above a respectable mediocrity. Three writers emerge from the ruck—an Italian, a Scotchman, and a Welshman; and Politian's *Silvæ*, Buchanan's *Hendecasyllables*, and Owen's *Epigrams* are all excellent examples of good second-class poetry. But by the nature of their talent these three do not give that thrill of ecstasy

[illegible] the imagination cold. The revival of Latin [illegible] classical models during the Renaissance produced one genius, and one genius alone, Johannes Secundus. And Johannes in himself is a sufficient answer to those who decry the whole movement as artificial and worthless.

Jan Everaerts—to call him for once by his real Dutch name instead of the more familiar Latin form—was born at The Hague, November 29, 1511, one of a family of eighteen children, of whom nine reached manhood. His father, Nicholaus Everaerts, was a jurist of repute and a zealous supporter of Charles V., by whom he was made President of the States of Holland and Zealand. The imperial favour was extended to all the family, and when the father died in 1532, Johannes, who had been studying law under Alciati at Bourges, was given the place of secretary to the Archbishop of Toledo. He there established such a reputation that the Emperor decided he should accompany him, like another Ennius, on his African expedition. Johannes, however, fell ill and was compelled to return to Holland, where he became secretary to the Bishop of Utrecht. In that capacity he was staying at Tournay in 1536 when his malady returned, and he died of malignant fever October 8. He was buried at St. Amand, and on his tomb was engraved a Latin inscription, which may be translated thus:

> To Johannes Secundus, Jurist of the Hague, illustrious as orator and poet and famous also for his skill as a sculptor; at first private secretary in Spain to Cardinal Johannes Tavera of Toledo, and then in his own country to Bishop George Egmond of Utrecht. He was summoned by the august Emperor Charles V. to perform the same functions at court, but was carried off by untimely death. This monument was erected to him by his sorrowing mother, brothers and sisters. He lived for twenty-four years, ten months and ten days and died in the year of Our Lord 1536 on October 8.

Such, in brief, is the history of Johannes' short life, a life not unlike that of Catullus, the Emperor Charles corresponding to Cæsar, Pompey and the other statesmen with whom the Roman poet came in contact, the Spanish cathedral office to the embassy at Bithynia, and Neæra, with some slight differences, to Lesbia. But with Johannes his poems alone are of importance, and they are considerably more extensive than often is supposed, filling nearly 600 pages in the annotated edition of Burmann-Bosscha published in 1821. Of them a summary account must be given.

We may dismiss the two books of letters in verse addressed to his brothers and friends and also the collection of epitaphs; for, though they are no worse, they are no better than the many similar productions of his time. In the three books of *Elegies*, however,

[illegible] Latin poets. Book I. is addressed to [illegible] and concludes with three memorial elegies composed after the lady had married another man. Books II. and III. consist of miscellaneous verse, some of it of the most delightful character. One piece, for example, addressed to an unknown lady, might well have come from Ovid's youthful pen :

When your bright eyes set all the world aglow,
Why is your heart more cold than Scythian snow ?
Is the pert boy who frightens mighty Jove
Afraid to vex so fair a maid with love ?
Nay, surely not ; such triumphs please him best,
It is his pride to pierce a tender breast.
Those orbs, 'tis true, that put the sun's light out
Dim his faint torches and their burning flout.
Poor Cupid scarce can check his childish tears
And on his cheeks an angry blush appears.
Come, little sluggard, use your darts instead,
Or else return in shame to Venus' bed.
Perchance to spare that bosom you are fain
Nor would with blood its milky whiteness stain.
Well, set your vanquished brands to her bright eyes
And from their depths new seeds of fire will rise.
Then in the night, when she is fast asleep,
And those twin stars are closed in slumber deep,
Put to her careless breast your stealthy flame
And with its burning breath her cold heart tame.

But if you win, have mercy on your poet,
Who showed you, sir, the proper way to do it.

After the *Elegies* follow two books of *Epigrams*, the second book mainly translations from the Greek anthology. Johannes' own efforts are in varying styles, and many of them are excellent. Here is one on love :

For other ills a healing hand is found :
Love first inflicts and then inflames the wound.

Another epigram, addressed to a married lady living on bad terms with her husband, contains some sensible advice :

A bland consent the fiercest hearts will tame,
But angry men resist an angry dame.
The stream that runs unchecked in channel wide
Pursues its course with clear and tranquil tide ;
But if 'tis forced into a narrow path
The seething waters fret in sullen wrath.

Equally good in its vein of youthful insolence is the piece written to the husband of an ugly wife :

The other morning I espied
By happy chance your blooming bride,
So milky white, so fresh, so sweet,
So modest looking and so neat.
I thought 'Should heaven send me as mine
Three such as her, I would consign
Two of the dames to Jove's dark brother,
And risk it that he kept the other.'

In the *Epigrams* Johannes is slightly reminiscent of Martial ; but the twelve *Odes*, though they are written in Horatian sapphics and alcaics, are completely original work. One of them indeed, 'The Dancer,' is more like Samain's *Pannyre* than anything Horace ever composed.

Borne in Dione's ivory car
Above the earth, I saw afar
Youths dancing in a mirthful band
With rosy maidens hand in hand

One tender virgin beat the ground
With rhythmic step, and circling round
In changing movements of the dance,
Drew to her every thought and glance

Wouldst match the colour of her cheek ?
Then milk with roses mingled seek.
The image of her brow behold ?
Take snow white ivory framed in gold

Now with a youthful arm to guide
Her flying feet she swift would glide ·
Now disengaged she floated free,
Dancing in single liberty

And as she wove her magic maze,
At this and that one she would gaze
With looks of invitation coy,
Alluring each to share her joy.

'Oh senseless earth, how is it meet
For you,' I cried, 'to touch her feet ?
To me resign so fair a prize
And let her charm my heart and eyes.'

So we come to the *Epithalamium* and to the nineteen poems known as *Basia*, 'The Kisses,' addressed to that dark flower of Spain whom her lover calls Neæra. In the *Basia*, as his fellow-countryman Peerlkamp says, Johannes surpasses himself, and there is not one of the nineteen that is not a masterpiece of light and graceful fancy. Some are in elegiac metre, some are anacreontics, some phalæcians ; but they are all charming. It is,

therefore, perhaps superfluous to single out any one poem; but if a choice has to be made, the first, seventh, eighth, and fifteenth may be taken as representing Johannes in all his various manners. The first, describing how kisses came to earth, has a touch of romantic imagination rare in Latin poetry. Venus, having taken Ascanius to Cythera, looks at her sleeping grandson and recalls the memory of Adonis. Fearing to disturb the youth, she presses a rose to her lips, and the flower returns her kiss again and again. Then the enraptured goddess scatters the seeds of this new delight over the earth, and so it is that lovers now in kisses find solace for their pains.

The seventh, lighter in style, is concerned with the rivalry of a lover's eyes and lips, and laments the fact that when the lips are enjoying the pleasure of touch the eyes are precluded from the pleasure of gazing upon all the beloved's beauty: hence, says the poet, eyes and lips are apt to live in continual feud. The eighth is addressed directly to Neæra, who in kissing had bitten Johannes' tongue. Some faint idea of its music may perhaps be gained from the following attempt at translation:

What frenzy was it, void of skill,
Bade you, Neæra, work your will
Of mischief on my hapless tongue,
And do to it this grievous wrong?
You knew that you had pierced my heart
With shafts of love in every part
And were you still unsatisfied
Until you had your sharp teeth tried
Upon that other member too
Who only lives to sing of you?
From early morn to eve's decline,
Through nights of grief and day's sunshine,
This faithful tongue, you know it well,
Has only but one tale to tell
'Behold Neæra's sparkling eyes
Behold her braided locks,' it cries,
'Behold her bosom white as milk,
Behold her neck more soft than silk.'
Neæra's charms in wanton verses
Among the stars it still rehearses
Beyond Jove's flame, and is so zealous
It makes the very heavens jealous.
'Flower of my soul'— they hear it call—
'My dearest life, my all in all,
My sweetest sweetling, in whose arms
I find escape from all alarms
My milk white pigeon, queen of love'—
See Venus frown—'my turtle dove.'
How was it then you had the whim,
Proud beauty, thus to injure him

Who dares to exalt above the skies
The beauty of your lips and eyes?
It was, forsooth, because you know
I never should so angry grow
As not to make that tongue proclaim,
Albeit in broken words, your fame,
And of your teeth the praises sound
Which dealt it this so cruel wound,
And bleeding still your charm confess.
O tyranny of loveliness!

While the eighth 'kiss' could hardly have been written by anyone save Johannes, the fifteenth is so exactly in Meleager's most delicate style that if read only in translation it might well be attributed to the Syrian poet:

As Cupid with uplifted bow
  Stood waiting, dear, to strike you down,
He saw your cheeks with fire aglow,
  Your eyes, your breasts like Venus' own,
The curls that on your forehead play,
And cast his wavering darts away

Swift to your arms the young god flew
  And pressed a thousand kisses on you,
All fragrant with the Cyprian's dew
  Breathing her myrtles' scent upon you,
And by the Gods and Venus swore
He never would annoy you more.

What wonder then your kisses are so sweet,
And that in love no sorrow you should meet?

The *Epithalamium* should be read last, for in the rich banquet of Johannes' verse it is the final delicacy, the most glowing picture that can be imagined of the legitimate joys of conjugal love. To choose such a subject as the bridal night is already a sufficient proof of boldness, and there is the further consideration that Catullus long before had written on this theme the most melodious lyric in classical Latin. But Johannes emerges triumphantly from both dangers. In spite of the extreme delicacy of his subject, his most detailed descriptions are not offensive, and the beauty of his verse is so great that Catullus himself would acknowledge in him a worthy rival. In one respect indeed Johannes avoids rivalry: he has the good sense to adopt a different metre, and instead of the traditional glyconics that Catullus uses he writes in hendecasyllabics, producing what is probably the longest poem in that tricksy metre which we possess.

The other convention, however, proper to the marriage song,

that of the refrain, Johannes employs with delightful effect. In the first half of the poem there recurs five times the line:

'O felix juvenis, puella felix.'

'The bride within his arms is laid.
O lucky youth, O lucky maid!'

In the second half this changes to

'O noctem ter et amplius beatam.'

'O rapture sweet, O soft delight.
O happy, happy, happy night!'

which again is repeated five times, while the original refrain 'O felix' brings the piece exultantly to an end

It may be that some readers will find the *Basia* and the *Epithalamium* too pagan for their taste Johannes certainly is voluptuous; but on the other hand he is never vicious; and there are worse things in this world than healthy desire. His conception of love is of an earthly rather than of an ethereal nature, and he does not attempt to follow Dante and Petrarch in their mystical raptures But although his feelings are based ultimately on the physical contact of two bodies, they are in themselves perfectly sane. The language also in which he expresses those feelings very seldom passes beyond the bounds of strict propriety, and, as he says himself in one of his most outspoken pieces, anyone who comes to his poems expecting to find the naughtiness of mentulated words will go away disappointed

Our modest maids and matrons need not shrink away, nor fear
To turn my pages over there is no Priapus here.
I do not sing of monstrous loves or how the gods come down
To frolic in our marriage beds and make our wives their own.
My theme is harmless kissing there is nothing that a master
Could not read before a class of boys in school without disaster.
'Tis true sometimes too strong a word by accident slips out;
And that is why our wanton maids and matrons spy about
To see if on some naughtiness perchance they may alight.
But there is nothing for them, it is not for them I write.
My chaste Neaera much prefers, as you will soon discover,
An insufficient booklet to an inefficient lover.

Such an apology as this has numerous parallels in English, and it is plain that many of our Caroline poets were well acquainted with Johannes, from whom indeed they freely borrow and adapt. One of their number, Thomas Stanley (1625–1678), went further, and published a translation of fourteen of the nineteen 'Kisses,' a translation which, though far from perfect, is still the best that has hitherto appeared in English. Stanley, like most of his contemporaries, is excellent in parts, but he is

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capable of astonishing lapses, and after the light grace of Johannes' Latin, with its easy flow of repetitions and diminutives, the English version often seems heavy and monotonous. And as with the Carolines, so with the Restoration poets. Suckling, Sedley, Carew, Rochester and the rest are all in Johannes' debt, and perhaps it is from him rather than from any classical Latin writer that they derive the peculiar blend of raillery and passion which is the distinguishing mark of their verse.

There still remains one English poet, one far greater than any of these men, who in the days when he was living in Italy and surrendering for a brief space to the joys of life must often have read Johannes with sympathetic delight. The stern Milton of *Paradise Regained*, the old man lonely and blind who still would eat a few olives at supper to remind him of his Italian pilgrimage, may seem a very different figure from Neæra's passionate lover; but Milton in his grave youth felt for a time at least the charm of loving dalliance and, although he put it from him, he could write:

> Were it not better done as others use
> To sport with Amaryllis in the shade
> Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?

To whom more probably than to Johannes do these lines refer? And of whom more probably than of Johannes was the great Puritan thinking when he said that as compared with rhetoric poetry is simple, sensuous, and passionate?

F. A. WRIGHT.

THE HABITS OF THE HARDENED OFFENDER

In order to become officially recognised as an offender it is necessary first to pass an examination in a police court, a court of sessions, or a court of assize, the place of examination depending more or less upon the statutory nature of the offence which the candidate may aspire to illustrate.

In one or other of these courts, by old-established and time-honoured methods of procedure, no efforts are spared in an endeavour to determine accurately whether any candidate who has been put forward by popular consent to stand for election to the highly exclusive company of 'offenders' is really possessed of the abilities he is alleged to possess, and therefore a fit person to figure as a representative of one at least of the many kinds of behaviour which are permitted to count as legitimate offences in his day.

A large number of candidates fail miserably. Most of these slip out of court with great rapidity, as though anxious to dispel the illusion that they had ever been selected as likely candidates for fame. Others escape less easily, being first compelled to accept the public assurance of a judge that they leave the court without a stain upon their character—which, if a stain be the equivalent of a mark, means their failure in the examination has indeed been shattering. Others are advised good-humouredly to keep peacefully away from the courts for a year, and to enter into a recognisance to do so; while a growing number, who seem to offer some promise of ultimate success, are put on probation for a fixed period, because it has been found that with this encouragement a small yet reliable minority manage to achieve victory.

In proportion to the population of England and Wales—to restrict our survey within these limits—it is lamentable to observe the relative scarcity of certificated offenders. One would have thought that the romantic careers of the burglar and the fraud, to name the two most popular schools in the 'university of offences,' would have made a greater appeal to the youth of this generation than they seem to do.

For success in the former of these schools, all that is really

essential is physical strength, an iron nerve, an intense aversion from fixed hours of toil in an office or workshop, a noble admiration for the life of a man of leisure, a dash of vanity, and a reasonable amount of ordinary human selfishness; to which may or may not be added a liking for a happy home-circle of a conventional kind, or a frank preference for a less fettered form of conjugal relationship.

Among the little collection of portraits I carry in my mind of offenders whose confidence I have at one time or another been permitted to share I recall one young man who had graduated very creditably as a 'cat-burglar.' He was a delightful companion, and the soul of honour. On one occasion, being a little apprehensive lest my flat might be burgled during my absence abroad for a fortnight, I asked him to occupy it for me and safeguard it, which he most generously did; and I never felt more sure of the integrity of a caretaker than I did in this case.

In all, he stayed with me several weeks, during which time he would often recount to me stories of his life and adventures. He said that in his opinion there could be few things on earth more wonderful than the first few moments after creeping into a room in a house he had decided to explore: the dead silence of the darkened room, punctuated only by the ticking of the clock and the corresponding beats of one's own heart; every sense wide awake; every nerve alert; the yet greater thrill did the room prove to be a bedroom, and the sounds to include the passive breathing of a sleeping person. Slowly to approach the bed with a cat-like tread, slowly to extend the hand to the pillow, slowly—very slowly—to withdraw the watch, slowly to retreat. Such a series of movements seemed to my friend to be an earthly anticipation of anything that the Christian's Paradise or the Buddhist's Nirvana can ever hold in store for the believer.

He always worked alone, he told me. It was safer, and one had not to divide the profits. I asked him whether he was ever bothered by the thought that the property he was annexing belonged to another person, to whose house he had not actually been invited on the night in question. He said he appreciated the situation completely; but that if in spite of the anxieties of the insurance companies, and the quite natural apprehensions of the householder himself, and if in spite of the existence of the Metropolitan Police Force, he could, nevertheless, select a house in London, boldly enter it, bravely search it, magnificently rifle it, and divinely leave it, then—all things considered—he felt that, like other members of a *professedly* Christian community, he deserved his reward and should take it.

From time to time he found himself by such methods in the temporary possession of essentially private means. He would

[illegible]

[illegible] man of leisure he would take out an easel and palette and make pleasant little pictures of the country lanes. He would, in fact, lead the kind of life which appealed to him, and to which he might one day permanently retire, did fortune admit.

He had received a good education in the Colonies; nor had there been any pressure of material circumstances to determine his choice of artistic expression. Fate brought him to England. Fate introduced him on the journey to an international train-thief, and his first exploit was the abduction, not of an heiress, but of her handbag, on a P.L.M. express. He said he was astonished to discover how easy it was to take that handbag, while it occurred to him almost simultaneously how very easy it was to earn a living in an unconventional but quite agreeable way.

At times he found it convenient to engage in some ordinary occupation, working at a fixed wage like any other citizen; but when this occurred it was usually in order to have leisure and opportunity to study the ways of some business firm with a view to ascertaining the most convenient moment when the firm's wages could be safely deposited in the pocket of one of its members only

That he succeeded in at least one of such enterprises I have no reason whatever to doubt, for it immediately preceded an extensive tour he much enjoyed in the Lake District.

He had a singular power over dogs, a gift which he discovered, so he told me, by accident in the midst of one of his nocturnal adventures. He had entered a house by what proved to be the study window, and, finding nothing of any negotiable value in the room, he was minded to proceed into the hall. On opening the study door he found himself, to his dismay, face to face with a large house-dog. He looked at the dog, and the dog looked at him. He patted the dog, and the dog surrendered. Become now the best of friends, they wandered about the house together, the dog taking an evident personal interest in all his activities. His task done, they bade each other an affectionate farewell.

It was some considerable time before he had his first encounter with the police. He had decided to visit two houses next door to each other, and while engaged upon his survey in the second house the unimaginative occupant of the first house awoke and, discovering her losses, saluted the whole neighbourhood with a lengthy solo on a police-whistle. This obliged him hastily to leave the house he was in and seek refuge in its garden, where he remained under the shadow of a tree until found there by two policemen.

He was committed for trial at the London Sessions, where he

found favour in the sight of Sir Robert Wallace. Since, however, Scotland Yard had as yet nothing to say to his artistic credit, he was placed upon probation, and in gratitude made it perfectly plain that two days, and not two years, was amply sufficient to enable him to try again. On his next encounter with the police he managed to part company with his escort, after which he enjoyed quite a reasonable space of liberty before he was again captured, and this time deemed worthy to be initiated into the mysteries of Wormwood Scrubs, that imposing training centre for backward and forward citizens in the Ducane Road, Shepherd's Bush, governed by one of the kindest-hearted gentlemen in England. Here he abode nine months, finding solace in the carpenters' shop and useful practice in the gymnasium. Even here he managed to make some sketches and to write one or two very moving sonnets.

It was soon after his return from this training centre that I had the good fortune to make his acquaintance To be perfectly frank, he was a little depressed in both body and soul, so he gladly accepted the offer of a roof and companionship He felt at the moment that his nerve had diminished, and that his right hand had lost her cunning. He said he had a mind to fall to the low level of everyday citizenship He would be willing to take any job. So we hunted about, and after nearly eight weeks, during which time, as I have said, he minded my flat for a fortnight, I did succeed in persuading a well-known and broad-minded employer to give him work as a packer at the usual wages. He packed confectionery for a fortnight, and set up for himself. He then disappeared The last I heard of him was that he had recovered his nerve.

Second in popularity in the 'university of offences' is the 'school of fraud.' In this department it is essential that the candidate should be possessed of a vivid imagination and a natural capacity to tell convincing lies To these fundamental characteristics may be added with advantage that charm of personality that produces an hypnotic effect on any susceptible stranger.

There emerged one bright morning from Wormwood Scrubs a tall, prepossessing young man with a physique appropriate to an ex-guardsman, who had attained at least physical uprightness. In the days when I still visited that prison he had greatly impressed me by his conversation and charm of manner; so much so indeed that I had invited him to consider my flat as his home for the first three weeks, if need be, on his return to the metropolis. Those three weeks turned out to be, for me, as momentous as any three weeks Miss Elinor Glynn could ever have provided for her readers in *Lucerne*. Fairly well seasoned by this time to the

minds and ways of burglars, I had not as yet encountered a master of the art of fraud.

For some time prior to his release he had written me letters, in which he showed himself quite plainly to be a man of the highest ideals, a lover of good literature, and a philosopher of no mean order. His only complaint seemed to be that owing to a concatenation of adverse circumstances I was, in fact, the only friend he possessed in the world. This in the long run ceased to surprise me in the least, but at the moment it produced within me those feelings of sympathy the production of which is the first duty of any self-respecting artist in mendacity

Like the late lamented Mr. Barnum, this young man must have thanked God in his cell that 'every moment a fool is born into the world.' As may easily be imagined, we became fast friends; indeed, at one time I questioned whether I ever should succeed in breaking our friendship. He became so inordinately fond of me that my sympathies gradually transferred themselves from himself to Frankenstein Let me endeavour to indicate some of his habits.

As often as not a man's character reveals itself in some simple action of apparent unimportance Looking back, I recognise now that he revealed himself to me the first day at lunch in a small Italian restaurant, the day of his release. In order not to embarrass him when we were in public, I had provided him with a week's pocket-money, so that no one might imagine that he was otherwise than a self-supporting, independent citizen. Thus at lunch we each ordered our own selection from the menu. We were most independent, but when the bills were presented he succeeded in making me feel that I ought to pay both.

The same evening, in the recesses of a comfortable little tavern, for which he said he had a sentimental affection, he introduced me to a most interesting *habitué* of Soho, whose knowledge of our penal methods considerably exceeded my own, in that he had twice retired into penal servitude, and had experienced the 'cat' for that highly-specialised art of robbery with violence. In the company of this cheery gentleman, two confidence tricksters, and a young man of whom it was explained to me that he 'played the part of husband for the sake of respectability,' we made a merry little party in a corner of the saloon bar. Being a trifle uncertain of my own relation to the surroundings, I inquired tentatively of my friend as to what precisely I was supposed to be. He said his friends would take it for granted that I was a crook solicitor, while everyone else would think I was a 'bogey.' This information and some port naturally restored my confidence completely.

Very soon after this my friend found favour in the sight of

a young lady, who led a life of perfect respectability in Pimlico, but who, it turned out, adored week-ends at Brighton in congenial company. This I did not immediately discover, but it necessitated my friend inventing some plausible excuse for absenting himself frequently from my flat, and for several days at a time whenever possible. He had apparently represented himself to the lady as a man of means, perhaps not very conventionally obtained, but that did not seem in the least to worry her. The pressing question therefore arose as how best to raise the requisite funds for entertaining her.

Faced with this difficulty, he turned very naturally to the only friend he possessed. He commenced by instalments to acquaint me with his life-history: his early childhood in a northern industrial city; his difficulties at home; his first attempts at earning his living; the death of his foster-mother; the kindness of a landlady; his popularity, his going to sea; his first *affaire de cœur*—all of which he described so vividly that by the time he had finished it was difficult not to believe that I had known him for all these years and had therefore good reason to perceive what a charming, trusty youth he was.

Very gradually he worked upon my feelings and helped me to grasp how the whole chances of his future depended upon his going back to the scenes of his childhood, making peace if he could with his old foster-father, who had never really got over his departure and who would help him as none other could to escape from the taint of his imprisonment and restart another life where he would win back, step by step, his lost prestige. So much was he moved by his own narrative that he purchased out of his pocket-money a time-table and marked the best trains to the city of his origin, and also the return trains in case his mission failed. Subsequently he explained to me that he performed this last action simply on the principle that 'if you are going to do a thing at all, you may as well do it thoroughly.' Suffice it to say that, improbable as the pretext sounds in print, so skilfully did he tell his story, so reasonable, so convincing, did he make it seem, that before I knew where I was I made it possible for him to revisit his lost relatives in that northern city in such a way that he would not be any encumbrance to them. He departed for King's Cross.

A week later he returned from Brighton with a portmanteau containing, in addition to his own wardrobe, a highly decorative pair of ladies' shoes.

As a matter of fact, by a strange and roundabout chance, I had been privately warned of his change of itinerary, but I decided not immediately to disclose this on his arrival back; and, as it turned out, my patience was rewarded, for he gave me a graphically touching account of his complete reconciliation with

his old foster-parent on the Tyneside, and the prospects of a job in the near future. To this I listened with the respect due to a great artist. At length he paused.

'But actually,' I remarked, 'you left Brighton this morning.'

He sat for a few moments in silence. Then he told me what a weight off his conscience this was; how glad he was that I had found him out, in that now our friendship, so far from being ended, had only just begun. I was completely annihilated.

By every rule of common-sense I ought to have shown him the front door; the fact that I did not do so is difficult to explain, and must be attributed, I suppose, to the influence of haunting memories of 'seventy times seven' and to a fatal weakness for affording artists ample opportunities for self-expression. He survived this *dénouement*. He got his money by false pretences, and I gladly figured as his accessory before and after the fact. *Mea culpa*.

Brighton, it transpired, had permanently cured him of his infatuation. He returned the slippers to Cinderella and I paid the postage.

His next act of grace was an act of humanity to a young burglar, a former accomplice, about to return to the world from Wandsworth. Would I put him up for a few days?

So Billy arrived one October morning and proved to be one of the best cooks I have ever encountered. He was a burglar pure and simple, a most lovable fellow who never did anything fraudulent save out of loyalty to the benefactor who had imported him. They went out together of an evening, and the result before long was a supper-party at the flat to two Piccadilly ladies, one of whom had seen the inside of Holloway, and the other of whom had 'her boy' in Pentonville. I insisted upon the observance of a certain minimum of behaviour. We played a rubber of whist and pledged our good companionship in port, and, save for the fact that one lady burst into tears and had to be assisted into a taxi, it was quite a mannerly entertainment.

Shortly after this Billy left to take up house for a while with the Holloway lady, and about the same time my friend likewise went to stay with another peripatetic philosopher of Shaftesbury Avenue, who consented willingly for a while to play the exacting *rôle* of the only friend he possessed on earth.

He still, however, visited me frequently, and always in order to tell me some new and moving tale of imminent distress that must be relieved, or of some pending good fortune that must be financed. I reduced my hospitality to occasional meals and intermittent half-crowns, and the only reason I have to suppose that he still thought much of me was the sudden disappearance one

day of my entire wardrobe, coupled with the recollection that my suits fitted him like a glove.

I had on more than one occasion refused his more ambitious requests, despite a curious habit he had of repeating at intervals a sentence that remains in my mind. It was this: 'No one but a fool blackmails, but there is such a thing as verbal blackmail.' I was so much impressed by this cryptic remark that I told him one day that by a curious chance my family solicitors were well-known experts in dealing with blackmail He inquired the name of the firm, and I told him. He was visibly moved.

The actual termination of our companionship (I touch wood) came about in a manner worthy of a Drury Lane melodrama. He pitched such a magnificent story of his decision to go to sea once more that my desire to picture him afloat led me to believe that for once he might be speaking the truth. Thus it was arranged that he should sail on a certain Tuesday afternoon at 4 p.m., for the purposes of which he had extracted a not unwilling 4*l*. Thus I was genuinely sorry to see him arrive to tea that self-same afternoon at 5 p m

To explain his advent he produced a story that would have done credit to Scheherazadè herself in the hour of her extremity. He said that the previous evening, in a fit of aberration, he had decided to pay one last farewell visit to the West End; that, as luck would have it, he had met the lady from Shaftesbury Avenue from whom he had (so he said) for some time parted, that he stopped to wish her good-bye, and that while so doing he had been interrupted by her new gallant, who, stung with jealousy, had struck him. A fight had ensued, he had knocked his rival out, had left him on the pavement, and had then fled He had since heard he had been taken to hospital and was not expected to recover. The police were on his track. News of his going to sea had been told them by the girl, to whom he had unfortunately named the ship. He dared not approach the docks, he was a hunted man. The noose was already round his neck. He must get out of London that night. He must have 10*l*

I told him I did not believe one single word of his story, and that he would not receive one farthing.

We were quite alone in the flat, which was a basement flat in a fairly lonely road He had the physique of a guardsman, and understood jiu-jitsu I weighed just under ten stone, and was unarmed. Moreover, I have an inveterate dislike to brawls.

'Well,' I said, 'what are you going to do?'

He said: 'Unless you write me a cheque for 10*l*. I shall be obliged to take what I think is sufficient to raise that sum.'

I replied: 'It is in your power to do so, if you feel you can do so.'

He seemed sad, asking me why I forced him to do so distasteful a deed. Then he said: 'If I tied you up and cut the telephone wire, and you said you could not describe me, you would get the insurance money.'

'I replied that I thought the plan had its drawbacks, and that I did not want to be tied up. He then most reluctantly set to work, and I did my best to help him in the selection of the articles of jewellery and clothing he wanted. Half way through he asked if he might have a glass of sherry, which I poured out for him. He needed it badly. There was little of worth in the flat, save my watch, my clothes, and a valuable gramophone. I asked him not to take the gramophone. He said he would leave it if I wrote a cheque for 5*l*. I told him to take the gramophone. Heavily weighted, therefore, with a suit-case tightly packed, a case of records, the gramophone on one shoulder and my watch and rings in his pocket, he asked me, as he had so much to carry, whether I would open the front door for him. I assured him that nothing would give me greater pleasure. *Toujours la politesse.* He passed out into the night.

I walked over to the telephone, took up the receiver, but on second thought replaced it. I decided to wait and see what happened. I did not have to wait long. Within a month, as I fully expected, he retired to Wandsworth for a short period, at the instigation of a man whose gas-meter till he had deprived of its contents as a mark of regard for his hospitality.

This man knew of my existence and became suddenly unhappy about a small collection of pawn-tickets he had in his possession. He asked me to go and see them. I did so. And the next morning I took a taxi and collected my watch, my rings, my gramophone, and most of my other belongings from an area that extended from Lower Marsh to the upper reaches of the Tottenham Court Road.

I came in time to regard my friend with something approaching affection, and to feel that gratitude that is always felt by a pupil to the master who has taught him some valuable lessons in human experience. In this case I think the fees were rather high; but the fees of the specialist are always far in excess of those of the general practitioner.

He has since undergone two further courses in citizenship at Wandsworth, but seems to possess very little ability for this kind of career.

Some of my readers may possibly think that it would have been rightful on my part to have telephoned for the police after the departure of my friend on the evening aforementioned. By way of apology I must respectfully point out that it has become my considered opinion that it is foolish to have arrested the person

whose habits you are engaged upon studying, and thereby to curtail such an interesting pursuit, so long as the person under observation pays one the touching compliment of asking oneself to play the victim's part. Further, it must be borne in mind that I did not approach my offenders in the capacity of a moralist or a rescuer, but merely in that of an observer of a department of human nature in which there appears to be room left for study—to wit, the habits of the hardened offender.

In this article I have tried to indicate the habits of two hardened offenders who crossed my path and who afforded me sufficient opportunity to observe their idiosyncrasies of behaviour. Needless to say, it has only been possible to provide the reader with a general impression of their respective capabilities. Both were artists of distinction in their own fields of enterprise, and both, I make no doubt, under the ægis of our present penal methods, will have ample scope in which to perfect their spiritual gifts. I am wholly incompetent to decide whether they should be described as wicked, mad, abnormal or supernormal. To me they seemed to be pleasantly unusual persons, encouragers of thought and artists of a kind. Perhaps they ought to be removed, if the land is to be made safe for Democracy; but the disappearance of the aristocrats, like the twilight of the gods, makes the civilised earth a depressing place to live in.

Arthur R. L. Gardner.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

A number of members of the reading public, men and women, have sent recommendations of recent books This list is a digest of their selections.—THE EDITOR.

RICARDO BACCHELLI. "La Città degli Amanti" Ceschina (Milan.) 12 lire. *Fiction*. Partly satirical, partly pure narrative. It contains a magnificent account of the retreat from Caporetto

VERNON BARTLETT. "Calf Love." Constable 7s 6d. *Fiction*. Charming, young and fresh.

G. KITSON CLARK. "Peel and the Conservative Party" Bell. 20s. *Politics*. A new valuation of Peel from unpublished material

G. D. H. COLE "The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy." Macmillan 15s. *Politics* A Socialist programme of the left-wing. The author unsays much that he said before

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GEORGE McKNIGHT. "Modern English in the Making" Appleton & Co., New York. 16s A review of the English language by the professor of English at Ohio University.

HEINRICH MANN. "Berlin" Gollancz. 7s 6d *Fiction* Hailed as revolutionary when it appeared in 1900, now definitely old-fashioned.

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H. W. SCHNEIDER. "Making the Fascist State" Oxford Universi Press. 21s. *Politics*. A judicial and entirely non-partisan descripti of modern Fascism.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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THE
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No. DCXXXI—September 1929

THE VALUE OF CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT FOR RELIGION

A Rejoinder

It may safely be said that there is no country in the world where the difficulty [*sc.* of Church Establishments] is so great, the problem so complicated, as it is in our own . the seat of a vast empire, extended over a great variety of races and religions, and itself inhabited by a population divided by endless diversities of opinion and belief, and subject to a monarchy so tempered by constitutional restraints, that no small sagacity is required to determine where the centre of power is to be found, and it is only certain that it depends on the concurrence of many subordinate agencies. It is clear that rules of action which under a system of personal government might be binding on the conscience of the ruler, would become utterly inapplicable to a Legislative Body, representing widely divergent religious sentiments, and of masses too large and powerful to be ignored or neglected. The practical neutrality or impartiality which in the one case would have been a fault or a sin, becomes, under altered circumstances, a necessity and an obligation. The zeal which was a duty, becomes

an error and a weakness.—Bishop Thirlwall, Charge of 1869; vide Remains, vol. ii., p. 215.

In a recent issue of this Review Mr. Boys-Smith seeks to show 'the value of Church Establishment for religion.'[1] He builds much on three eminent writers—Hooker (*ob.* 1600), Paley (*ob.* 1805), and Thirlwall (*ob.* 1875)—who championed the Establishment of the Church of England as it existed in their own time, but he does not sufficiently remember that the present authority of their arguments is strictly conditioned by the measure of relevance which those arguments may possess to the actual situation which now confronts us. When we contrast the conditions under which they wrote and those under which we ourselves are living, we must needs admit that the difference is so profound that it is hardly reasonable to turn to them for practical guidance in our present perplexities. Hooker, incomparably the greatest of the three, assumed the identity of the nation and the Church, an assumption which was never really justified by the facts, and has long since been abandoned both by the law of England and by the apologists of the English Establishment. Paley defended the highly anomalous Establishment of the later Georgian period on the ground of its utility, but his argument presupposes a view of society, and discloses an attitude of mind, which are quite alien to the present age Thirlwall was more conspicuous among his contemporaries as the apologist of Disestablisment in Ireland than as the champion of Establishment in England; and since he delivered the great 'Charges' which Mr Boys-Smith quotes with so much appreciation, three Churches—the Churches of Ireland, Wales, and India—have been disestablished, and four successive extensions of the franchise have revolutionised the British Constitution. The Establishment, as it now survives in England, is something which Hooker could hardly have imagined, and which Paley would have found extremely unpalatable. Thirlwall's attitude is less easy to determine, but the striking passage with which we have prefaced this article indicates so clear a perception of the paradoxical character of the present relations of Church and State as makes it unlikely that he would have stood forward in their defence.

Mr. Boys-Smith speaks of 'the *ideal*, as Hooker envisaged it,' and holds that though 'this *ideal* has never been realised to the full,' yet those are mistaken 'who would maintain that it is an anachronism even to entertain that *ideal* at the present day.' An 'ideal' is not the same thing as an 'assumption.' Hooker never advances his version of a national Church as an ideal to be pursued, but as a fact to be asserted and made the basis of argument.

[1] 'The Value of Church Establishment for Religion,' July 1909.

He was the champion of an actually existing polity, which was founded on the assumption that, in a State or kingdom which had professed Christianity, 'one and the self-same people are the Church and the Commonwealth.' All his case for the Royal supremacy and the ecclesiastical function of Parliament rests on this identity. The Tudor Establishment was rigorously logical. It insisted on the practical consequences of its own theory. No dissent from the national religion was tolerated. Every person above sixteen years of age was required, under legal penalties for disobedience, to receive the Holy Communion in the parish church every Easter. It was no case of an ideal to be aimed at, but of an obligation to be enforced. The ideal of a completely Christian people, in which the citizen and the communicant shall be identical, is one thing; the assumption that this ideal has been actually attained is quite another. The first must always inspire the efforts of the Church, whether established or not: the last can only be made the basis of policy at the cost of disillusionment and disaster. Indeed, it may well turn out to be the case that advance towards the ideal will be hindered rather than assisted by indulgence in the false assumption. Certainly the frank abandonment of an assumption which is plainly false does not necessarily imply any unfaithfulness to an ideal which is essentially Christian.

Moreover, it is not unworthy of notice that, while Hooker emphasised the Royal supremacy as expressing the autonomy of the Church-Nation, he never forgot that the Church-Nation itself was part of a larger whole, and that its autonomy must respect that of the Church Catholic. He places together international laws in the secular sphere and the decisions of the Catholic Church in the spiritual. The King's supremacy in the State must respect the one, and his supremacy in the Church must respect the other. In neither could an unlimited power be tolerated

> Yea even as it were a thing unreasonable, if in civil affairs the king (albeit the whole universal body did join with him) should do anything by their supreme power for the ordering of their state at home, in prejudice of any of those ancient laws of nations which are of force throughout the world, because the necessary commerce of kingdoms dependeth on them; so in principal matters belonging to Christian religion, a thing very scandalous and offensive it must needs be thought, if either kings or laws should dispose of the affairs of God, without any respect had to that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the world, and wherein there is no law of God which forceth us to swerve from the way wherein so many and so holy ages have gone.

Hooker, for all his zeal for the Elizabethan Establishment, was no Erastian, but a devoted member of the Catholic Church.

When Mr. Boyd-Smith says that 'a secular State does not

exist in this country, and is not desired,' it is evident that he is using the word 'secular' in an unusual sense. Indeed, his whole argument is embarrassed, and in some sense vitiated, by his arbitrary use of technical terms. 'Define your terms' is a counsel which no reasoner can neglect with impunity. 'Establishment,' 'Disestablishment,' 'State,' 'Church,' 'spiritual,' 'secular,' 'ecclesiastical,' 'civil,' and many other words are all technical terms of precise meaning, and only as such can they be usefully employed in argument. The following passage is an excellent illustration of Mr. Boys-Smith's misleading use of language, and also of his failure to understand the views which he seeks to controvert.

> And to-day, when the civil power is responsible for so many tasks which, like education, are essentially spiritual, it is absurd to identify the civil with the secular. On the other hand, it is no less erroneous to identify the ecclesiastical with the spiritual They may, indeed, at times even be opposed. But, leaving that aside, it is absurd to identify them. In the first place, the spiritual cannot be immediately identified with the religious. The best in morals, in art, in science or learning, is indubitably spiritual; but it is not directly religious. And, in the second place, if attention is confined to the religious sphere, and if it is considered from what quarters guidance in religion comes to-day, the answer cannot be that it comes only from the religious societies of the country, still less that it comes only from the clergy or from the ecclesiastical assemblies Much of the most vigorous religion of the present day is connected somewhat loosely with the Churches which in a great measure have fostered it in the past. It is therefore doubly false to assume that whatever conflicts with an ecclesiastical policy or decision is therefore in conflict with the spiritual interest, or that civil control in religious matters is necessarily an infringement of spiritual rights.

We may observe in passing that education is a singularly unfortunate illustration of the spiritual competence of the modern State, for it is notorious that the modern State perforce disclaims its ability to provide the sanctions of morality which religion gives, and that moral and religious teaching are only given effectively in State schools by the agency of the Christian Church.

What, we must ask, is the conclusion to which Mr. Boys-Smith would lead us? That the Christian Church is superfluous in the modern State? That the modern State is all-sufficing? That there is no distinction rightly drawn between 'civil' and 'ecclesiastical,' 'secular' and 'spiritual'? He can hardly intend this, for he is maintaining the value of Church Establishment for religion, and he must needs assume both the existence of the Church and its distinctiveness from the State, with which Establishment associates it so closely, and from which Disestablishment would dissociate it, as he thinks, so disastrously for religion.

One of the main reasons why our graver thinkers incline to

doubt the value of Church Establishment for religion is the fact that Establishment tends to foster in men's minds precisely that confusion between 'secular' and 'spiritual' which Mr. Boys-Smith exhibits, and which is the core of 'Erastianism.' The modern State has taken over so many of the functions of the mediæval Church that it is not surprising that the question should suggest itself to many minds whether it cannot take over the whole. The 'national clerisy,' to employ Coleridge's phrase, is now dispersed over so large an area, commonly regarded as 'secular,' that the function still reserved for the clergy may seem too petty to be really worth maintaining. Civilisation within Christendom is so nearly self-sufficing that Christianity, in the distinctive form which the Church presents, tends to acquire the aspect of something outgrown, superfluous, and practically inconvenient. In a noble sermon preached in 1868 Dean Church, perhaps the greatest in the illustrious succession of the Deans of St. Paul's, pointed out the strength, the danger, and the essential falseness of this tendency:

> Accordingly, it may be said, and certainly is sometimes thought, that civilization does all that Christianity claims to do. It is suggested or announced that society has outgrown Christianity; that whatever benefits it once derived from Christian ideas and motives it needs no longer; that even if it learned its lessons from Christianity, yet now it is able to walk alone, to judge and deal without its teacher; that there is nothing left for the Church to do, as a moral influence on society, but what can be as well or better done by other influences, not holding of religion, or, at any rate, of definite Christianity. The virtues which men want will now grow on their own roots; civilization is become strong enough to maintain itself and to provide in the healthiest way for the perfection of human character. . . .
>
> It is enough to say that there are things of the deepest import to man and society which civilization does not pretend to give, and which nothing can give but Christianity.[1]

Now the Church consists of those who believe in the reality and priceless worth of these 'things of the deepest import to man and society,' and are associated together with the object of making their belief practically effective. 'The influence of the Church on society means, in its ultimate shape, the influence of those who compose it.'

Mr. Boys-Smith says with truth that '*no one who is not prepared with some views of the nature of the Church, or again of the nature of the State, is likely to discuss profitably the nature of the relation which exists between them*'; but, at least so far as the Church is concerned, he does not appear to have heeded his own warning. What is his view of the nature of the Church? He

[1] *The Gifts of Civilization*, by R. W. Church, p. 100 f (London, 1891).

[illegible] alliance with the Church,' and [illegible] that, since 'it cannot be proved [illegible] was laid down in the Christian [illegible] basis, with a view to fixing a constitution for [illegible] ages,' the State has a free hand in the matter, and can organize the Church as best in its own judgment serves to the great end of 'utility.' He says with unquestionable truth that '*much of the hostility to the established position of the Church of England derives its strength from a connection quite inconsistent with the principle*' of Paley's utilitarian argument; and then he essays to remove this hostility by explaining, or rather explaining away, the distinction between 'secular' and 'spiritual' which it assumes! What is his own view of the Church? It is beside the mark to discuss the right of bishops, or clergy, or ecclesiastical assemblies, or a combination of these with the religious laity, to give authoritative utterance to the Church's mind until this *previous question* has been answered. What does he understand by *the Church*? When the Archbishops claimed for the Church of England '*inherent spiritual authority*,' they moved beyond such domestic and secondary questions as concerned the organs through which, or the methods by which, that authority ought to find legitimate expression, and raised the more fundamental issue of the Church's essential character. The gravity of the action of the House of Commons lay in the fact that it overrode the decision of the Church itself, of bishops, clergy, and laity, expressed with great deliberation, and in a constitutional manner. Mr. Boys-Smith seems to be unconscious of the fact that the Anglican laity were associated with the bishops and clergy in the preparation of the Revised Prayer Book. It was no merely clerical demand that the House of Commons rejected, but the formulated judgment of that spiritual society which is called the Church of England. Very fitly did the bishops frame, and the Church Assembly endorse, a solemn protest against the claim of a merely secular authority, the House of Commons, to override that judgment:

> It is a fundamental principle that the Church—that is, the bishops together with the clergy and the laity—must in the last resort, when its mind has been fully ascertained, retain its inalienable right, in loyalty to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to formulate its faith in Him and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its forms of worship.

The precise form of Church polity may, as Christians in the past have generally believed, have been prescribed in advance of the Church's experience, or it may, as historical students now commonly maintain, have been determined by the Church in the light of that experience, but no considering Christian could ever tolerate

[illegible] ...ent in the Ordinal itself. Bishop Lightfoot's [illegible] in his famous 'Dissertation' some sixty years ago, appears to be endorsed by that brilliant and independent scholar Canon Streeter in his newly published examination of the evidence, *The Primitive Church*:

> The threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic direction, and short of an express statement we can possess no better assurance of a Divine appointment or at least a Divine sanction. If the facts do not allow us to unchurch other Christian communities differently organised, they may at least justify our jealous adhesion to a polity derived from this source.*

Paley's Erastianism is as historically absurd as it is morally repulsive.

Mr. Boys-Smith endorses, though he does not emphasise, the two grounds upon which 'a defence of the established position of the Church of England is usually made to rest,' but neither of these is as secure as he appears to think, and as in some quarters is commonly assumed to be the case. How far, it must be asked, does the Establishment really do what is alleged? In Paley's day, when Parliament and the State service were guarded by the Test Act, it might be plausibly maintained that by the Establishment '*civil policy and institutions were secured against becoming merely secular in nature or intention, and were governed, at least in measure, by higher than material considerations.*' But now, when men of all religions, and of none, may vote at the polls and sit in Parliament, and when the service of the State is frankly open to all competent citizens without religious conditions of any kind, what force survives in the plea? What conceivable difference in the personnel, or in the method, or in the spirit of government could disestablishment make? The disappearance of twenty-six prelates from the House of Lords, a chamber which now includes more than 750 members, would not affect appreciably the type and range of legislation, and the other consequences of disestablishment would touch the Church rather than the State. Again, can it be reasonably maintained that '*it is due, at least in a considerable degree, to the established Church of England that this country is without the two great evils of an anti-religious civil policy and an ecclesiastical party in political life, two evils of which it would be hard to say whether the one or the other is the more inimical to the cause of religion*'? If, as is happily true, there has been hitherto in England a notable absence of that bitter hostility to the Christian religion and to the Church by which it is expressed,

* *Vide* Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 267.

which has too commonly marked the revolutionary politics of the Continent, the main reasons are, first, the Reformation, which cut out of English public life the exasperating factor of divided allegiance present inevitably in the communities which rejected that great emancipation and continued to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff; next, the liberal political constitution of this country, which made the removal of grievances in deference to the public will always possible; and lastly, the work of the Methodists and other dissenters in Christianising the masses. When the religious value of Establishment is in debate, the last consideration is particularly noteworthy. No student of English history will be disposed to underrate the magnitude of the service which these humble missioners rendered in the crisis of the French Revolution. Lecky has justly insisted on this point:

> Religion, property, civil authority, and domestic life, were all assailed, and doctrines incompatible with the very existence of government were embraced by multitudes with the fervour of a religion. England, on the whole, escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that were associated with the Revolution in France.[4]

So far from the Establishment having been a pacific or stabilising factor in the nation, it was the most bitterly resented part of the corrupt system of national government against which the forces of change were beating. In the troubled years which preceded and followed the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, the popular detestation of the Establishment, which Paley had defended with such placid confidence, was so violent that the wiser Churchmen of the time despaired of preserving it. 'The Church, as it now stands, no human power can save,' wrote Dr. Arnold three days after the Reform Bill became law. 'I fear its days are numbered,' wrote Archbishop Whately. 'It is impossible,' said Bishop Blomfield, 'that the Church (in so far as it is of human institution) can go on as it is.' Bishop Marsh and the *Edinburgh Review* both declared that the clergy had never been so unpopular since the days of Charles I. The Oxford Movement was inspired by an intense realisation of the peril in which the Church stood. Nothing could be remoter from the truth than the picture of the Established Church of England as a

[4] *Vide History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii., p. 146 (London, 1892).

barrier against 'anti-religious policy.' Rather it was the Establishment in the form which Paley championed, and which Mr. Boys-Smith approves, that brought the nation closer to the adoption of such a policy than anything else.[5]

How this Establishment, which was so discredited by its enormous abuses, and so embarrassed by its paradoxical anomalies that it all but perished in the storms of the Reform era, appeared to a large-hearted and zealous Churchman is disclosed in the vehement words of a letter which Mr. Gladstone addressed to his father, shortly after the secession of Newman had, for the moment, overwhelmed the Oxford Movement. He had just succeeded in winning the university seat against much opposition from the academic Protestants, and no doubt his language was coloured by the excitement of the conflict.

> I have many sympathies with men in the Low Church party while I desire a more firm, a more comprehensive, and a more vigorous and elevated system than theirs, which I find in the laws and institutions of the Church as a whole. But there is one kind of religion, one kind of Protestantism, with which I have no sympathy whatever, and which constitutes no small part of the force arrayed against me. It is the Protestantism which grew into fashion during the last century, and has not yet quite grown out of it: that hated everything in religion that lived and moved; which lowered and almost paganized doctrine, loosened and destroyed discipline, and much defaced, in contempt of law, the decent and beautiful order of the Church; which neglected learning, easily tolerated vice, and, as it has been said, was never enthusiastic except against enthusiasm; which heaped up abuses mountain high in the shape of plurality, non-residence, simony, and others more than I can tell, drove millions into dissent, suffered millions more to grow up in virtual heathenism, and made the Church of England—I say it with deliberate sorrow—instead of being the glory, in many respects the shame of Christendom. This kind of Protestantism has always been the plague spot of Oxford, which, like every other human institution, must have its weaknesses and faults: it is this false and hollow system of religion, hating all who have disturbed its leaden slumbers, which now unites itself with an honest and vehement fanaticism to raise a cry of 'No Popery,' and under that cry denounces the genuine spirit of the Church of England.[6]

Mr. Boys-Smith evidently builds much on Paley's '*classical discussion of religious establishments*,' which, he thinks, '*should be studied by all whom this subject concerns*.' It is therefore important that the student should realise how Paley's theory actually found expression in practice, and how the Establishment, for which he found so much to say, impressed an English layman as devout and intelligent as Mr. Gladstone.

[6] *Vide English Church Reform* 1815–1840, by W. L. Mathieson (1923).

[6] *Vide Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone* (selected and arranged by D. C. Lathbury), vol. ii., p. 3 (London, 1910).

Mr. Boys-Smith's initial failure to clear up his mind as to what he understands by the Church involves him in yet deeper confusion, when he proceeds to discuss the meaning of 'inherent spiritual authority.' For, obviously, such authority implies the existence of a spiritual society with indefeasible rights and incommunicable functions, such a society, in fact, as Christians have ever maintained that the Church of Christ essentially is. For English Churchmen the theory is stated officially in Article XX., 'Of the Authority of the Church,' where the limits within which that authority may be rightly exercised are set forth, and in Article XXXIV., where the extent of the authority possessed by 'every particular or national Church' is declared. Mr. Boys-Smith speaks of '*the complex problem of where in a modern community the seat of authority in spiritual affairs is to be found*'; but when we speak of 'inherent spiritual authority' we are concerned with the Church which alone can possess it, not with 'a modern community' which, in the propriety of language, is not a 'spiritual society' at all.

Having no coherent or adequate view of the Church, it follows that Mr. Boys-Smith is quite unable to understand why Churchmen should find the situation created by the action of the House of Commons in rejecting the Prayer Book Measure both 'humiliating' and 'intolerable.' What matter the source from which the boon of '*liberty for independent thought and action within the Church*' may come? A Saklatvala may vote on the form of the Communion Service with acceptance, so only his vote help to paralyse 'the inherent spiritual authority' of the Church! What has the Church to do with any other liberty than that which may enable its own officers to vary its doctrine at will, and defy its discipline? Mr. Boys-Smith says:

> The liberty which is of supreme importance, to which almost every other consideration must give way, is liberty for independent thought and action within the Church. Liberty *within* the Church, if I may so express it, is of incomparably greater importance than liberty *for* the Church. And can it be seriously maintained that this true spiritual liberty would be conserved or increased by a policy of disestablishment? There can be little doubt that in a disestablished Church it would be seriously curtailed. It has been the established position of the Church of England, with its consequences of the supremacy of law, of the civil appointment of bishops, of the civil courts as the supreme court of appeal, and of the security of tenure possessed by incumbents, which, more than anything else, has secured to members of the English Church a spiritual liberty such as has been enjoyed by no other Church in Christendom over so wide an area and for so long together.

Where has Mr. Boys-Smith been living that he has never heard of the almost total breakdown of this incomparable Establish-

[illegible] THE VALUE OF CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT, [illegible] ment ? Does he maintain that 'liberty within the Church' should be wholly unrestrained ? Would he deny that the Christian religion, which the Church exists to propagate and interpret, imposes some limits ? Would he frankly subordinate the rights and reasonable preferences of the parishioners to the vagaries of private opinion ? Has the community no concern with the morality proclaimed in the parish pulpits, and pressed on the candidates for confirmation ? Does he not know that it is precisely the abuse of liberty 'for independent thought and action within the Church' which has brought the Church of England into its present confusion ?

It may be admitted that the practical paralysis of ecclesiastical authority may sometimes serve the immediate interest of the Church. It may hinder the ruthless action of bigotry, and save the Church from precipitate decisions reflecting, less the requirements of justice and truth, than the vehemence of some temporary aberration of opinion born of panic or prejudice. Thus it is generally assumed that the Church of England gained rather than lost by those decisions of the supreme secular court which, in the course of the nineteenth century, secured a place within the Establishment for unpopular minorities of various descriptions. Yet a thoughtful student of ecclesiastical history may well feel misgivings as to the soundness of this assumption, and question whether the franchise thus secured was not too dearly purchased. A compulsory toleration is little likely to breed a tolerant temper in those subject to it. The 'inherent spiritual authority' of the Church, which was overridden by the State in its legitimate though mistaken and oppressive exercise, was thereby lastingly enfeebled. There was no genuine advance in charity within the Church to outweigh this disadvantage. The dissident elements remained within the reluctant Church more sharply severed than ever, with the result that domestic discipline has been paralysed, genuine unity hindered, and partisanship hardened and stereotyped. Churches, like individuals, must learn by their mistakes. In the future as in the past the advance in tolerance will be conditioned by the martyrdom of thinkers and saints. There is no other way.

Nor may it be forgotten that the State is as little exempt from ignorance, passion, and fanaticism as the Church. Escape from the consequences of these evil dispositions does not lie in the direction of 'Erastianism.'

The value of Church Establishment for religion is a question, not of theory, but of experience. Here at least we are in agreement with Mr. Boys-Smith. 'If, however,' he writes, '*it can be shown that the present difficulties or defects of the Church of England, so far from being remedied by disestablishment, are likely*

to be seriously increased by such a course, [illegible] *ment] . . . will at least be well founded.'* But has he really grasped what '*the present difficulties or defects of the Church of England*' are? Has he seriously considered why the Establishment, which he rates so highly, has become so unsatisfactory and unworkable that its continuance is now plainly menaced, and, even in the judgment of those Churchmen who value it most, is conditioned by radical changes? After all, the frank acceptance of the conditions of Establishment *by the Church* is indispensable if the Establishment is to achieve its purpose and justify its existence. Mr. Boys-Smith leaves the Church out of his reckoning, and this omission robs his argument of relevance. The problem which has to be solved is how to make the present Establishment tolerable to the conscience and reason of English Churchmen. Mr. Boys-Smith speaks of '*some modification in detail*' which '*may be required to meet the changed conditions of the present day*,' but as he immedately proceeds to describe the action of the House of Commons in rejecting the Prayer Book Measure as '*evidence of the value of the Establishment*,' it is apparent that he has little understanding either of the reasons why English Churchmen generally find the present situation 'humiliating' and 'intolerable,' or of their determination not permanently to acquiesce in it. Even Bishop Thirlwall, who was little disposed to magnify the claims of churches, recognised that there were some matters respecting which Churchmen might fairly resent the interference of outsiders. 'Those who never enter our churches,' he said in his Charge of 1866, 'because they are strangers to all religion, can have no concern in a question about modes of worship.' This very obvious truth knocks the bottom out of the claim that any religious significance attached to the vote of the House of Commons on the Revised Prayer Book. Add the unquestionable fact that the book was accepted by one House of Parliament and only rejected in the other by the votes of non-English members, and the absurdity of maintaining that the rejection of the book '*marked the repudiation by the nation as a whole of the ideal of the school of Bishop Gore*' becomes apparent. The Revised Prayer Book represented the mind of no 'school' within the Church, but of the Church itself, expressed, as the Archbishop of Canterbury (Lord Davidson) declared in presenting it to Parliament, 'not only with no uncertain voice, but with an overwhelming majority' It dealt with the most intimate interests of the spiritual society, namely, its worship and the administration of the Sacraments; it was certified by the Ecclesiastical Committee to injure no civic rights and to affront no royal prerogative; and it was cast aside by an assembly which included men of divers religions and of none, and after a debate

in which the most sacred beliefs of English Churchmen were discussed by men who obviously neither shared nor understood them. A Church which could find in such action by such a body '*evidence of the value of the Establishment*' must have surrendered all claim to be accepted as in any effective sense a Christian Church at all.

But, we are reminded, disestablishment may bring with it disendowment. That is certainly true. It is also true, as Mr. Gladstone wrote to his son in 1865, that 'we have lived into a time when the great danger of the Church is the sale of her faith for gold.'[1] Endowments may, or may not, be serviceable to religion. 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' said the Divine Founder of the Christian Church. Ecclesiastical history discloses the reluctance of Christian men to accept that prohibition. The record of religious Establishments hardly suggests that religion stands to gain by State support and patronage. Disendowment, deliberately accepted by the Church of England as the price of spiritual liberty, might bring to the Church such an increase of moral influence as would more than compensate for the property which it would take away. Nor would the State necessarily suffer by the ending of an official connexion with the Church of England which is ceasing to be morally respectable, and has long failed to be practically effective. A passage from Bishop Thirlwall is equally suggestive and relevant in his *Remains*, vol. ii., p 218, and it may fitly close this article:

The adversaries of religious Establishments often appeal to the history of the Church in the first three centuries, as a proof that Christianity flourished most when it was not only unestablished, but persecuted by the State, and that its alliance with the Empire was attended by a sensible decline in its purity and fervour They are met by the reply, that religion did not, and could not, fully manifest its power of leavening the whole mass of society and of hallowing all social relations, until it had entered into union with the State, and that its corruption was owing to causes independent of that union, which in itself was highly beneficial. It may, however, be imagined as a possible case, that, after the conversion of Constantine, the countenance of the State might have been withdrawn from Paganism, but not transferred to Christianity, and that the Christian faith might not have been publicly recognised by any official authority. Its influence on all classes would have continued the same, only the Law would have remained neutral, and would not have dispensed either rewards or punishments in its favour. But when we consider how utterly foreign such motives are to religion, it seems difficult to contend that it would have suffered any loss from their absence. Rather we may clearly trace some of the worst evils which afflicted the Church to the Imperial patronage. The head of a family, the citizen, the magistrate, may also be a member of a religious society, and if he is earnest and sincere, his conduct in his

[1] *Vide Letters*, ii., p. 169.

private and civil capacity will be shaped by his religious convictions; but the two characters are not the less distinct from one another. And so the Christian State may regulate its acts by Christian principles, though it is wholly severed from the Church. The State does not necessarily become heathen or infidel, because it confines itself to its own sphere, and does not intermeddle with that of the Church. And it seems hardly to be questioned that the reign of Christ upon earth was more fully, more heartily, and more practically recognised by the primitive Church, in her poverty, her weakness, her political nullity, than in the subsequent period, when kings became her nursing fathers, shielding her indeed from outward violence, but often injuring her by mistaken kindness.

HERBERT DUNELM.

CHURCH BEFORE PARTY

POLITICAL parties are in many respects different from parties ecclesiastical. Between them they roughly represent the nation as a whole, and they exist only so long as they are in vital touch with the people. Moreover, they develop and change, almost too rapidly. Ecclesiastical parties, on the other hand, consist of a few thousand members only; they do not between them represent the Church as a whole, but only a minority. They are, in fact, sections—in the strict sense of the word, 'sects'—and not real parties in the political sense. Sometimes valuable new ideas are launched by the agency of such organisations, and sometimes their intervention has been of great service to the Church. But they differ also from real parties in the State by not being in touch with the people or subject to democratic influence; consequently they have not the dynamic quality of political parties, but tend to be static, and to express the opinions of a previous generation through organisations and funds which in large measure they have inherited from the past. Their peculiar dangers thus correspond to that hardening of the arteries which follows maturity in the human organism; and the great power engendered, as the psychologists tell us, by the herd-instinct tends to be harnessed by the *idée fixe*. That at least is the danger; and its reality has been shown by some recent pronouncements of differing groups, which have been so far from reality as to be almost mad. Such ideas seem quite natural to the members of a limited 'sect,' and in time spread to a larger circle and come to be acquiesced in by a whole party, unless they are corrected by some leader of a rare type of far-seeing genius.

For more than a century the Church of England has been swayed one way or another by ecclesiastical parties. There have not only been different schools of thought, but these schools have been highly organised, deeply divided, and often bitterly isolated both from one another and from the philosophy of life which has developed from scientific and historical discoveries. In spite of this, each has brought valuable contributions to the common religious life. But we may ask whether these contributions would not have been more successfully made if the different parties had

been in more friendly contact, and thus had acquired more balance, charity and truth, and had avoided that distortion of loyalties which is causing the old cry to be raised with reason to-day, 'The Church in danger.' Loyalties have certainly been wrested; and here also ecclesiastical parties are different from political, for these latter, even when in violent opposition, accept the authority of the Government, obey the laws and customs of England, and, if they hold a commission or office, obey their superior officers and wear the uniform which the regulations require. And in politics, with the exception of a small faction, too small to be called a party, men do not refuse obedience to the powers that be in favour of an 'international' of their own selection. In fact, political parties put the State before party, and would collapse at once if it were not clear that, with all their mistakes, they endeavoured to do so. There is a very general impression that this is not always the case in the Church; and it is important that this impression should be removed.

We are accustomed to hear about the great Church revival in the nineteenth century; and no one will deny that in many respects there was improvement, and much needed reforms to which all the parties contributed; but there was grave loss also—loss due to a drifting away from the people, and loss due to the lowering of the spirit of united loyalty which excessive party organisation undermines. Statistics and observed facts alike show that the Church is in fact not stronger to-day, but weaker, after all the self-sacrificing but isolated movements of the last century. It is time, then, for a new movement of fellowship between different schools of thought, for a reconsideration of all party cries, and a getting free from party inhibitions. This was in fact the appeal which underlay the Pastoral of the two Archbishops of July 28; and a body of Churchmen (which includes Lord Selborne, the chairman of the House of Laity) has formed itself under the name of the Westminster Group, with offices at the Church House, in order to help men of all parties to combine with the great majority which is of no party, and to pool their contributions in the common service of the Church.

The cry for disestablishment has been raised, as is inevitable in times of excitement and disturbance; but there are few who wish to see the tie between the nation and religion weakened (for the modern world is moving in the other direction), or to see the funds of a great religious body wasted in compensation to disendowed dignitaries, as happened on a previous occasion. Disestablishment would in fact not help us out of any of our difficulties. It might easily intensify them, lessening the invaluable element of sane lay influence, splitting the Church still more, and diverting men's minds for many years from the great religious

questions of the acidity of ecclesiastical and politico-ecclesiastical disputation. The nation does not want disestablishment, the Church does not want it so long as her spiritual freedom is preserved; and each political party would look upon the revival of this moth-eaten panacea with something like consternation.

Now the example of Scotland shows that an Established Church can be as free as any other, if not more free. But there are two reasons for the success of the Scottish system: (1) The Established Church is not rent by conflicting parties; when it demands something it does so with a united voice. (2) The loyalty of Scottish ministers and laymen to their Church is plain to all, and none would accuse them of setting up an imagined authority of their own in opposition to that which they have undertaken to follow. In England the accusation is freely made; and indeed by a section of the clergy—a minority of their party no doubt, but just now a prominent and vocal minority—the accusation is accepted, and it is proclaimed as a matter of principle that no authority can be obeyed but that of the 'Western Church.' Now, since no such Church exists, this is a mere cloak for something else; and, though the English people like a certain amount of self-will and private judgment, they also have a strong sense of duty and of loyalty, and there is something about this which makes them deeply suspicious. The difficulty of the bishops has been that, owing to the eccentricities in one diocese under what appeared to be the direct encouragement of the bishop, the suspicion has spread to their body as a whole—with the consequence that a majority of the House of Commons refused to believe their protestations that they were not undoing the Reformation, which, after all, has made England what it is. Doubtless the suspicion was unfounded; but it was there, and it was effective.

The position of our great national Church would be dangerous were there not a new spirit abroad—among the younger people, in the world of scholarship (where, indeed, party spirit has largely disappeared), and among the bishops themselves. The appeal of the two Archbishops which has already been mentioned was the result of very deliberate consultation among the bishops, and is already taking a practical form. The central idea of this 'Way of Renewal' is that people should get together in different localities, study and pray, with access to the best sources of knowledge, and dissipate their prejudices in the magic of friendly intercourse. A few of the more intensely sectarian partisans will no doubt stand aside; but for everyone else a new era is dawning, and a new spirit is already beginning to replace the old atmosphere of division and fear.

While the American Episcopal Church revised its Prayer Book

through the labours of an equal number of bishops, priests and laymen without controversy or difficulty, the English bishops admittedly made serious mistakes in the handling of the English revision; and the root of the trouble was the prevalent habit of thinking of the English Church as if it consisted of two conflicting parties, and thus shaping policy in the fear, or love, of this or that section, and in forgetfulness of the vast body of Churchmen all over the country—the real Church of England, in fact. That real Church has never cared much for party disputes, and is now weary and angered at the strife about small matters that are bandied about with such regrettable prominence in the newspapers. There are at the same time some partisans to whom faction is the breath of life, and who will find their occupation gone when the whole Church is settled down to her real work of spreading religion. We have not yet done with them, for they have organisations and Church newspapers at their disposal; and they probably realise that their time is short. The real Church of England will have to be active and alert, if the bishops are not to be foiled and baffled, now as they have been in the past, by sectional caucuses, aided by the very inferior taste in literature which unfortunately exists among some sections of the clergy. There will be another struggle before the battle of the Church against the extremer parties is won: it may be prolonged unless the party newspapers seize the present opportunity to raise their standard of fairness and truth as high as that of the secular weekly Press; it may be continued, also, because many persons are lonely, tired, and without the money to keep their reading up to date. But the Archbishops' call for united study can hardly fail to be backed by some scheme for putting books within reach of the poverty-stricken clergy—a scheme which, it may be supposed, will find generous help among such laymen as have 'sat under' parsons whose ideas were derived from one side or other of the party Press. And there is a fundamental good sense in this country which turns away from eccentricities and aberrations, and will free the Church from the paralysing bondage which has been borne too long, and will unite together the increasing mass of those who are determined to put Church before party, and Christ before all.

Meanwhile the young have been learning to look anywhere but to the Churches for the solution of their religious problems. We can hardly wonder. The public pronouncements and discussions give them much excuse for their widespread conviction that the clergy are engrossed in ecclesiasticisms, and cannot help them. There are many churches and cathedrals which might show them another side, but their own local experience is often unfortunate, and they can hardly be expected to place

through the smoke-cloud of disputation to the real work which is being done by sensible and good men all over the land.

Liberty is of the essence of the English Church; and our most precious tradition is that priests and people alike are free to say what they believe to be true, and thus are able to face confidently the new knowledge that every age must bring. But liberty may be abused. While some protestors are grossly censorious, some priests have forgotten that they are officers of the Church, pledged in very solemn ways to carry out the English use in public worship, and that, though they are free to read what they like and to say what they think, they are not free to set up a private authority of their own against their superior officers, or to override the wishes of their parishioners, for the people have their rights as well as the clergy.

In this country we are left a good deal to our own initiative and to our honour, as boys are left at a public school, in the matter of loyalty to the institution we belong to. If it be true that some of the clergy, misled by party organisations, have fallen behind this common standard, it is the more necessary for the clergy to come together again, as the Archbishops' Pastoral bids them, and, with the help of the laity, to correct one another's idiosyncrasies by the power of intercourse, friendship, and a wider knowledge.

All over the country the most successful parsons are indeed already putting Church before party, and are proclaiming the old message again of loyalty to the Church. We need such corporate loyalty more than ever to-day, because it is the fellowship of a great and free Church, with its tradition of tolerance and of beauty, that alone can keep men together during the difficult age of intellectual transition which is upon us. People are not going to be held together by opinion, but by the spirit of enthusiasm for a great fellowship; for there will be no settlement of doctrinal questions till a new philosophy has arisen to integrate the new knowledge, and that will not be in our time. Meanwhile a great national Church with strong traditions of Christian tolerance and wisdom can proclaim the eternal essential matters of the Christian religion, and can satisfy the best religious aspirations of the English people by its glorious liturgy and hymnody and the combined reasonableness and beauty of its public worship. By loyalty to the Church, by putting Church before party, the coming age can be faced with confidence and enthusiasm; and with the help of all other Churches that are in friendship with the Anglican Communion all over the world, the welfare of that 'Jerusalem which is above, and is free, which is the mother of us all,' the Church Universal, can be most fully secured.

PERCY DEARMER.

A PLEA FOR THE MAJORITY VOTE

DISCUSSIONS about methods of election generally suffer from th
confusion of two wholly different questions. One is the best wa
of electing a member for a single-member constituency, whic
raises the question of the alternative vote. The other is whethe
there ought to be special provision for the representation c
minorities, which raises the question of proportional representa
tion by the transferable vote. The first is a question of mean
and the second is a question of an end, and there is nothing to b
gained by mixing the two.

The first and simpler question, that of the best way to elec
a representative for a single-member constituency, is of mor
immediate political interest. Our present constituencies, wit
the exception of a few double-member boroughs and the univer
sities, are single-member. The best method of election for suc
a constituency is, therefore, a matter of great practical importanc
to us. At present any number of candidates may present them
selves for the single seat, and whichever of them obtains a bar
majority over each of the others is elected. This may be con
veniently called the method of the majority vote. Since th
appearance of more than two regular parties in the field, th
method has been subjected to much criticism, which naturall
becomes most acute just after a general election. The purpos
it is said, of any method of election must be to ensure the electio
of that candidate who is preferred by a majority of the voter
This purpose is fulfilled with certainty by our method of th
majority vote only when there are not more than two candidate
If there are three or more it may fail to fulfil it, unless one can
didate gets more votes than all the others put together. If h
does not, then the method does not ensure the election of th
candidate preferred to all others by a majority of voters. Tha
this is so can best be shown by a simplified case. Suppose tha
Brown, Jones, and Robinson are the three candidates, and tha
twelve votes are cast, five for Brown, four for Jones, and three fo
Robinson. By the majority vote Brown is returned. But i
'second choices' be considered, the Jonesites may all prefe
Robinson to Brown, and the Robinsonites may all prefer Jone

to Brown's; and as Brown may be elected in spite of the fact that by seven to five the voters would have elected either Jones or Robinson in a straight fight with Brown. In fact, the method of the majority vote may result in the election of the least acceptable of the three candidates.

What is it that the majority vote does effect? It results in the return of a candidate chosen for this reason, that those voters that thought him the very best man were more numerous than those who thought anybody else the very best man. That may not be everything, but it is a good deal. Is it not, indeed, at least as good a qualification for election as any other that can be proposed? Every other qualification involves the idea of a second best. In the Brown election, Robinson's claim to be returned in preference to Brown is that he is the first choice of three voters, and the second choice of four. Brown is the first choice of five. What weight should be given to those four second choices of Robinson's against Brown's majority of two first choices? Why, at any rate, should a second choice count as equal in the scale to a first choice? Four voters think Robinson the second best man. As against them two voters think Brown the very best man. Does not Brown get more authority from his whole-hearted two than Robinson gets from his half-hearted four? It is not obvious that he does not. In truth, once one leaves the safe and simple ground of the first choice, which results in the system of the majority vote, one begins to get involved in subtleties and uncertainties that would confuse and repel the average elector, and would diminish the authority of our elections and of those returned in them. But the most powerful reasons for retaining the majority vote are not encountered until one comes to consider the alternatives.

The alternatives that hold the field of practical politics at the present time are the second ballot and the alternative vote, and those alone need to be practically considered. Both are designed to ensure the return of the candidate preferred as a first or second choice by a majority of the voters. The difficulty is that both totally fail to achieve any such result.

Let us take the second ballot first, and apply it to the Brown election. After the counting of the votes Robinson, who was at the bottom of the poll, would have to retire, and a fresh election would be held between Brown and Jones. Suppose that now all the Robinsonites vote for Jones, then Jones gets seven to Brown's five, and Jones is elected. But it does not in the least follow that Jones is the man preferred as a second choice to all others by the majority of the voters. The five Brownites may prefer Robinson to Jones, and if that be so, and an election were to be held between Jones and Robinson, Robinson would get eight to Jones's four.

[illegible]

Then Robinson, who was [illegible] preferred to Jones by a [illegible] the principle of a second [illegible] further consideration of a candidate [illegible] smallest number of first choices is wholly illogical and arbitrary. We cannot have it both ways. If the fact that a man gets the largest number of first choices is no good reason for putting him in, then the fact that he gets the smallest number is no good reason for putting him out.

A method of election to be sound must no doubt ensure that the choice of the majority should prevail. But in order that that may be possible by any practicable method the choice must be a perfectly clear and simple thing, capable of definite expression. The choice to which our present method of the majority vote gives expression is clear, simple, and definite. It says, 'I like Brown best.' It is to such a choice as that, and such as that only, that an election can give effect with certainty and completeness. The choice to which these other systems seek to give effect is a choice that is doubtful, complex, and indefinite. It says, 'I like Brown best, and if I can't have Brown I will have Jones, and if I can't have Brown or Jones I will have Robinson.' No method ever proposed can give certain and complete effect to so elaborate an expression of the will. In seeking to do so the methods other than the majority vote lose more than they gain.

The imperfections of the method can be seen clearly in another light by considering the position of Brown's supporters. If they prefer Robinson to Jones, the second ballot exercises against them a perfectly arbitrary discrimination. The Robinsonites, who were at the bottom of the poll, are given an opportunity of making effective their second choice But the poor Brownites, who were at the top of the poll, are given no opportunity of exercising any second choice at all, and are thus reduced to an inferior status. The practical importance of their disadvantage appears if it be supposed that Brown was of the Right Party, Jones of the Left and Robinson of the Centre. As a second choice the Rights would surely prefer the Centre candidate to the Left, and they could give him a majority against the Left. But by the mere accident of the order of the first choices the Centre candidate has to retire, they are deprived of an opportunity of voting for him against the Left, and the Left wins.

The first objection, then, to the second ballot is that it is all a humbug; that it does not do what it professes to do. In the simplest case of three candidates it does little more than the majority vote to fulfil the wishes of the majority, and if there are more candidates than three it does no more at all. There are other objections to it, less inherent in its nature, but none the

[illegible] a second time very soon after the first. [illegible], and there would be small polls for the second ballot. The result would be intolerable. Brown, for instance, who had [illegible] himself at the head of a big poll with a substantial majority at the first ballot, might find himself defeated by a small majority at the second ballot, on a poll numbering only a tithe of the votes at the first. A result of the sort would have no authority, and must discredit both the representative and the method by which he was chosen. Neither candidates, parties, nor voters could accept the result as satisfactory, and the loudest complaints might be expected from the voters. There is another strong reason against the method which must appeal with special force to candidates and to active politicians. It is the thought of the week that would intervene between the two polls, a week of horror for the parties and candidates that had survived the first. It is not the fatigue or the expense of the second election that would matter most, or even the prolonged disturbance to the life of the community, although those are not negligible evils. The greatest evil would be the strain put upon the simplicity, directness, and straightforwardness of parties and candidates in their campaign.

These evils are peculiar to the second ballot. It is in order to avoid them that many advocate in preference the alternative vote. According to that, when there are three candidates the voter votes for them 'one,' 'two,' in the order of his preference. After a count of the first choices, if no one has got a clear majority over the other two put together, the candidate at the bottom of the poll is eliminated, and his voting papers are distributed according to the second choices thereon. Now, whichever of the first two candidates has got more first and second choices put together is elected.[1] This method is equivalent, or all but equivalent, to a second ballot held at the same time as the first.

The alternative vote gets rid of the period between the first and second ballots, with all its bargains and compromises; but this is its only advantage over the second ballot: it has all its

[1] This, the method of Ware, is that now commonly employed, and was recommended by the Royal Commission of 1910 as the least imperfect. The method recently referred to by Mr. Montgomery, K.C., in these columns in July 1929, which is known as the method of Condorcet, is not now commonly used or advocated. By that, when there is no clear majority of first choices, no candidate is eliminated, but all first and second choices are counted, and a bare majority of these wins. This method can be shown by analysis to have all the disadvantages of Ware's method, described below, and several of its own. It is wholly uncertain in its effect if there are more than three candidates. The method of Nanson which counts a first choice as two and a second choice as one is theoretically the best. But it involves computations and clerical work too laborious for practical use.

other imperfections. Even if there be three candidates only, it cannot ensure the return of him most acceptable to the majority of voters. In the Brown election by the alternative vote, as by the second ballot, Robinson would be defeated and Jones elected, although a majority of voters would prefer Robinson to Jones as second choice. The two methods are arbitrary and subject to chance in exactly the same degree, and they discriminate, in such a case as that quoted, in precisely the same way against the unfortunate Brownites, who are given no opportunity of making good their second choice. By the one method as by the other these factors of arbitrariness and chance are rapidly increased as the number of candidatures rises above three. Theoretically when there are more than three candidates the alternative vote can be made to serve the purpose of a series of ballots by the successive elimination of the bottom candidates and the distribution of their second votes. In practice the labour involved in this process and the time lost are so great in proportion to any practical gain that where the method has been adopted the elaboration has commonly not been found worth while. The process has been simplified and, as it were, brutalised by eliminating all but the first two candidates after the first count, as in the case of the second ballot. This rough-and-ready application of the method may make it more practical, but certainly it deprives it of all theoretical validity.

The majority vote, the alternative vote, and the second ballot all accept the single-member constituency, and in doing so accept our present system of representation, which is based upon the single-member constituency. Proportional representation of minorities rejects our present system of representation and would substitute a different system. The new system may be better or worse: the question deserves consideration. But it should be clearly apprehended that it is wholly new. It is not in this case a mere difference of method of election. The object which the proposal seeks to attain is the establishment of a House of Commons quite different in its nature from the present House.

Proportional representation seeks to make the Legislature a microcosm or miniature image of the nation, in its political aspects. It is tacitly assumed that that should be the object of an election, and that the method of election should be designed to achieve that object. The assumption underlies the whole case for proportional representation. The difficulties of devising any method of election that will succeed in making the Legislature an image of the nation are admitted. But, it is said, an image of the nation it must be, and so those difficulties must be faced.

This assumption, implied in the whole case for proportional representation, also needs consideration. Why should the Legis-

lature be an image of the nation? Is it an ideal good in itself that a Legislature should be a political microcosm? If it be, then of course we must make any commensurate sacrifice of practical convenience and efficiency necessary to secure that good. But what reason is there to think it a good? I for one should answer, 'None, to the plain mind.' The very Legislature is not an end in itself. It is not an idol to be worshipped; still less is any particular form of it. It is a bit of machinery, designed to take a part in giving the country good government. If it does that, it is good; if it does not do that, it is bad. There is nothing absolutely good or bad in its form or nature, but only in the way it works.

In order that it may work well, must it be an exact political image of the nation? It seems extremely doubtful. On the contrary, it seems most probable that to make it so would be to reduce it to impotence for the purpose for which it exists. That purpose is to legislate by the process of answering questions put to it with the simplest of answers, actually Yes and No only. To fulfil that purpose all common sense and all experience show that the first essential is a good working majority for some self-consistent body of opinion about the chief questions of the day. That is the true ideal for the constitution of the Legislature, if good government is what we have in view. To make it a perfect image of the politics of the nation may be a pretty thing to do, but it is quite irrelevant to the purposes of legislation.

Looked at in the light of cold common sense, the assumption that the Legislature ought to be an image of the nation, seldom questioned, appears most questionable. But even if it be accepted, there are still difficulties in the way. Suppose it to be desirable that the Legislature should be an image of the nation's political opinions, is it possible? Not every shade, nor every jot and tittle, of opinion can be reflected in the image. How many different shades and jots are to be provided for? How big and how numerous are the unit-characters, as it were, to be, out of which we are to build up our miniature picture of the political life of the nation? The more we limit the number, the coarser the likeness. Any reasonable limitation must give a likeness so coarse that it will bear little resemblance to the original. The proposal for the representation of minorities, be it noticed, gives us no clear account of what the minorities are for which it is desired to secure representation. Are they regional minorities of the bigger parties, such as the Conservatives of Wales, or are they minorities holding special opinions, such as anti-vivisectionists or prohibitionists? The best answer, no doubt, to the question is, that what is desired is both—namely, to secure a more accurate proportion for the representation of the great parties, and some representation for special opinions. But by 'some' representa-

[illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]? If not, the [illegible] political [illegible] wherever it is drawn, wherever a [illegible] given to the picture in miniature of the [illegible], the line must be arbitrary, and those whose special opinions are excluded will be entitled to complain. Under the existing system, which excludes from direct representation, most simply and sensibly, all but the few leading types of most generalised and inclusive opinion, others have no grievance, because all are equally ill-treated.

Wherever the line were drawn, the effect of proportional representation, with any method of election, would be to give us a Legislature that would not work. There would never, or at any rate very seldom, be a working majority for any party. That would be the result in the first place of the more accurate reflection in the Legislature of the actual voting strength of the great parties. Arithmetic shows that a representation ideally proportionate in this respect would have left the Government without a working majority in nine out of ten recent cases.

It would further be the result of the substitution, complete or partial, for the present parties, few and large, of numerous small groups. Governments, with their smaller majorities of strict adherents, would rise and fall as the groups coalesced and divided, and chance, change, and insecurity would replace our present stability and continuity. It would not be bad fun for politicians, but it would be a wretched business for the country. It would be the end for us of the epoch of efficient Parliamentary and Cabinet government were the life of a Parliament and a Cabinet to cease to be at least approximately conterminous.

Election by the majority vote in single-member constituencies tends to give the Government a working majority. It thus makes Governments strong and stable. It secures that every member should belong to a party with a general policy; but it provides adequate means of expression to sectional opinions. The single-member constituency maintains the direct responsibility of a member to his constituents. It gives to the Legislature the character of a microcosm of the community in its most characteristic aspect—as a community, that is, inhabiting a certain country and deriving its characteristics from and basing its interests very largely on the country which it inhabits. These are very great advantages. They must all be lost with minority representation. It is at least worth considering whether the price in good government is not too great to pay.

... would vote for as many candidates as ...
...ering them 1 to 6, for instance, in accordance ...
...oice. The first choice would be counted ...
...ulated, which would be the number of votes ...
... number of seats. Anybody obtaining the quota ...
...ted. If a candidate had more than the quota, his ...
...ld be distributed to the second choices on his papers ...
...tion to the total number of second votes for each candidate ...
...ongst them. If this did not give enough members a quota, the candidate at the bottom would be knocked out, and his second choices distributed by the same method. The processes would be repeated, distributing the surpluses of the elected members and knocking out the bottom candidate, until enough candidates had got a quota; and then it would mercifully stop.

It is a puzzling proceeding. The ordinary voter cannot possibly be expected to understand it. He must take it from the mathematician and the philosopher that it is the best way that can be devised for securing proportional representation for a minority. But what he can understand are its obvious imperfections. It no more really achieves what it professes to achieve, that the preference of the majority shall prevail, than the alternative vote does. The transferable vote is indeed nothing more nor less than an extended application of the method already examined in the case of the second ballot and the alternative vote, and it shares the imperfection of that method in an extreme degree. The result depends in a substantial measure upon arbitrary rules, and upon chance. The elimination of the bottom candidate solely because he obtains the fewest first choices has been seen in the case of the alternative vote to vitiate the validity of the whole electoral method. This vitiating process in the case of the transferable vote may be carried out, not once, but often. The selection for distribution of the surplus votes of the top candidate, simply because he obtains the largest number of first choices, introduces another vitiating factor, and this factor is again repeated. In short, if the alternative vote is bad in this respect, the transferable vote is far worse.

It is not, however, this basic defect of the method that most condemns it: it is a practical defect the full force of which can only be realised by those who have had some experience of electioneering. This practical defect is that decisive effect in determining the government of the country would depend on

the voters' later votes, and typically these are the votes that would be given for non-political, perhaps for frivolous, reasons. It seems impossible to devise a plan better calculated to thwart and frustrate the sound political sense of the country as a whole, and to put it at the mercy, not only of the crank and the extremist, but of whatever is most ill-balanced in the average voter himself.

If the country makes up its mind that it wants minority representation and weak Parliaments, there is a much simpler way of getting it than by the transferable vote, with all its imperfections and complexities. It is by the 'list' method which is in use in Belgium. There are multiple member constituencies, and any party or group can put forward a list of candidates. Seats are divided amongst the lists in proportion to the number of votes cast for each. The method is perfectly simple and certain. It is free from the elements of chance and arbitrariness which disfigure the transferable vote, and anybody can understand it. It does not, like the transferable vote, put a premium on the irresponsible late choice. As a method of election, indeed, once the principle of minority representation be granted, it seems in every way preferable to the transferable vote. Its disadvantages are at any rate obvious, and not of a nature to deceive the average voter into thinking that the election is doing something that it is not. They are these. Firstly, the voter has to take the party list as he finds it. His individual preferences are not attended to. In Belgium some opportunity is given to the voter to prefer one candidate on the party list to the others, but the opportunity is so limited, and the resulting complications are so great, that it is probably not worth the trouble. Secondly, to settle the order of names on a party list it is found necessary to hold something like a preliminary election inside the party. But that, after all, is the party's business. Thirdly, it is complained that one big name has an undue influence in carrying a number of obscure names below it on the list. For instance, in the constituency of North-Western Wales it would not much matter what names followed that of Mr. Lloyd George: he would carry any other candidate on his shoulders. All these are undoubted disadvantages. But they must seem to the practical man to be less than those that attend the transferable vote. If we must have minority representation, let us have it by this method which is certain and fair in the manner in which it achieves its desired end, and not by the transferable vote, which is so uncertain and unfair that there is no knowing what end it would achieve.

A final reference may be made to recent inquiries into the matter. In 1910 a Royal Commission which sat under the chairmanship of Lord Richard Cavendish reported against propor-

tional representation and the transferable vote, but in favour of the alternative vote. Conditions then were different from what they are now. There were practically two parties only in the field. The difficulties of the day were cases of rival candidates of the same party, and an occasional recalcitrant Labour man, who insisted on splitting the anti-Conservative vote with a Liberal. It was to meet these difficulties that the Commission recommended the alternative vote: they recognised that it would not be an appropriate method if there should come to be, as there have come to be, three independent parties.

The Report is throughout one of the ablest and most searching examinations of methods of election that can be found; it is well worth reading as an example of clear and ordered thought on the subject. When examining the alternative vote it exposes its weaknesses most convincingly. In fact it riddles it with criticism to such an extent that the recommendation seems wholly unsupported by the argument. A reader is driven to guess that the Commission accepted the alternative vote to satisfy a political outcry, although its own deliberations showed its inadequacy to remedy the grievances of those who were agitating in its favour.

Under very different conditions—the conditions of the war—the Speaker's Conference of 1916-17 recommended, amongst many other things, that proportional representation by the transferable vote should be adopted for boroughs with not less than three or more than five members to a constituency. This small number of members is a strange recommendation. It would destroy all the theoretical merits claimed for proportional representation. It would do little more, in theory, than secure the representation of great parties in more equitable proportions. No reasons or argument for the proposal are given in the Speaker's letter reporting the recommendations of the Conference. It stands upon the authority of the Conference, which may now be questioned without disrespect. It met in the fevered and misleading atmosphere of war-time. It was influenced by the necessity for compromise between forces that no longer work. Its decisions were taken to resolve crises that are long since over. What was of value in its recommendations has been adopted. This proposal was very sensibly shelved. Now we are to have yet another inquiry. Let us hope that it will serve to expose the fallacies involved in a good deal of the agitation about electoral 'reform,' and show us the way to let well alone.

HILTON YOUNG.

SOCIALISM

II

In an article in last month's issue on this subject I was privileged to show that co-operative Capitalism has done, is doing, and will do wonders for Labour. I also pointed out that of the 8,000,000 electors who voted for the abolition of Capitalism—that is to say, for Socialism—probably not one in ten understood what they were voting for; because, owing to the utter vagueness of Socialism, professed Socialists of many years' standing, after they have once enunciated their formula, 'The nationalisation of *all* the means of production, exchange, and distribution,' are themselves quite unable to tell you how it is to be consistently carried out without industrial ruin, as Lenin himself discovered in that short period 1917–1921 in Russia. I also showed that Marxian Socialism, the only official form of Socialism at present, while admitting that it can only be successful if it is carried out on a world-wide scale, as otherwise all fluid capital will leave the wholly Socialist country and will invest itself in safe non-Socialist countries, has, nevertheless, not considered six out of the seven great groups of world-factors concerned, which omissions completely vitiate its conclusions. These seven great groups are here repeated.

(A) The racial differences (physical, mental and economic) and the antagonisms of the five great races—yellow, brown, white, black, and red.

(B) The national differences inside the races (mental, physical, economic, and religious) and the resurgent assertive spirit of nationality.

(C) The fundamental psychological attributes, instincts, and desires common to all humanity.

(D) The variations, mental and physical, or natural inequalities of men at birth, which produce economic inequalities.

(E) The principle of heredity.

(F) The principle of evolution, of becoming, of flux, of 'changing order, orderly change,' in all biological and social progress, so that no economic conditions and no economic theory can be permanent.

(G) The purely economic question of production, exchange, and distribution, with its two required sets of data, capitalistic and socialistic.

In this connexion, as the matter is very important, I would beg the reader to do me the favour of referring, if possible, to the August number of *The Nineteenth Century*.

As an instance of the omission of one of these world-wide factors I was once present on the platform as a visitor by courteous permission for a week at a meeting of the Trades Union Congress, at which there was also present a 'fraternal delegate' from India, a Moslem, who addressed the meeting. He began his speech, in effect, thus: 'I must begin by speaking about religion. You can never understand the Labour question in India unless you first understand that religion, which to you is little or nothing, to us in India is everything. It governs our whole lives, and nothing which omits this factor can be of any permanent use to us.' He developed this thesis with great force for five minutes, and, to the credit of that great assemblage, was listened to with rapt attention, because he was dealing boldly with something fundamental to all mankind. Will the cow-worshippers unite with the cow-eaters? I also pointed out that the question of the abolition of Capitalism has suddenly become no longer a mere academic but an absolutely vital question to the nation, because if the Socialists obtain only from forty to fifty more seats at the next General Election, as is quite possible, they can then proceed to abolish Capitalism, or to drive away capital, on which no less than nine-tenths of our population depend for their livelihood, and to substitute a half-thought-out scheme which has utterly failed in Russia, and which will probably result in the destruction of the economic life of our people. The economic life or death of our people is far too grave an issue to be risked as a mere matter of party politics, and therefore if the Labour leaders are sincere, as we assume, in their professed aim to better and not to destroy that economic life, they will, before it is too late, join in a really thorough attempt to discover the absolute economic truth in regard to the regulation or abolition of private property.

The following propositions, on which we can all, Socialists and non-Socialists, agree, furnish a sufficient basis for co-operation instead of opposition in the search for a foundation of real economic truth on which to base the future economic life of our people.

The ultimate object of the monarchical co-operative State that we desire to see is the betterment of the economic life of the people. Economic betterment can only rest upon economic truth. The truth only, because the economic well-being and security of the people is too serious a matter to be dealt with as the plaything of

party politics. Truth can only be attained by unbiassed consideration of all available data. Many new socialistic data have now, in the light of Russian experience, for the first time become available. For example, these experiences induced Lenin to state that 'The entire national economy must be based on self-interest.' Do the new data prove this to be true or not? If they do, then neo-Socialism requires to recognise the right of private property. These fresh data require, therefore, to be most impartially and carefully studied by all who aim at absolute economic truth as the necessary basis for economic betterment.

In their manifesto of 1848 Marx and Engels postulated 'scientific insight into the economic structure of civil society as the only defensible theoretic basis of Socialism.' The application of the scientific spirit and method to the social realm was what Marx inculcated, and just as he endeavoured to apply it to the inadequate data of his day, so must we endeavour to reapply it to the far ampler data of our day. In this surely all Socialists will agree.

A scientific hypothesis, which aims only at the truth, is always formed *after* the careful collection and systemisation of all the available data. The Marxian hypothesis necessarily reversed this process, and formed the hypothesis *before* collecting the data, because they were then unobtainable For our present needs, therefore, it has become an unscientific hypothesis and demands reconsideration in the light of the new data of experience now presented to us.

We must fully recognise the psychological factor of error in all human reasoning. We know that the constitution of the human mind, and the infinite complexity of all social and economic relations are such that, no one mind or associated group of minds can grasp all the details: some are inevitably omitted. Hence error results in all bodies of doctrine, owing to our ability to see only *one* side of a case, that which we can see from our limited point of view, while others see it differently and also incompletely from other points of view.

But, as John Stuart Mill has so well shown, this acknowledged fallibility of the human reason is corrigible by frank and free discussion between men who see the same thing from different points of view and thus eliminate their mutual errors. In this surely all Socialists will agree.

The object of the co-operative State is the preservation and betterment of the economic life of the people. In the present state of flux of all pre-war economic doctrine, and in view of the mistakes and errors disclosed by the terrible consequences to the Russian people of the failure of the Russian experiments in the Marxian hypothesis, the first duty of all believers in the future

co-operative State is to invite the co-operation of all schools of economic thought in the task of the elimination of their respective economic errors by frank and free discussion, putting aside all preconceptions and bias as far as is humanly possible. This is the first task and first test of the possibility of co-operation of all sections of Labour, and of all classes of the nation, for the public welfare.

We must all admit the possible fallibility of every one single body of economic doctrine, and we also admit that human nature is not changeable by law, but only, and that very slowly, by evolution. We must therefore state and act on our belief that any scheme or policy which requires a change in human nature to make it workable, as shown in the previous article, is not possible in practice, however desirable it may be in theory.

Both Marxism and Leninism regard the individual simply as a producer and nothing more But the individual in actual fact is more, and must be considered as more. Each individual, besides being a producing unit, is also a unique personality, containing a core of egoism requiring the stimulus of self-interest for adequate production, and demanding from the co-operative community the satisfaction of fellowship, equality of consideration, justice, and liberty of speech and action within the limits of the law. In this also all Socialists will surely agree

Viewed historically, the progress of man consists in the gradual elimination of error by discussion, followed by trial and experiments. *The test of truth*, economic or scientific, consists in its *verifiability by experience* If the result of Russian experience is against a particular hypothesis, then it becomes necessary to revise that hypothesis in accordance with the facts.

From the French Revolution and from the Industrial Revolution, the two greatest and most far-reaching events of modern history, sprang two equally democratic but opposite schools of economic doctrine, each aiming at the betterment of mankind. These two opposing schools of thought are typified respectively by the rights of man and Socialism

(1) From the French Revolution sprang—

The declaration of the rights of man as placed at the head of the French Constitution of 1793, which stated as one of those inalienable rights the right of private property, thus:

Article 2. 'Ces droits sont l'égalité, la liberté, la sureté, la propriété.' ('These rights are equality, liberty, security and property.')

Article 16. 'La droit de propriété est celui qui appartient à tout citoyen de jouir et de disposer à son gré de ses biens, et de ses revenus, du fruit de son travail et de son industrie.' ('The right of property is that which belongs to each citizen to enjoy

and to dispose at his pleasure, of his goods, and of his revenues, the fruit of his work and of his industry.')

I would suggest that the phrase 'within the limits of the law' be added, as all abuses can then be gradually remedied by law.

(2) From the Industrial Revolution sprang the *Marxian hypothesis*, which denies this right by advocating the nationalisation of all private property on the supposition that human nature will function economically and efficiently though deprived of the economic stimulus of self-interest.

Each of these opposite schools of thought, aiming at the same thing, the greater welfare of the community, are, like all other human beliefs, *probably vitiated by the error of having overlooked certain necessary details*, which errors thus caused can probably be detected by mutual discussion. This mutual discussion, with a view to the discovery and elimination of their mutual errors, and the discovery of a groundwork for mutual co-operation, we should invite, for the good of all.

Such discussion, to be practically useful in forming and enlightening public opinion, should be as widespread as possible. It appears, therefore, highly desirable that Labour organisations throughout the country should invite the upholders of the economic point of view laid down in the declaration of the rights of man to meet the upholders of the point of view embodied in the Marxian hypothesis, to reconsider their view-points in friendly, frank and free discussion, in order to discover the details omitted by each school, with the possible resultant discovery of a groundwork for mutual co-operation

The position here set forth is that both the 'rights of man' point of view and the Marxian point of view are fallible and corrigible by the discovery of something overlooked by each school of thought, and, further, that neither point of view is an end in itself, but merely a means to our end—namely, the preservation and betterment of the economic life of the people. We should therefore all welcome such discussion

As a preliminary it will be necessary to avoid the economic shibboleths and party preconceptions which at present stand in the way of free discussion. Let no one say, 'You are a Socialist, therefore I cannot discuss matters with you', nor, 'You are not a Socialist, therefore I cannot discuss matters with you.' Rather let each say, 'Put your point of view and we will put ours; let us thoroughly examine the data now for the first time available; let us see what details each has overlooked, and *then let us see if we cannot find a basis of agreement by the elimination of our mutual errors*.' Such is the spirit it is desired to see in the widespread discussion that is here invited.

Especially is it necessary to bring the facts of Russian

experience to the discussion of the following fundamental socialistic questions:

A. *Production*

(1) Is the irreducible core of egoism in every ordinary human being so powerful that men will *not* produce efficiently without the stimulus of self-interest ?

(2) Is it necessary, therefore, that private property be allowed ?

(3) Is it necessary, therefore, that interest be allowed ?

(4) Does the system of equal remuneration demoralise Labour ?

(5) Will agriculturists produce a surplus for the State if there be no self-interest in doing so ?

(6) Will agriculturists surrender their property to the State and still work it ?

(7) Is capital, by means of banks, and joint-stock companies, becoming more and more an affair of the people, so that it cannot be destroyed without destroying the economic life of the people, the indirect capitalists ?

(8) Does State industry under State-appointed managers, dependent on fixed salaries instead of profit and freed from the fear of financial ruin by slackness, or hope of riches by zeal, tend to produce less and less, the result being, not diffused or equal wealth, but diffused or equal poverty ever growing poorer ?

(9) Is this poverty-producing factor of bureaucratic industrial management intensified by the fact that under State control no worker need fear dismissal for slackness, so works slackly and carelessly, leading again to a smaller production, a smaller share for the workman, and a growing diffusion of poverty ?

B. *State Distribution*.

The Marxian theory of value is that unskilled labour-time (*Capital*, vol. i., p. 11) is the measure of value, skilled labour being a multiple of unskilled

(10) Do the data prove it possible to reduce skilled labour satisfactorily to terms of unskilled labour, in (*a*) the value of the product, and (*b*) in remuneration, or not ?

(11) Has the Marxian idea of distribution that each should get in proportion to his work as much of the time-product as he has given in average labour-time been proved practicable, or not ?

(12) Have labour-time cheques proved to be good money, or bad money saddled with all the evils of inconvertible paper money ?

(13) If all cheques were not presented weekly or monthly, if

any accumulation took place by savings, their value must have fallen in relation to the decreasing available products more and more. Did they so fall in value or not?

C. *Liberty*

Man does not live by production and distribution alone; liberty is equally important, so

(14) Does the Marxian hypothesis result in the destruction of all individual liberty by bureaucratic despotism, or not?

(15) Does State ownership of all printing destroy all freedom of thought and expression by restricting publication to views consonant with those of the printing authority, or not?

D. *Employment and Food under British Conditions*

(16) Does Socialism frighten away fluid capital to non-socialistic countries, or not? Can it, therefore, be tried, without rapid disaster, only in agricultural States with a small percentage of population dependent on capital, and not in a purely industrial State, as Great Britain, which depends wholly upon capital?

(17) Is the rapid annual increase of labour in a purely industrial State (about 200,000 new labourers annually in Great Britain) dependent for its employment upon a corresponding rapid annual increase of capital invested in industry? Will Socialism, therefore, in Great Britain before long become unable to employ the people?

(18) For the above reason, can the annual increase in the imported food bill of Great Britain only be met by a corresponding annual increase of production, dependent on a corresponding annual increase of capital? Will Socialism, therefore, under the peculiar conditions of Great Britain, prove, before long, unable to feed the people?

E. *The Co-operative State*

(19) Does State control, and the abolition of private property, destroy the fundamental qualities required for the success of co-operation—namely, energy, foresight, and the habit of saving, and of investing savings—and is it therefore incompatible with the idea of a co-operative State?

(20) Is it, therefore, or is it not, a fair definition of the hoped for neo-Socialism of the co-operative State that its future task is to evolve harmonious co-operation between the labour of the nation, with brain, hand, and machine, which creates the savings of the people, and the invested savings or capital of the people, which creates the labour of the people?

It cannot be too strongly emphasised, nor too often repeated,

that on all these questions we require not opinions but data. Of prejudged opinions formed on insufficient data we have had, and still have, more than enough. Ninety-nine people out of a hundred have merely the haziest idea of what really happened where the Socialistic economic theories were put into actual practice, therefore these data require to be collected and made known to everybody. *Until this is completely and impartially done no opinions on Socialism can be worth considering.*

The Form of Inquiry

The desirability, and indeed the vital necessity, of such an impartial inquiry as has been outlined being, it is hoped, admitted, the further question at once arises, what form should such an inquiry take? It is obvious that a *contra*-Socialistic book or books, such as have already been written, are of little use, for they are only read by a few. Something more, in the shape of intensive propaganda day by day, ceaseless as is the Socialist propaganda, is required. It may be taken as roughly axiomatic that even if a movement be started with a *manifesto in its favour*, signed by twenty or so Labour leaders representing each camp, it will require about three years' hard spade-work before it can hope to obtain the agreement of Labour as a whole. Therefore to the question what form shall the inquiry take? there are three answers according to the degree in which the Socialists themselves will or will not participate therein. These answers must here be dealt with very shortly owing to limits of space.

First, the most desirable form, in view of the fact that it deals with the very basis of the future economic life of the people, and will therefore be of vital importance, is a Royal Commission (something like that on socialisation in Sweden) as a beginning, despite drawbacks, because it is the most authoritative and impartial method possible. In order to ensure impartiality it should consist of an equal number of Socialists and non-Socialists, with a chairman appointed from each side who will preside on alternate sittings. The Commission should collect all the necessary evidence for and against Socialism under the seven great groups of world-factors, and should report within one year. A copy of the report should be sent by the State to all public bodies, libraries, and Labour organisations.

Second, if the Government will not stir in the matter, but Socialist leaders will assist privately, then an association of non-Socialists and Socialists should be formed, which should appoint a weighty private Commission, whose constitution and action should be the same as that of the Royal Commission above indicated.

Third, if Socialists should refuse to assist, then a non-Socialist association for the purpose should be formed without them, which will itself appoint such a private Commission (something like the private Yerburgh Commission on National Granaries) composed of men who will command public confidence, and who will proceed as before indicated. In addition to sending the report of their Commission within a year to all Labour organisations, etc., the association should during that year coach speakers up in the evidence for each constituency, who simultaneously with the publication of the report will (*a*) invite all Labour organisations in the constituency to discuss it with them in a friendly and impartial spirit, aiming at the betterment, and not the destruction, of the economic life of the people, and (*b*) will address at least weekly public meetings in all the different districts of each constituency, as may be best arranged, from the date of the report till the date of the next General Election

Conclusion

It appears that the outcome of such an impartial inquiry will be of the very greatest service to the nation, and will also enable Labour to establish itself politically, not on the quicksand of Socialism, but on the firm foundation of a co-operative State based on the rights of man, on private property, and production stimulated by self-interest in accordance with human nature. Such a monarchical co-operative State, based on the right to private property under State regulation, and aiming at the progressive betterment of the economic life of the people by the progressive co-operation of Capital and Labour (manual and mental), all could welcome; and also all could then welcome a neo-Socialistic Labour Party, based on that idea, as the future second party in a monarchical co-operative State

The issue as to the rights of man or Socialism as the basis of the future monarchical co-operative State has suddenly become no longer an academic but a vital issue There is no time to be lost in putting this issue squarely before the electorate in a form which they can understand. It is useless a few understanding it as heretofore; all must be made to understand it in future, or the nation will certainly have to pay the penalty. Let us not forget that the very same day that Mr. MacDonald received the seals of office the General Council of the Independent Labour Party, which numbers in its ranks 200 out of the 289 Labour M.P.'s, wrote to inform him that he could count upon their support if he proceeds to socialise our institutions *at once*. This is fortunately impossible in the present Parliament, but plainly shows what we have to expect in the next Parliament if the

Socialists at the next General Election can only obtain about fifty more seats, as is quite possible. It will then be *too late* to save Labour and the nation from the consequences. For the last thirty years the Conservative Party, as regards Socialism, has drifted in the most extraordinary and careless way, despite warnings in plenty, almost indeed as if they wished to see 'Socialism in *our* time.' We still have a breathing space. But obviously the eleventh hour has *now* come. Will they at last gird up their loins to enable the people to save themselves before it is finally too late?

STEWART L. MURRAY.

JAPAN LOOKS AT THE RUSSO-CHINESE DISPUTE

In the Chino-Russian imbroglio over the Chinese Eastern Railway no nation is a more anxious onlooker than Japan. The reason is obvious. Japan, like Russia, has railways and other enterprises to safeguard in Manchuria. Like Russia, too, she has a large number of her nationals there, whose safety and welfare is to her a matter of deep concern. Once China is permitted to seize by force the Russian railway in the north, will she not be heartened to try the same *coup* upon the Japanese in the south? What happened to the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang two years ago serves as a warning.

Yet, on the other hand, Japan is loth to see Soviet Russia wax too powerful in its Manchurian sphere of influence, for her memories of her Titanic struggle with the Tsarist empire are still fresh in her breast. Surely she does not want another situation created which may force her to the arena of battle as she was in the stirring years of 1904–5. Who is so simple as to believe that the "Reds" have completely and for ever renounced such imperialistic policy as was pursued by the Tsar? No one can ignore what Soviet inroads have done to Outer Mongolia, and Mongolia is but a threshold to Manchuria. Japan, therefore, feels constrained to take every precaution necessary to forestall such Russian ascendancy as may once again menace her national interests and welfare. Naturally she welcomes the existence of a buffer such as has been provided by the Government at Mukden, whether within or without the Nanking nationalist orbit. And yet when that Government becomes so high-handed and so arbitrary as to arrest and oust duly instituted Soviet officials and seize the Chinese Eastern Railway without due process of diplomatic negotiations, Japan's instinct of self-preservation and her sympathy for the underdog impel her to stop and ponder, and ponder deeply and long. One really wonders what she would have done had the recent rupture between Russia and China been followed by recourse to the arbitrament of the sword.

That Japan is desirous of maintaining friendly relations with China we may safely assume, and this in spite of a temporary

Japan now and then. At the same time she [illegible], perhaps, will never, see her way clear to give up her position in Manchuria, to which she has been pushed by force of circumstance, and forfeit all the vast economic enterprises she has launched there, for the idea has become something of a religion with the Japanese that, due to her over-population and her lack of raw material, she must by all means have unobstructed access to the economic resources of Manchuria. I do not say that this belief is justifiable or unjustifiable—I only state a fact. And as long as this 'religion' is not replaced by some other idea calculated to reassure the Japanese, there is bound to be a certain amount of friction between China and Japan, no matter how sincerely solicitous may be the Japanese statesmen of friendly intercourse with the Chinese. Because of this unfortunate perennial friction Tokyo can hardly hope to see eye to eye with Nanking, or whatever city China's peripatetic capital happens to be. In such circumstances Japan's attitude towards China *vis-à-vis* Russia must perforce be opportunistic—or realistic, if you will. She protests, and protests constantly, her friendly intentions towards her Chinese neighbour, praying the while that the neighbour will never become so domineering as to assert his rights by force in disregard of solemn international compacts. Undoubtedly many of her statesmen think the continued presence of Russia in North Manchuria desirable, provided no satisfactory arrangement can be made to safeguard Japanese interests in South Manchuria; for Russia, working at cross-purposes with China, will serve as a restraining influence upon possible Chinese onslaughts against Japan.

This is not to say that Japanese public opinion and Japanese leaders are generally favourable to Soviet Russia. As we have already said, there is a strong undercurrent of sentiment, a mingled feeling of suspicion and fear, against what may be termed 'Red imperialism,' a new-fangled policy of conquest, employing a new technique, but exploiting much the same field as did its prototype, Tsarist imperialism. I shall let M. Boubonov, one time chief of the political department of the Red army, explain this policy:

> The nationalistic movement in the Far East, awakened by us in 1925, has reached its climax. The population of Russia, India, China and other colonial countries combined is larger than the population of the rest of the world. The organisation of the colonial revolution has consequently become the chief task of the Soviet Government, especially because the revolutionary wave in Western Europe has receded. On this point no divergence of opinion is possible, everything must be consecrated for the development of the revolutionary movement in the Far East.

Let us see how this policy has worked in Mongolia, which

Japan's defence programme is required to take into consideration. Russian ambition in that country is an old story. In 1911 the Tsar, taking advantage of the Chinese revolution, established a suzerainty over Mongolia. The Soviet Government, so far from renouncing this Tsarist policy, has tightened its hold upon that territory. Upon the excuse that Mongolia must be cleared of 'White' forces, the Soviet Government in 1921 sent an army into Urga, its capital, and for four years refused to withdraw it, in defiance of repeated Chinese protests. By 1925, when the Soviets at last removed the Red army from Mongolia, the Mongolian army had already been drilled and officered by the Reds, and had been provided with Red arms and munitions There had been established an autonomous Mongolian Government which no longer recognised China's authority, but which sent its 'diplomatic' representatives to Moscow. A Mongolian national bank had been organised under Red management, giving the Soviets a financial control over the country. The 'constitution' drawn by the Reds proclaims Mongolia 'to be a republic of independent people, its entire administrative power belonging to the working people of the country' Article 13 of the Constitution boldly declares .

In view of the efforts being made by the working people of various countries in the world for the destruction of capitalism and realisation of Communism, the Mongolian republic of the working people shall exert its utmost to co-operate with them for the promotion of the fundamental object common to small nations diplomatically tyrannised and to revolutionary working people throughout the world

How the Soviet almost succeeded in grafting the same policy upon the anti-foreign nationalist movement in China we all know. In view of such Red activities many Japanese publicists, and especially militarists, are in favour of complete expulsion of the Soviet from Manchuria Against this group a large body of more liberal-minded Japanese statesmen advocate a policy of conciliation Of this latter group Baron Shidehara, now Foreign Minister for the second time, is a leader Speaking before the Diet in January 1927, the baron, then Foreign Minister in a previous Cabinet, said

We are happy to be able to state that the relations of Japan and the Soviet Union continue gratifying. . . Within the two years since signing the convention at Peking the mutual relations of the two countries have been gaining in strength and give great promise for the future. There are in certain sections people who indulge in alarming speculations as to the interests of Japan and the Soviet Union being destined to clash in Manchuria. But we have no aggressive policy in Manchuria or anywhere else, our sole preoccupation being that peace and order be maintained in that region, and that our nationals there be permitted to engage in peaceful

peoples without exploitation. We believe that the Soviet Union does not differ with this fundamental policy, and likewise that it has no aggressive designs, military, political or otherwise.

Such undoubtedly is the attitude of the new Cabinet in which Baron Shidehara is entrusted with the conduct of Japan's foreign policy. In the light of this attitude it is not difficult to surmise what this Cabinet might have done had the Chino-Russian dispute become more serious. It would, one may be sure, have exerted its influence to bring reconciliation between the disputants. Along this line Baron Shidehara had already set something of a precedent. In January 1926 the Mukden Government, then still under the iron rule of the late Marshal Chang Tso-lin, arrested M. Ivanov, Soviet general manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, for no other offence than that he (Ivanov) had, in observance of the railway's original agreement with the Chinese Government, refused to transport free of charge the war lord's troops constantly mobilised for one civil war after another. The *impasse* thus created might have precipitated a war had the Soviet been prepared to strike a blow. Though the Soviet was not then ready to retaliate the situation became so grave that Baron Shidehara felt constrained to employ his good offices in the interest of international harmony. Ivanov was released, and peace was patched up for the time being. The present rupture between the Soviet and the Chinese is but a recrudescence of the old rivalry and jealousy inherent in the organisation of the railway, dividing its management between the two nations. In this division of authority China claims absolute 'parity,' while Russia, by virtue of the 1924 treaty, has retained a certain degree of 'superiority.' This, and not the Red propaganda, more alleged than real, of which China has made so much to justify her high-handed action, is the real cause of the present trouble.

To say that the Chinese Eastern Railway was foisted upon an innocent China by the wiles of an imperialistic Russia will serve no good purpose to-day. It tells only half the truth, and, furthermore, there is little justice or charity in visiting the sins of the Tsar upon the Soviet. As a matter of fact, the Mandarins who signed the railway agreement in 1896 were as wily as the Tsar's *entourages*. It was indeed Li Hung-chang, then powerful 'Premier' of the Manchu Government, who deliberately invited Russia to Manchuria in order to spite Japan, who had the temerity to worst China in the arena of war. The building of the Chinese Eastern Railway cost the Tsar 320,000,000 gold roubles, while China's investment in the enterprise amounted to 5,000,000 Kuping taels. After the Tsarist *régime* went down in the whirl of the Red revolution the new radical masters at Moscow virtually proposed that they would unconditionally return the Manchurian

railway to China. The proposal, as it later transpired, was but a bait held out to lure the Chinese into recognizing the Soviet Government. The protracted negotiation that followed resulted in a complete agreement of May 1924—a *modus vivendi*. It admitted five Chinese to the board of directors on equal footing with the Russians, whereas under the Tsarist *régime* all the ten members of the board, except the titular president, were Russians. Of five auditors, two were to be Chinese. As for the chiefs and assistant chiefs of the various departments, no apportionment between China and Russia was provided. All that the treaty said was that where the chief of a department was a Russian the assistant chief should be a Chinese, and *vice versâ*. As a matter of fact, most of the department chiefs are Russians, the Chinese chiefs being assigned to comparatively few and unimportant departments. As to the appointment of lower officials and the employees the principle of 'equal representation' was agreed on, but the Soviet saw to it that this general principle would not be literally applied by causing the Chinese Foreign Minister, V. K. Wellington Koo, to write a note stating that 'the application of this principle is not to be understood to mean that the present employees of Russian nationality shall be dismissed for the sole purpose of enforcing the said principle,' and that 'the posts shall be filled in accordance with the ability and technical, as well as educational, qualifications of the applicants.' It is quite conceivable that many a Chinese applicant has been rejected upon the convenient ground of non-qualification.

The 1924 agreement was a great victory to China, yet she was not, nor has she ever been, satisfied with it. On the contrary, she has, in defiance of all existing compacts, extended her authority to the field long controlled by Russia. What she now wants for the immediate thing is absolute parity with Russia in the administration of the railway. Once this is conceded, as it in all probability will be, China will bring forth new demands. Against these interminable demands Russia argues that inasmuch as she, by virtue of the 1924 agreement, bound herself, and herself alone, to assume 'responsibility for the entire claims of the shareholders, bondholders, and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway incurred before the revolution of March 9, 1917,' she must, if she is to perform this responsibility, place herself in a position to exercise controlling influence over the line to the end that it will be operated efficiently and economically. The significance of this argument lies not so much in what it says, as in what it leaves unsaid. As for the Soviet's professed assumption of responsibility to the creditors of the railway prior to the revolution, few take it at face value. But the argument is significant in that it implies a reflection upon the integrity,

[illegible] ability, and [illegible] skill of the Chinese [illegible] the Soviets in the administration of the Chinese Eastern ailway. The Soviet might have said, had it dared, that it had ttle confidence in either the honesty or the ability of the Chinese. lowever one may dislike Red ideals and Red practices in inter- ational politics, one is forced to admit that the public, especially he travelling public, has better opinion of Russian railway ngineers and experts than of Chinese. Those who have witnessed ith apprehension the dangerous degeneration of the entire hinese railways under Chinese control are forced to admit that his general feeling is not groundless. Even the Washington onference of 1921–22 was obliged to express much the same feel- g by adopting resolutions stating that the condition of the hinese Eastern Railway required 'a most careful selection of ersonnel to secure efficiency of service and a more economical e of funds,' and also insisting upon China's 'obligations which hey [the Powers concerned] deem to be in the nature of a trust esulting from the exercise of power by the Chinese Government ver the possession and administration of the railroad.' These esolutions were not officious. They were entirely justifiable and roper in view of the fact that there had been organised at Harbin n Inter-allied Technical Board, as a part of the Inter-allied ntervention in Siberia, and that Japan and the United States had dvanced 5,000,000 dollars each to bolster up the demoralised and eteriorated Chinese Eastern Railway. Although the funds were xpended for the repair of the road and the replenishment of its olling stock, neither the Soviet nor China has since so much as ntimated any intention of reimbursing Japan or the United tates.

In spite of all that has been said about Chinese official integrity nd efficiency, Japan, especially the present Cabinet, will look ith favour upon China's efforts to secure parity with Russia in e management of the Manchurian railway. This is a natural onclusion from the famous 'Four Points' repeatedly advanced y Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara in discussing the Chinese tuation. In the official English translation of his address before e Diet two and a half years ago the Four Points are stated as llows:

First. Respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China and rupulously avoid all interference in her domestic strife.

Second. Promote the solidarity and economic *rapprochement* between e two nations.

Third. Entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations the Chinese people, and co-operate in their efforts of realisation of such pirations.

Fourth. Maintain an attitude of patience and tolerance in the present

situation in China, and at the same time protect Japan's legitimate essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the dispos[al of] this Government.

One is curious to know what, to Shidehara's mind, are Chin[a's] 'just aspirations,' and what unjust. It is a question which perhaps, unfair to put to him. No Japanese statesman cou[ld], even if he would, answer it without considering Japan's 'legi[ti]mate and essential rights and interests' in China, and especially Manchuria. This again raises the question: What Japane[se] rights and interests in Manchuria are legitimate and essenti[al], what illegitimate and unessential? Whatever be the answers [to] these questions, one thing is certain, that Japan will view wi[th] disfavour any drastic action China may take with a view to imm[e]diate repudiation of Russia's vested rights in North Manchuri[a], for such an action cannot but produce a most serious effect up[on] her own position in South Manchuria. It is frankly a selfi[sh] attitude that she takes—an attitude dictated by necessity, b[y] a sense of self-preservation

K. K. Kawakami.

ATHEISM AND RELIGION IN RUSSIA

THE Communists have turned Russia into a sort of huge institute for economic and political research. The results are highly instructive to students of individual and mass psychology. It is the first attempt made by a Government to clear a big country from all her old organisations, customs, laws, and to reconstruct the life of over 140,000,000 people in accordance with an abstract scheme devised by a small group of dogmatic Socialists and applied without any mercy by cruel, narrow-minded politicians who do not care in the least for the wishes of the population. But life is life After the torpor of the first few years the country begins to give an answer to the Communists' attempt at all-embracing systematisation.

It is not only the Communist system of production and distribution of goods which provokes a reaction, but even more their passionate struggle against the spirit, against the eternal human longing for free thinking and for truth From the first days of their coming to power they have been in a state of permanent war with the Church, with religion, with God and those who believe in Him. For a true Communist religion is only a 'product of class struggle.' With childish faith in the omnipotence of the human intellect, they try to change the course of human life, the nature of the human soul, by violent revolutionary methods. There is a special paragraph, No. 13, in the programme of the Communist Party about 'the liberation of the working masses from religious prejudices by means of widespread scientific, educational and anti-religious propaganda.' All these years they have been doing their best to achieve this liberation.

To their astonishment, the masses obstinately cling to their old faith; sometimes after a short period of atheism people return to the Church with new, chastened devotion. The fact that religious feeling and thirst for the Absolute are unquenchable is witnessed by the Communists with indignation and anxiety. They do not conceal it; they speak and write about what they call the menace on the religious front, and that after so many years of systematic crushing of the Church

On January 23, 1918, a decree was issued about the separation

of the Church from the State. Under the Imperial Governm the Russian Church was not free; the reforms made by the Russian Church Council which met in Moscow in August 19 had long been overdue. It was there that Patriarch Tihon w solemnly elected, the first patriarch after 200 years. For t Communist Government neither this council nor the patriarch h any authority. Their Decree of Separation brought the Chur under the double pressure of complete financial and econom dependence on the State and of constant and hostile survey the Soviet officials. According to section 13 of the Decree Separation, 'All property belonging to the churches and religio communities is henceforth to belong to the people.' This mea that all lands, capital, buildings, schools, hostels, hospital chapels, churches, even the ikons, crosses, vestments and chalice were taken from the clergy and from the believers to be hand over to the unbelievers of the local Soviets. Only by speci permit of these Communist bodies could the parish have the u of the church and of all that appertains to it.

After this first decree many other orders and elucidations them were issued, but none of them were favourable, or even fai to the Church. The Church, robbed, powerless, persecuted, wa faced with a new State which was not a friend, but a foe, and very aggressive one. The clergy—called in Soviet terminolog 'servitors of the cult'—are pariahs in the republic of peasan and workmen. 'Monks and spiritual servitors of churches an religious cults have no vote and no right to be elected to th Soviets' (section 65 of Soviet constitution). This involves number of civil restrictions and handicaps the clergy in a numbe of ways. They are not allowed to belong to professional union to co-operative societies, to tenants' unions, and having n membership in these organisations makes the struggle for lif extremely hard. It is not easy to get a room, or even a piece c bread, at a reasonable price. In the first years of mass terror th priests, monks, and nuns were persecuted, imprisoned, sent int exile, tortured and killed. Many of them are still in the Solovetsk Island, in prisons, in Siberia. The patriarch nearly died in prisor His successor, the Metropolitan Pyotr Krutitsky, has been i exile for years, ever since the death of Tihon. The Church ha been deliberately disorganised, and the last agreement betwee Metropolitan Sergius and the Soviet Government has not prove a success so far. There are hardly any theological schools for th clergy, the teaching of religion is banished from the schools, an the printing of the Bible is not allowed but for a few copies issue by the Baptists. Everything is done to advance the propagand of atheism and every kind of hardship is imposed upon th believers. Lenin said, 'Marxism always considers all con

[illegible] religions and churches, all religious organisations [illegible] tools for bourgeois reaction,' and in dealing with the Church the Government has acted in that spirit.

But the religious feeling is growing—to the communists' surprise and alarm. In September 1928, at a consultation of the educational section of the trades unions, a representative of the Godless League, which is the official organ of militant State atheism, declared that they were losing ground, that they could not cope with the people's general attitude and meet the attack made upon them by the Church and the dissenters. He complained that no one bought anti-religious literature, whereas [illegible],000 copies of the dissenters' Hymn Book had been sold (*Pravda*, September 11, 1928).

Even before this the Soviet Press was full of complaints about the growing influence of the priests among the industrial population, to say nothing of the peasants. On great holidays workmen's clubs are sometimes completely deserted, while the churches are crowded to overflowing. Communists become members of parish communities. No one reads the *Godless*. At Oryol one cannot obtain anti-religious literature at the bookstalls (though they are run by the State), and the shop assistants answer unceremoniously, 'There's little demand for that rubbish, so we do not keep it.' 'Unfortunately there are many such blockheads, not at Oryol alone' (*Pravda*, April 19, 1928).

In the Ukraine there are eleven church magazines printed in 33,000 copies. A year ago there were only six. The *Godless* is, as before, printed in 6000 copies only, in spite of the fact that public institutions are compelled to subscribe to it (*Pravda*, April 4, 1928). In three working-men's libraries at Tiflis (belonging to the metal workers', tramwaymen's and railwaymen's unions) only 230 books out of the 35,500 are anti-religious; in the course of three months only 120 of these were borrowed, while the total number of books borrowed during that period was 20,000. Only one copy of the *Godless* is subscribed to by the three libraries (*Zarya Vostoka*, Tiflis, December 12, 1928).

One of the 'specialists' in atheism declared at an official meeting that they were powerless to destroy religion! The Communists took this to heart: the bureaucratic machinery was set to work, numbers of circulars were hastily issued with orders to increase activities on the anti-religious front; they took stock of results already achieved, began working out new slogans and preparing special anti-Christian demonstrations for Christmas and Easter. To make their compulsory measures more effective, the Soviet authorities in the interval between these two holy days set to revising the laws dealing with the Church. On April 8 new regulations were issued concerning parishes or

'religious unions' as they are called. This term refers to 'churches, religious groups, sects, movements and other cults of all kinds.' In other words, the new law affects Jews and Mahomedans as well as Christians. The latter are of course in majority in Russia, and Communists are particularly hostile to Christianity. It was not accidentally that the new regulations were not published at once: they were kept back by way of an Easter present to the Christians and published just before Holy Week, which has a special significance for Orthodox Russians.

Most of the 68 clauses of the new law about the Church are a recapitulation and a restatement in a stronger form of the former decrees and circulars They are full of the old spirit of Communist hatred for religion. In the Soviet Republic people have no right to pray together, and still less to hold church services, without an official permit from the police Such permits are only given to members of a 'religious union' ratified in accordance with State regulations When applying for the legalisation of a parish it is necessary to give detailed information about all its members A whole *questionnaire* has to be filled in specially devised for the purpose, and aiming chiefly at discovering the parishioners' political convictions and social position, not only at the present time, but also in the past The local authorities have an unlimited power to delete from the lists anyone whom they do not like (cl 14) It is easy to see that the priests are particularly liable to suffer from this provision

Once a religious community has been legalised it must find a place for holding Church services In separating itself from the Church the State appropriated all Church property, including articles necessary for the celebration of services Clause 10 allows parish communities to ask the local Soviet's permission to use 'special religious buildings and objects intended exclusively for purposes of the cult.' What this comes to is this: a church has been standing in some town or village for centuries; from generation to generation people have prayed in it; now they must ask permission to do so of the local Soviet, *i.e.* of the Communists, since non-Communists have the greatest difficulty in being admitted to the Soviets Militant atheism is a slogan of the Communist Party. The believers have to ask the atheists' permission to go to their own church, to use holy vessels and prayer-books.

Many churches have already been turned into clubs, cinemas or hostels. In such cases the parish community has the right to hire and furnish for religious purposes some other building; it must, however, not merely inform the local Soviet of each service to be held there, but obtain each time a special permission to

hold it. In the case of services in a church no such permissions are required once the church has been given over to the parish.

The new law is inspired throughout by a desire to hamper, to narrow down the parishes' activity and to put every difficulty in their way, keeping them in strict economic dependence upon the tate, which is, indeed, the basis of the Soviets' power. Religious iions have no legal *persona*, and their economic life is under strict control of the Soviets. In the existing circumstances it a hostile control. It easily degenerates into constant harassing, onflicts, persecutions. The commissars can at any moment take way a church or close a prayer-house as a penalty for 'failing comply with some orders of the administrative bodies' (cl. 43), t even for insufficient repairs or missing the registration date. he very vagueness of the clause in question shows how recarious is the parishes' position. They have no rights, but are ersonally responsible both for the general course of the church fe, for the attitude of the church towards the Soviets, and for ie church property, which is regarded as the property of the ation. Insurance is paid by the parish, but if the church is urned down it does not receive the insurance money: 'insurance remiums may be used either for rebuilding the church or for ublic cultural [educational] needs of the neighbourhood at the iscretion of the appropriate executive committee' (cl. 33).

The old prohibition to say prayers or even to put up ikons in all State, public and co-operative institutions and offices' is retained in the new law, which includes in this prohibition 'private institutions and offices' as well (cl 58). The official *Collection of Decrees and Instructions about the Separation of the Church from the State*, published in 1924, said that 'the prohibition to put up idols, ikons, etc., by the representatives of the cult applies in all cases where collectively organised labour is used.' This includes shops, restaurants, workrooms, libraries, etc. It was allowed, however, to hang ikons 'in private buildings closely connected with a person's intimate private life, such as a doctor's consulting room, a lawyer's office, a professor's or engineer's study, a cobbler's or a tailor's workroom.' The very fact that an official declaration is needed to say that a private person has the right to hang an ikon in his room shows what a menace State atheism is to the religious life of the believers. In this respect there is little difference between the old law and the new one.

All religions alike—Mahomedan, Jewish, and Christian—are hampered by these restrictions, but the Communists do not deny that the Church of Christ is particularly hateful to them. 'We hate Christianity and its adherents; even the best of them are our bitterest enemies. They preach love and compassion, which

is contrary to our convictions. Christian love impedes the growth of the revolution. Down with love for our neighbour! We must know how to hate.' These are the words of an influential Communist, Lunacharsky, the permanent Commissar for Education, and they are very characteristic of communistic ethics and ideology.

The specifically anti-Christian tendency of the law is less apparent in the actual wording of it than in the way it is applied, greater consideration being shown to mosques and synagogues than to churches. But the law does contain some measures that directly concern the Orthodox Church. Religious processions and open-air prayers had always played an important part in its practice. Prayers in the fields, in gardens, in the courts of the cottages, have always formed an essential part of the peasant life, and still do so in spite of all. Russian poets have described, Russian painters have painted, the picturesque religious processions, so full of colour and of inner spiritual joy, when crowds of worshippers carrying ikons, crosses, church banners follow the priest, often joining in the singing of the church choir. It happens that specially revered ikons are carried for hundreds of miles from church to church, from monastery to monastery, from village to village—hundreds, sometimes thousands, of worshippers following in the train.

Under the Soviets these processions cannot be held without a special permit. No communal prayers in the open air are allowed unless a permission has been obtained beforehand. A long paragraph explaining to whom and in what manner the application has to be made graciously says in the end that no such permits are required for religious services connected with funerals (par. 59).

All the existing parishes must be registered afresh under the new law and undergo fresh difficulties and humiliations. They must again make a declaration, submit registers of members, and ask the atheists for a right to pray and worship God. The believers are to be once more sifted by the non-believers. This is one of the direct aims of the authors of the new law.

In addition to the old, it contains some new prohibitions. Members of a parish are allowed to collect money only for the needs of their parish and among the members of this given parish, the activity of which is strictly limited in every respect to its particular locality. In order to break down the Church as the community of the faithful, as the living bond between people in all parts of Russia, the Soviet law breaks them up into small self-contained units. According to cl. 19 the range of activity of the 'servitors of the cult' and of the religious preachers is limited to the locality in which the members of their particular religious unions

[illegible] and their place of worship is situated. [illegible] community has a right to use only one place of worship (cl. 10), a priest can celebrate services in some one church only, and his spiritual intercourse with the people in the next village may be regarded as a crime.

The next prohibition affects not only the priest, but the parish as a whole :

> Religious unions are forbidden—(*a*) to form friendly and co-operative societies, to start farms or workshops, and in general to use the property they are enjoying for any purposes except strictly religious ones ; (*b*) to give any material help to their members ; (*c*) to organise special meetings for children, young people, women, prayer meetings, Bible classes, meetings, circles or groups for the study of literature, needlework, handicrafts or for teaching religion ; to arrange excursions and open playgrounds for children, libraries and reading rooms ; to open sanatoria or give medical help. The only books to be kept in churches and other buildings used for religious purposes are those necessary for celebrating the services (cl. 17).

This is the most formidable point of the new law. It is an attempt to destroy the intimate, living communion between the parishioners in which both grown-up people and children seek relief from the vulgar atheism and the Communist moral degradation around them. This clause legalises the persecution of priests and of all active Christians for every good work done—for their care of those sick in the body, to say nothing of those sick in the spirit.

The new law is inspired not merely by a desire to affront the faithful and their faith. It is an act of self-defence. The Communists are right when they feel that their most dangerous enemy is freedom of the spirit which finds its fullest expression in religion, and they are alarmed by the growth of religion in Russia. For ten years the Soviet Government, with characteristic unscrupulousness, tenacity and apparent ease, has been mocking the feelings of the believers, the Church and God. They have on their side not merely the power of coercion, but the monopoly of public education—the Press, the schools, the theatres, the wireless. The money collected from the population is used to create hosts of atheist propagandists, to print leaflets, books, magazines, blasphemous posters, to organise vile processions in which hooligans impersonate Christ and the apostles, and street women the Virgin Mary. It is forbidden to teach children religion, but they are to be taught atheism. The teachers are ordered 'to create in children moral aversion to religion.' Teachers who believe in God are under suspicion, and recently it has been suggested that a number of subjects should not be taught by believers at all. Priests have no right to gather children round them. Active atheists are recruited from among the Union of Com-

munist Youth—the Comsomol—[illegible]
of the Soviet Republic. The name of God [illegible] with i
punity, but if people criticise the teaching of Marx and Le
they are banished to Solovki. Philosophic idealism, and especi
mysticism, is taken to be a sign of 'political unsoundness.' 'C
struggle must be the propaganda of militant atheism,' says
prominent Communist, Yaroslavsky-Guberman.

Everything, it seems, has been done for Karl Marx to conqu the Galilean But the louder the shrieking of the atheists t more determinedly does the people's mind turn to the old ne for faith and prayer The Communists have tried to satisfy th craving for Divine truth with the Marxist doctrine. Atheism the State religion Only atheists are allowed to hold the chief post in the country. Those who go to church are suspected of bein enemies of the State. In Russia the economic life of the countr is to a large extent nationalised, and the Government controls a the details of private life—employment, wages, schools, summe holidays, the right to hire a room, to travel, to buy a pair of ne boots, or to secure an extra piece of bread for one's family Th stepchildren of such a State are doomed to suffer rebuffs an privations. Loyalty to the Church demands sacrifices. No merely 'the servitors of the cult' and preachers, but ordinar parishioners, must be ready to face at any moment severes punishment—prison, exile, and, in case of conflict, the penalty death. But they are ready to face it. The experience of th Bolsheviks has proved that it is easier to crush and injure th political and economic life of a people than to control the spiritual life.

A confirmation of this old and simple truth may be found almost every Soviet paper They speak of 'the offensive on th religious front,' though till now the people may rather be said t be on the defensive.

The same number of the *Isvestia*, in which the new law wa published, contained a correspondence from the Spasak canton the Tatar Republic. A certain village priest was driven by th local Soviet out of his house, which was converted into a schoo On the first Sunday after this a spirited peasant woman, Paras kovya, collected 200 parishioners, chiefly women, and, going wit them to the priest's house, drove away the teachers and th children and tore up the portraits of the Communists that ha been hung there in place of the ikons. For a few days the militi could do nothing; but later on reinforcements were sent, th instigators were arrested and put on their trial. The brav Paraskovya and the priest for whom she stood up were sentence to five years of prison and confiscation of all their property. Th happened in winter, at some distance from Moscow.

[illegible]

Another case, told by the [illegible] spring in the Yegoryevsky district, near Moscow. [illegible] ided to close the church and turn it into a school. The popula- [illegible] was very much stirred. When the local authorities sent [illegible]ts to carry away an old bell that was lying on the ground by [illegible] church someone rang the alarm bell. Parishioners from eight [illegible]tlying villages rushed to defend the church. 'They ran [illegible]eathless for two or three miles, some were on horseback—two [illegible]n riding one horse—dishevelled women rushed along the village [illegible]reet weeping and wailing. One peasant threw himself on the [illegible]ll and put his arms round it shouting, "Good Christians, Christ [illegible]s suffered for faith, and I too will die here."'

The men who had come to cart away the bell were beaten and [illegible]iven away. For a fortnight the authorities could do nothing [illegible]ith the riot. The local Communists, especially members of the *Komsomol*, were cruelly beaten, but no one was killed. The peasants said, 'We must hold on till spring and not give up the bell, and in the spring there will be war and the Government will fall.' The riot, of course, was put down; the defenders of the church were arrested and put on their trial. The sentence was severe. A number of peasants were sentenced to three to eight years' imprisonment During the trial the priest Krivandin addressed a very bold speech to the audience, calling upon them, among other things, to do away with the 'red corners'—this Marxist counterfeit of ikons. The priest and a peasant called Yudin were condemned to death, and the sentence has been already carried out This is one of the numerous cases of people being put to death for Christian faith in Soviet Russia. What a storm was raised by the Socialists of Europe because of Sacco and Vanzetti, and with what indifference do Christian countries regard the persecution of Christians under the Soviets!

Cases of actual fighting for the Church are on the increase. But the chief strength of the Church is the power of conviction, the example of moral life, the spiritual beauty of prayer. Europe has forgotten the bitter times of religious wars and conflicts, and for Western Europeans it is difficult even to imagine what inner force, strength of will, and unshakable faith a priest in Soviet Russia must possess to carry on his work The Orthodox Church, the most persecuted of all, has accordingly developed of late a new type of priest that will be a tremendous influence in Russia in the future.

The *Pravda* (April 8, 1928) tells a story that throws an interesting light on the life of the clergy Five years ago a church was closed at the request of the workmen at the textile factory 'Communistichesky Avangard,' in the province of Vladimir. The priest, Father Ivan Ieviev, immediately gathered the

believers round him and [illegible] for the return of the church. [illegible] a tumbledown cemetery chapel. [illegible] and hundreds of parishioners began going to [illegible] again. T[illegible] chapel proved too small. The more active of the parishione[rs], including—to the disgust of the authorities—not merely memb[ers] of the co-operative movement, but even some Communists, beg[an] successfully collecting money among the workmen for building [a] new church. It had been very difficult to obtain permission [to] collect the money and to start building, but this was don[e] 'thanks to their knowing the weak sides of the Soviet administra[-]tion and being able to take advantage of it.' The author of th[e] *Pravda* article writes that he had seen on the priest's table news[-]papers and technical official publications such as *The Voice of th[e] Textile Workers*, *The Bulletin of the Narcomtrud*, etc. 'The pries[t] reads them more carefully than any Communist official. He put[s] a pencil-mark against different paragraphs, makes notes an[d] cuttings, and keeps careful record of it all.' The Soviet journalist speaks of this as bitterly as though he had discovered an enemy in war-time studying the disposition of troops on the other side. 'The priest is living in the very centre of the factory. All around him is seething with life, young people stroll by Marx's monument, the pothouse is doing a lively trade in vodka, workmen are amusing themselves in the cinema, the theatre and the tea-rooms, and yet the priest's little room is crowded with workmen.' This was in the spring of 1928. We do not know what happened to Father Ivan Ievlev since; his popularity alarmed the authorities. The anti-religious campaign at the factory was resumed with greater intensity—steps were taken against the building of the church. Very likely Father Ivan has not been allowed to build a new church at the factory; but it is not easy to destroy the invisible Church he is building in the believers' hearts.

The religious enthusiasm that inspires so many of the peasant[s] to defend their church against aggression sometimes assumes [a] legendary, mediaeval character. There are endless tales of wis[e] men, holy pilgrims, and prophets appearing in Red Russia. No[t] long ago an utterly fantastic thing happened in the south. Thi[s] is how a Soviet paper, the *Projector*, reports it:

> Last winter the peasants near Kiev were in despair because there wa[s] no snow and cold winds were ruining the winter crops. When at last i[t] began to snow on Christmas Eve the peasants of the village Kaganka ra[n] into the open, laughing and singing. Suddenly they saw through th[e] snowstorm two women, each of whom was carrying a large wooden cross between them walked a man dressed in a white flowing robe, with a crow[n] of thorns upon his head.

This man, whom some regarded as a saint, others as Jesus Himself

[illegible]

[illegible] for two months [illegible] he was, but peasants from the [illegible] in crowds, bringing their children and their sick, asking him to talk to them, to heal them, to pray for them. When he came to a village not only were all the cottages crowded, but people slept in their carts in the road, so eager were they to see the saint. He prayed, he preached, he called upon them to repent of their sins, to give away their possessions and cleanse their souls by prayer and good works.

In one village the local Soviet decided to arrest him. Some of the demobilised Red soldiers volunteered to carry out the sentence. With difficulty they made their way through the crowd to the cottage where the mysterious teacher was staying. Suddenly the door opened and he appeared on the threshold. He lifted his hands, which had red marks of blood upon them, threw off his hood and revealed a noble head crowned with thorns and features that strangely resembled the sorrowful face so well known from the ikons. A gentle radiance enveloped him. Thereupon the crowd arrested the Red soldiers and the members of the Soviet. A few days later one of the Communists tried again to seize the prophet, but as soon as he touched him the aggressor fell down foaming at the mouth and died on the spot.

The fame of the mysterious pilgrim was growing. More and more people sought to see him. They kissed not only his hands and clothes, but his very footprints in the snow. Finally he was arrested and put to prison, but in the night he disappeared, and no one knows what became of him.

This is the story told by a Soviet journalist; his account is full of picturesque details that show what intense religious exaltation has been stored up in Russia amidst all the trials and persecutions for faith. That is the way how in the Communist Republic the Galilean is conquering Karl Marx.

ARIADNA WILLIAMS.

ADULT EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

ADULT education in England is at once very old and very new It is at least as old as Christianity, and may be said to date from the landing in Kent, 597 A.D., of St Augustine, who came to instruct the English people in the new faith with notes on 'teaching method' supplied by Gregory the Great. Indeed, adult education was one of the main functions of the mediæval Church and this education was not merely homiletic and doctrinal, but was cultural and artistic in the broadest sense The Church was the channel through which the whole heritage of story and legend reached the common people, and as one relic of this fact there stands the *Gesta Romanorum* (the title is significant), which was the raw material for countless sermons The Church educated too, by æsthetic means, by architecture, with its attendant arts of painting and sculpture, by music, and, above all, by drama. It is well to remember this, since modern adult education is only now beginning to realise the breadth of its mission in the full mediæval sense.

On the other hand, adult education is very new in this country, and though a *History of Adult Education* was published in the year 1851, and though the Mechanics' Institutes of the first half of the nineteenth century are generally regarded as the parents of the movement, it took its rise in the true sense of the word during the second half of that century Mechanics Institutes were pioneers rather of modern technical education than of adult education proper, for the main characteristics of what we now know as adult education are (1) that it stands for the transmission of general culture as distinct from craft culture, and is thus in line with the mediæval tradition just referred to, (2) that it stands for a particular method of education, education by discussion—discussion opened and guided by a leader, but conducted and ultimately controlled by the class unit, and (3) that, apart from certain isolated though important institutions like the Working Men's College, it works through voluntary associations on a national scale and by 'extension' methods of organisation.

The real origin of the modern movement was the invitation in 1867 by a committee of ladies in the north of England to Mr

James Stuart, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to come and lecture to them; other invitations, often from groups of working people, followed, and other universities followed the lead of Cambridge. This, of course, was what is known as the University Extension movement, which incidentally immensely stimulated the higher education of women and the foundation of modern university colleges. But University Extension, after its first flush of enthusiasm, though it developed into and still remains a most important branch of adult education, tended to become a middle-class movement; and this for an obvious reason. There were no public grants available at that period for work of this kind; the lecture courses were therefore bound to be self-supporting, and this meant high fees, and high fees meant people who could pay them. Another consequence of this economic difficulty was the habit of establishing large classes, classes too big for discussion, in the full sense of the word, to have its way. University Extension has never surrendered the ideal of discussion, and the class work for the few who care to remain behind after the lecture has continued to be a feature of its work. Nevertheless there was obviously room for a movement of a rather different character. And so in 1903 Dr. Mansbridge founded the Workers' Educational Association with the object of going back to the spirit of those early extension days and reaching the working classes once more.

The aim of the new association was to bring workpeople and scholars together on a basis non-sectarian, non-political, and for two purposes (*a*) to promote non-vocational higher education among workpeople, and (*b*) to bring reality into scholarship by associating it closely with the workaday world. Both aims have been successfully realised, though I do not think that it is yet generally understood how much has been done under the second head in almost every university of the country. The effects, for example, upon the teaching of economics, of contact and discussion on the part of almost every lecturer and professor of economics in the country with working people, to whom problems of economics are matters of vital moment, are incalculable. But economics is not the only subject thus affected; even the teaching of English literature has much to gain from contact with bodies of students who have not grown up (as too many persons of secondary school training grow up) to accept literature unquestioningly and without deep conviction. I remember visiting a tutorial class in Yorkshire some years ago, when I was inspector of the Board of Education, on an evening when the subject of the lecture was Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*. The lecturer gave an eloquent discourse illustrated by excellently read passages; and when it was over a burly engineer rose at the back of the room and remarked, 'Well, Mr. Lecturer, this is all very fine, this

moaning and groaning about it all, but why didn't he get up and do something?'. Lecturers in English literature are forced to reconsider the very grounds of their faith when faced with questions of this kind.

As to the first aim, the Workers' Educational Association begat as its eldest child the University Tutorial Class movement, founded in 1907; and this time Oxford, and not Cambridge, took the great step. The story of university tutorial classes in their beginning is a romantic one, and has been well told by Dr. Mansbridge in his books on the subject.[1] Let it suffice here to say that the year before the war there were 110 tutorial classes in the country, a number which had grown in 1924–25 to 454 containing about 9000 students, and in the present session to 623 containing about 12,500 students.[2] The new movement was only made possible by public grants. Dr. Mansbridge was in the confidence of the Board of Education from the beginning, and the Board made substantial grants under regulations which merely embodied the conditions worked out by the pioneer classes, though they were conditions of a far more stringent character than those demanded by University Extension classes. Briefly speaking, these conditions are: (1) the class is limited to thirty-two members; (2) these members undertake to follow a three years' course of continuous study in one subject; (3) the class meetings extend to at least two hours, half the time being given to discussion; and (4) all students are required to do regular paper work. The Government grants, supplemented even in the early days by grants from local education authorities in many areas, made it possible to secure the services of first-rate teachers from the universities and to bring their influence to bear directly upon small groups of students.

The University Tutorial Class movement has now come of age, and during its twenty-one years' course it has set the tone of adult education throughout the country, so much so that in 1924 the Board of Education felt it safe to extend the scope of its grants from the tutorial class proper to many other types of adult education—for example, to University Extension classes and to shorter courses run by the Workers' Educational Association and other bodies. It felt it safe to do so, I say, because the university tutorial class has now become an integral and unassailable part of the educational system of this country, and all other types of adult education tend to look up to the tutorial class, as it were to the crown of their structure. On the other hand, the Board realised that the tutorial class method was only suitable to a

[1] Albert Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes* (Longmans, 1913), and *An Adventure in Working-Class Education* (Longmans, 1920).

[2] The number of tutorial class students for 1928–29 is a rough estimate; exact figures at the time of writing were not available.

certain type of student, and that there were thousands of other students who might be attracted to educational work of some kind on easier terms. The issue of special regulations for adult education in 1924 was in many ways a turning point of the movement. That it has been fully justified has been proved by the growth in the number of classes of this kind recognised by the Board, and it is estimated that, taking the country as a whole, in 1927 there were over 60,000 students attending adult classes,* a number which is likely to increase very much in the future.

With the issue of these regulations adult education took its place definitely in the State educational system, while it has been developing important organs, appropriate to their national position, upon which a word or two may be said in order to complete the picture. There is, for example, the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education constituted in 1921, a body of which General Sir Frederick Maurice, grandson of Frederick Denison Maurice, who founded the Working Men's College, is chairman, and which numbers among its members most of the important people connected with the movement. Its main function is the receiving of evidence on various aspects of the work and the issuing of reports. Among the valuable reports it has already published may be mentioned those on *British Music*, *Adult Education for Women*, and the *Drama in Adult Education*.

Secondly, the movement has its library (another child of Dr. Mansbridge), the Central Library for Students, the motto of which is 'To every student his book.' The principle of this library is that for the cost of postage any serious student in the country is entitled to borrow any book which will help him in his studies. The Central Library for Students bids fair to become the central lending library in the country. It already works closely in touch with the local lending libraries, and the possibilities in front of this institution alone, as a necessary piece of mechanism in English civilisation, are almost illimitable.

Thirdly, I may mention the British Institute of Adult Education, of which Lord Haldane was president until shortly before his death. This is a conference body with a co-ordinating function, its principal task being to bring together all the various agencies and societies concerned with the education of adults. It aspires to be the 'learned society' of the movement; and, incidentally, it is responsible for two important periodical publications—first, the *Handbook and Directory of Adult Education*, the earliest number of which was issued in 1926; and, secondly, the *Journal of Adult Education*, a half-yearly publication which started in the same year and which attempts to interest its readers

* *I.e.*, classes of all kinds. The number of students in 'recognised' classes was about *half* this.

ponent body increasingly to seek for itself a share, appropriate to its own ethos, in a common task. Symptoms of all this are the foundation in 1921 of the British Institute of Adult Education to survey from a national standpoint the whole field of adult education, and in the same year of the rural community councils to co-ordinate and focus the activities of various agencies for adult education in the localities.

Thirdly, we may note that adult education has become an integral part, even from the administrative point of view, of the educational system of the country: the Board of Education pays substantial grants towards the maintenance of classes, and since 1924 it has extended those privileges to classes of other types and to organisations other than those originally responsible for the tutorial class. Local education authorities, again, after a period of distrust of what was vaguely felt to be in some way connected with Socialism, have now almost without exception been converted by the success of the Tutorial Class movement and are adding their grants-in-aid to those of the Board. Furthermore, the universities, committed from the outset to assist the movement by providing lecturers and by participating in the administrative work, are coming more and more to shoulder responsibility for all adult education which can be called of university character. An interesting development in this connexion is the tendency of some universities to take over almost all the administration of adult education in their areas. Thus Nottingham has a Department of Adult Education with a professor (a full member of the senate) who is responsible for the administration and control of all classes in that district. And there are similar movements elsewhere; for example, the University Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes in London a few years ago took the step of appointing a director of the classes it controls.

I have spoken of the boom in adult education. This boom is not confined to England. Indeed, there is now a World Association of Adult Education, founded (once again) by Dr Mansbridge in 1918. But England is the centre of it all, and it has gone forward far more rapidly here than elsewhere. Let me try in conclusion to answer in a tentative way the question why has adult education suddenly become so popular and of such significance in our time and in our country?

Historically adult education has been supported and has flourished under the influence of two conceptions, quite distinct. One is the notion of its being necessary as hospital work. Adult education comes in, as it were, to repair the deficiencies of the educational system, to make up for lost time, to teach grown-up people what they ought to have learnt as children. This conception has played a very important part in the development of the

education of adults, and the further you go back the more important it looks. But if this is all that adult education means, then it is bound to die out in the euthanasia which follows upon the proper development of secondary education, a secondary education embracing the whole population. Always, however, there has been another notion at the back of adult education, a recognition of education as a life-long human necessity both for the growth of the individual and for the service of the State.

The note of modern educational theory is the importance it attaches to the development of all sides of human personality—æsthetic, scientific, ethical. And the growing recognition of this importance throughout the nineteenth century has kept pace with the increasing specialisation of modern life following upon the Industrial Revolution. It is amusing to observe that specialised people before the Industrial Revolution, such as tailors, cobblers and the like, were hardly regarded as complete human beings, so that 'It takes nine tailors to make a man' has passed into a proverb. To-day most of us, if we were only that part of ourselves which we give to our breadwinning, would be less than one-ninth of a man. Adult education is necessary, therefore, in modern society, not merely to make up for lost opportunities in youth, but to redress the balance of specialism throughout life.

Again, as the world grows more and more complex, as the individual or the group becomes more and more specialised, it becomes increasingly difficult for the plain man to comprehend life in the world at large and to adjust himself to it. The problem of government in particular, and of the direction of affairs generally, becomes harder every day. Here is the real danger to democracy—namely, that the issues to be decided from day to day, issues upon which the whole fate of society may depend, should become too difficult for the comprehension not only of the ordinary voter, but also of that specialised man-in-the-street whom we call the politician. When I say 'issues' I mean issues even in a perfectly general form, the form in which they are put before the electors for a new parliament. The Great War increased these complexities enormously and at the same time made men more conscious of them. The result has been that in the least educated parts of Europe—in Italy, in Spain and in Russia—the people as a whole have been obliged to surrender their privilege of direction, to hand over the government to the 'expert,' who alone pretends to understand the issues. The only possible alternative to the despotism of the expert is adult education; and study, hard study, must play an increasing part in modern citizenship for those countries who wish to retain democratic forms of polity. We need our experts, of course—it is impossible to get on without them; but we need to be able to

check them and control them in the light of general principles based on a general grasp of the trend of the world. This political necessity, unconsciously apprehended but none the less potent, is, I believe, the mainspring of the extraordinary developments in adult education which this country is now witnessing, and which are our reply to Fascism on the one hand and Bolshevism on the other.

But, unless I am mistaken, there are currents in this great tide of even greater significance. The movement, as I have hinted more than once, is implicitly religious. In a sense, most obvious on the side of methods of instruction, it is a development of the changes inaugurated by the Reformation. Protestantism was, among other things, an assertion on the part of the congregation of its right to a say in the formulation of doctrine. No longer was the Faith something given by a special caste of teachers to an unquestioning and docile laity. The barriers between cleric and lay were broken down; and though most Protestant denominations continued to work through trained ministers, these were chairmen of assembly rather than priests, leaders in a discussion in which, theoretically at least, each member of the congregation had a right to his own opinion. The religious body that carried out this principle to its furthest point was the Society of Friends, and it is probably no accident, therefore, that the Adult School movement which the society set on foot has, as a matter of historical fact, laid the foundations of modern adult education in many parts of England. To-day there are thousands of working men and women who go to the weekly meetings of their tutorial or Workers' Educational Association class in much the same spirit as their grandfathers attended chapel, while there are not a few ministers who have, as tutors, found their life's mission in the field of secular adult education. But is it really secular? What these students are after is not self-development; who would cross the road for the sake of self-development? It is not even an anxiety to improve the quality of their citizenship; for, as I have said, the political implications of the movement are largely unconscious. No; they go to class, as their forefathers went to chapel and their ancestors in the Middle Ages went to church, to try and understand the world, to get some kind of a working philosophy for themselves in this difficult universe.

They began by knocking at the door labelled Economics; naturally enough, since economic problems bore most hardly upon them, and the study of 'economic theory' seemed to offer a ready way of escape from their troubles. The opened door, however, led to a labyrinth in which many lost themselves. They are now turning, in increasing numbers as we have seen, to literature, and in literature, I have little doubt, most find spiritual food of greater sustenance than in economics. But behind

literature—behind the tragedies of Shakespeare, for instance—lie the problems of the universe. In other words, sooner or later the organised adult classes of England will turn directly and expectantly, as many of them have long done indirectly and incidentally, to the discussion of religion. When that happens we may see interesting developments. The denominations, as I have pointed out, are beginning to realise the significance of the tutorial class method ; but that does not mean that any or all of them will capture the Adult Education movement. The classes of the Workers' Educational Association and the university tutorial classes, which are the spear-head of that movement, are run on a basis which is and will remain strictly non-sectarian. When such classes take to discussing religion, the traditional Churches may not gain much, for members of adult classes take nothing for granted, accept no doctrine on trust. But religion itself will surely gain enormously

On July 9 men and women from all parts of the country came together in London for the unveiling of a portrait Posterity will look at this portrait with interest, and they will see before them a tall, stoutish man, with a fresh complexion, fair hair and blue eyes, in which there lurks more than a suspicion of merriment, together with something wistful and something hard, the hardness of a bull-dog. 'How English!' they will say, and 'How unacademic!' Albert Mansbridge, the architect of modern adult education, the man who had the vision to see that such a movement was inevitable and to guess what it needed, the man who has done more for English university life than any other living person, is himself not an 'intellectual' He seems to work by the action of some kind of invisible spiritual antennæ rather than by the processes of cerebration, he *feels* his way to his objectives, and generally gets there! His strength is that he understands—understands the ordinary Englishman, because he is himself just an ordinary Englishman, on the grand scale, with his distrust of cleverness and his profound sense of religious values. Compare him with another great Englishman, Jeremy Bentham, and what a contrast! And yet the position of Albert Mansbridge to-day is not dissimilar from that of Bentham a century ago, though their respective tasks are very different The little mild humanitarian with a ruthless intellect cleared England for the material and political reconstruction of the nineteenth century by bringing everything to the test of 'What's the use of it?' The large expansive warm-hearted optimist lays broad bases for England's future spiritual development and silences opposition with his 'Why not?' They are equally English, equally of the salt of the earth, and in their two questions may be heard the rhythm at the heart of our people.

J. DOVER WILSON.

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ANTI-VIVISECTION:

A Reply

There are many ways of 'replying' to an article, but for practical purposes the methods fall under two headings, the personal and the impersonal. The personal is one used extensively, not only in the anti-vivisection controversy, but in many others; it consists mainly in lifting sentences from the opponents' article and, without considering the context, proving them dissemblers from their own words. Unfortunately this technique may be applied not only by the righteous to the unrighteous, but *vice versâ*, and it forms an excellent example of the old proverb about the devil quoting scriptures to his purpose The alternative mode of attack is launched by a general article couched in either haughty or witty terms against the whole movement, ignoring the specific points raised by the challenger

All these methods have been used in the past by both sides of this vexed question of anti-vivisection, and the result is unfortunately too well known to-day, in fact, it is not going too far to state that the controversy is now carried on by what the late Lord Oxford used to term "the hellish principle of reprisals." That scientific and genuine progress can never be made in a contention carried on on these lines is only too apparent to any thinking person. History has shown that reprisals, however well intentioned, lead in the end to dogmatic faith, and from this develops the martyr, always a fascinating figure in the popular eye. The anti-vivisectionists have produced a number of these persecuted but popular people who, by the aid of their Press, have stirred up hot emotional feelings in the public mind. As Addison says,

> There is nothing in which men more deceive themselves than in what the world calls zeal. There are so many passions which hide themselves under it, and so many mischiefs arising from it, that some have gone so far as to say it would have been for the benefit of mankind if it had never been reckoned in the catalogue of virtues. It is certain, where it is once laudable and prudential, it is an hundred times criminal and erroneous.

Let us therefore avoid "what the world calls zeal," the martyr's most powerful weapon, and let us try to examine the problem from a disinterested point of view.

A long study of the very considerable literature dealing with the subject shows that the anti-vivisectionist's great cry is that animal experimenters cannot take a disinterested view of the subject, and consequently should not be believed. The reverse is equally true, and the present writer is on at least as sound a footing from this point of view as his opponents.

There is nothing new in Miss Kidd's recent article which summarises in a very lucid manner the creed of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection. Those who wish a categorical reply to the assertions contained in it and in tracts, and who want a detailed list of advances in medicine directly attributable to animal experimentation, may consult the publication of the Research Defence Society. It would be more profitable to examine the whole basis of the movement, with a view to testing its soundness on general grounds.

From a detached standpoint it would appear, at least to the writer, that the anti-vivisectionists confuse the issues very seriously. Their whole doctrine may be reduced to a statement that (*a*) experiments on animals are wrong on ethical and Christian grounds *and* that (*b*) medical science has never advanced through the medium of this type of work Medicine, according to them, is full of ghastly errors originating in experiments on animals, and any progress made has owed nothing to vivisection. They even imply that medicine has made no progress whatsoever since the inception of experimental methods The important point to bear in mind is that they consider statement (*b*), namely the errors of medical science, or alternatively, lack of progress, to follow as a direct corollary to statement (*a*), that experiments should not be performed on animals, and in the whole of their literature and speeches (*a*) and (*b*) are linked together. This error is fundamental.

To the mind of a purely disinterested observer the problem falls into two entirely separate compartments, on no account to be confused in discussion. The first involves the ethical principle—whether man is justified in causing pain and suffering to the lower animals quite irrespective of any ultimate gain that might accrue. This part of the discussion should stand alone, and should be decided solely on its merits, not to be influenced in any degree by the second issue at stake This second issue consists of an inquiry as to whether medical science has progressed through the medium of animal experiments. The first, being a question of ethics, is difficult, even impossible, for any one person to answer. The second, being a question of fact, should be, and is, easy to answer.

In so far as the present writer is aware, this distinction has never yet been made, not at any rate by the anti-vivisectionists.

The very constitution of the abolitionist movement proves that they have failed to grasp the essential difference between the two otherwise there would be two types of member in their union. One, familiar to us all, is the person whose views have been outlined already: he maintains that man has no right to inflict pain on animals and that medical science has never advanced on account of it. We ought to find a second variety of anti-vivisectionist: this person would say that on ethical grounds he was opposed to animal experiments, but no matter how firm his opinions were, he would frankly admit that medical science had advanced by their means, although he might still be just as bitter in deploring the medium through which these advances were made as his more rabid and illogical colleague.

There are many parallels to such a view of the vivisection controversy. The late war showed that many men with very strong and sincere pacifist views still fought in the trenches because they felt that although the fighting and killing was against their principles, the cause was sound. In the anti-vivisectionist camp there are no members who have shown themselves capable of looking at the problem from this point of view, and their activities are directed almost solely to slinging mud at medical research.

In the course of this article great care will be taken not to fall into the anti-vivisectionist's fundamental mistake, and we will endeavour to consider both principles separately. Turning to the first or ethical principle, it must be admitted that we are faced with one of those problems that can only be decided by each individual for himself. Before coming to a conclusion on this question let the reader attempt what one might term, for want of a better phrase, a quantitative study of pain and suffering. Let him contrast the sufferings of an animal under a typical experiment with the sufferings of a human being overtaken by disease. We will deal with the animal first.

One of the commonest animal experiments performed in laboratories throughout the world is the standardisation of insulin, the substance used in the treatment of diabetes. This is done on rabbits in most countries. The animals have to be in the best of health, and are very carefully preserved and fed during the intervals between the tests. Their diet is watched with the care that is usually given to that of an athlete, and they are weighed at frequent intervals to be certain that their health is maintained. On the day prior to the standardisation, the animals go without food but are given water to drink. Early the next morning some twenty rabbits are set on the laboratory floor in their respective cages. It must be remembered that these animals have been born and bred in the laboratory, often for many generations, and are

in no sense of the word wild animals. They have been accustomed to being handled by skilled assistants from the day they were born, and therefore their surroundings, though possibly abnormal for wild rabbits, are perfectly familiar to them.

Each animal is taken in turn by the assistant, whilst another collects a small quantity of blood from an ear vein by means of a syringe and needle. The animals do not struggle, and do not show any signs of acute pain. The blood is sent down to the laboratory for analysis, and a sample of insulin is injected below the skin of the rabbit's back. The animals are then bled at hourly intervals for five hours in the manner described, and the blood samples are analysed. At the end of five hours the animals are returned to their cages and given a copious feed of cabbage and the like. That completes the experiment from the animals' point of view, and they show no signs of being any the worse for it. The blood samples obtained are analysed for sugar, and the observer is able to calculate the quantity of insulin present in the sample injected from the fall of the blood sugar content

In other experiments the animal is anæsthetised and its brain is destroyed under an anæsthetic Following this, observations are made on the blood pressure, etc., of the surviving preparation. It cannot be called an animal because its brain has been destroyed and it is incapable of feeling anything; it only possesses life from a strictly technical point of view When the experiment is finished the artificial respiration is discontinued, the heart stops beating, and the preparation ceases to function.

Bearing this in mind, let the reader turn to the question of human suffering, and for this he cannot do better than read the description given by Dr. John Brown of an operation performed early in the last century This is taken from *Rab and his Friends*, and for those who are not familiar with the context it may briefly be told that the patient, Ailie, was the wife of a Scottish crofter, James, and was suffering from a tumour of the breast. She was brought to the Scottish Hospital, and immediately prior to the passage quoted there is a description of the operating theatre with the students crowding in, and the old husband waiting in the background with his faithful mastiff Rab.

> Ailie stepped up on a seat, and laid herself on the table, as her friend the surgeon told her; arranged herself, gave a rapid look at James, shut her eyes, rested herself on me, and took my hand. The operation was at once begun; it was necessarily slow; and chloroform—one of God's best gifts to his suffering children—was then unknown. The surgeon did his work. The pale face showed its pain, but was still and silent Rab's soul was working within him; he saw that something strange was going on—blood flowing from his mistress, and she suffering; his ragged ear was up, and importunate; he growled and gave now and then a sharp impatient yelp; he would have liked to have done something to that man. But

James had him firm, and gave him a glower from time to time, and an intimation of a possible kick—all the better for James, it kept his eye and his mind off Ailie.

It is over; she is dressed, steps gently and decently down from the table, looks for James; then, turning to the surgeon and the students, she curtsies, and in a low, clear voice, begs their pardon if she has behaved ill. The students—all of us—wept like children; the surgeon wrapped her up carefully, and, resting on James and me, Ailie went to her room, Rab following. We put her to bed.

The description then goes on to say that at first the wound healed well, but that after a day or two the dread suppuration and infective process started. It must be remembered that at this time suppuration of an incision was considered a normal process, it remaining for Lister to prove that it was due to organisms and could be avoided.

So far well: but, four days after the operation, my patient had a sudden and long shivering, a 'groosin',' as she called it I saw her soon after; her eyes were too bright, her cheek coloured, she was restless, and ashamed of being so; the balance was lost, mischief had begun. On looking at the wound, a blush of red told the secret her pulse was rapid, her breathing anxious and quick, she wasn't herself, as she said, and was vexed at her restlessness. We tried what we could James did everything, was everything, never in the way, never out of it, Rab subsided under the table into a dark place, and was motionless all but his eye, which followed every one. Ailie got worse, began to wander in her mind, gently; was more demonstrative in her ways with James, rapid in her questions, and sharp at times. He was vexed, and said, 'She was never that way afore; no, never.' For a time she knew her head was wrong, and was always asking our pardon—the dear, gentle old woman then delirium set in strong, without pause. Her brain gave way, and then came that terrible spectacle,

> The intellectual power, through words and things,
> Went sounding on its dim and perilous way,

she sang bits of old songs and Psalms, stopping suddenly, mingling the Psalms of David, and the diviner words of his Son our Lord, with homely odds and ends and scraps of ballads.

It remains for the reader to assess for himself quantitatively the amount of suffering involved in the two conditions described. Let him add to this the fact admitted by nearly all biologists, that the lower animals have no sense of apprehension and therefore do not know what is coming to them Thus, a laboratory animal is quite happy until the moment arrives for its experiment, but the same could not be said of a patient awaiting overnight an operation for cancer, to be performed on the following day. If so much and terrible suffering is sent to human beings, and animals themselves have to submit to great pain and persecution from their

natural anomalies in the animal kingdom, [illegible] carefully controlled additional [illegible] moment.

We now turn to the second side of the problem: has medicine advanced through the use of vivisectional methods? It would take too long to give a detailed list of conditions whose nature, prevention and cure have been elucidated solely through animal experiments, and we will content ourselves by taking only two examples.

In the first place let us consider the condition of London in the year 1665, when the capital was smitten by the Great Plague. To most people the plague of London was merely a time when a great number of people died and were buried in communal graves called plague pits, and at the end of it the Great Fire arose and London was rebuilt. The horror and sufferings endured throughout that year were so terrible that no account of them forms easy reading. To illustrate this we can do no better than to give letters and extracts from letters written by people who were doomed to live in London during that fatal year. The following are taken from W. G. Bell's *The Great Plague in London in 1665*:

London, July the 18 1665.

HONOURED SIR,

Blessed be the lord I got to London safe on wensday by eleven of the clock. and there is but very little notice tooke of the sicknesse here in London though the bills are very great there dyd threescore and 18 in st giles in the feilds since the bill. and 5 in one hour in our parish since, it spreads very much. I went by many houses in London that were shut up; all over the city almost, nobody that is in London feares to go anywhere but in st giles's, they have a Bellman there with a cart, there dye so many that the bell would hardly ever leave ringing and so they ring not at all. the citizens begin to shut up apace nothing hinders them from it for fear of the houses breaking open my fathers has been shut up about a week, but theyr is hardly an house ope in the strand. nor the exchange: the sicknesse is at Tottenham high crosse but Mr Moyse would not let you have his son know it is much at hogsdon (Hoxton). so that I saw them as I went in the road, ly in a small thackt house, and I believe all most starved so great a dread it strikes into the people. I taryd In london till thursday in the afternoon, because the tide would not serve. but then went to Wandsor . . . It is very credibly reported that de Ryter is beat and taken or sunke one wensday night such news came from hampton Court. the sicknesse is at Richmond and we beleeve the King will not reside there long

thus with my humble service to you and Mr Blith Jun
I Rest your Obedient pupill

SAM: HERNE

For his Honoured Tutour
Mr. Samuel Blithe fellow of
Clarehall In Cambridge.

This letter only touches upon the horrors of the time. The following are from John Allin, a parson:

Aug. 24. I am, through mercy, yet well in the middest of death, and that, too, approaching neerer and neerer; not many doores off, and the pitt open dayly within view of my chamber window. The Lord fitt us and all of us for our last end! The sicknes yet increaseth: this bill is [illegible] more than ye last, viz of all diseases, 5,568; of the Plague, 4,237; but rather in verity 5,000, though not so many of ye Plague. Here are many who weare amulets made of the poison of the toad, which, if there be no infection, workes nothing, but upon any infection invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, which a plaister heales, and so they are well; perhaps I may by ye next get the true preparation of it, and send you. I saw this day some *prima materia* [a nostrum] in our streetes.

Sept. 7. The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, and God knoweth whither I may write ony more or no: it is at the next doore on both hands of mee, and under the same roofe but I have no place of retireing, neither in the city nor country, none in heaven nor earth to go unto but God onely, the Lord lodge mee in the bosom of his love, and then I shall be safe whatever betides. . . There is in my deske a little booke new written, I intituled it 'Liber Veritatis': it is the true use of the elixer magnum for physicke, profitt or delight, given by a true master of the arte to a friend, whence I transcribed it I would have Mr. Jeake to have that, and you to transcribe it, but bee sure to keepe it both of you as a secrett. If I live I hope to have some *materia prima* from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it. This weekes bill is increased 756. the whole is 8,252, of the Pl. 6,978; and in our parish 439, about 120 increase in our parish, and it is truly still increasing. These 3 dayes hath bene sea cole fires made in the streetes about every 12th doore, but that will not do ye work of stopping God's hand: nothing but repentance will do that, of which no signe yett, but oppressions, etc. yet increasing

If anyone in a house fell ill with the plague the authorities locked up and blockaded the whole house, shutting up the healthy and strong with the sick, so that they had to rely on the charity of people in the streets to get them food and the necessities of life. Often the whole family died and their bodies were removed in due course by the plague cart. Rats ran throughout the streets and houses and infested the communal dust boxes that were present in every street The City Council in their wisdom ordered all dogs and cats to be destroyed, thereby giving the rats every chance to multiply. The Royal College of Physicians, at the request of the Privy Council, published the formulæ of various prescriptions to combat the plague, and the most popular and highly recommended of these consisted of a roasted walnut eaten with salt.

This tragedy of errors could be very largely attributed to lack of knowledge of experimental methods. Sanitation was non-existent. But why was sanitation non-existent? Because experimental methods had not yet proved that in bad sanitation

organisms and infectious [illegible] life amongst the people. It was [illegible] were the carriers of the plague bacillus, and that the rat [illegible] the flea, which transferred the infection from rat to man. The plague bacillus was discovered by Kitasato and by Yersin; observers throughout the world proved its ætiological significance in epidemics. Following this important step, it was shown that rats were the carriers of the organism, and that fleas conveyed the infection from rat to rat, and from rat to man, and again, from man to man. The disease is thus not contagious in the ordinary sense, except through the medium of fleas. It is begging the question to say that bacteriology has nothing to do with the lack of plague in England to-day. The cry of the anti-vivisectionists is that improved sanitary conditions are responsible for the diminution of all diseases. But what caused the improvement in sanitation? Nothing but the discovery that disease is borne by micro-organisms which are associated either directly or indirectly, as in the case of the rats, with bad sanitation. Plague has been stamped out of England now, but it still persists in the East, where, as the late Sir William Osler remarked, fifteenth century conditions still prevail. The preventive measures now employed may be attributed solely to the discovery of the plague bacillus and its life history in the rat and flea.

The second and final illustration of the debt that humanity owes to animals that will be considered here is the discovery of insulin. We must, however, go back long before the year 1923, when it was first described in Canada.

As most people know, severe diabetes is a condition associated with rapid loss of weight and the passage of large quantities of urine containing sugar, a substance not normally present in urine. If left untreated, the patient passes into an unconscious state known as diabetic coma, and dies within a comparatively few hours. The disease has been known for centuries, and was in fact first described by the Hippocratic school. They did not, of course, know that sugar was present in the urine, but the disease referred to by them in which the cardinal symptoms were polyuria, loss of weight and thirst could have been none other than diabetes. The first suggestion that sugar was present probably came in the tenth century, when an Arabian physician noticed that urine, if poured on the ground in the region of an ant heap, attracted the ants, whereas that of a normal person repelled them. The presence of sugar was actually discovered in the seventeenth century by the English physician Willis, who, by tasting the urine, proved it to be sweet in the case of diabetes and bitter in a normal person. From then on, many writings appeared on the subject of diabetes mellitus, as it then became known. No method

of treatment, however, was evolved, and if the condition was at all severe, and this usually occurs in young people, death was the inevitable sequel.

The clue to the cause and treatment of the disease was given by the work of the German physiologists von Mering and Minkowski in 1879. These observers proved that if the pancreas be removed from dogs a condition of diabetes is at once set up; the animal passes large quantities of urine containing sugar, develops a great thirst, and dies in a comatose condition. A long series of other experiments proved that normally the pancreas manufactures a substance which, passing into the blood stream, enables the body to burn up and to utilise sugar. When the pancreas is removed the source of this essential substance has gone, sugar cannot be utilised, and it passes out in the urine, a diabetic condition being thus developed.

These animal experiments led morbid anatomists to examine the pancreas of patients who had died from diabetes, and they were able to prove that there was a definite lesion in the pancreas. The mechanism of the disease was now certainly established, and since it could be produced at will in animals, experiments were at once put in hand to work out a method of treatment. The most successful results followed a long series of experiments by the American physician F. M Allen, who found that he could keep dogs deprived of their pancreas alive indefinitely by feeding them on specially graduated and worked-out diets. His method was at once applied to patients, and the diabetic in many cases was saved from coma and lived, whereas before he would undoubtedly have died. But even the brilliant researches of Allen and his colleagues did not render it possible to give enough food to a very severe case to keep him in a good state of health and sufficiently strong to enjoy life and work. The result was that many patients with severe diabetes led a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, though of course there were many patients with a less severe form of the disease who were able to eat sufficient of these diets to render life happy.

During this period from 1879 onwards workers had been seeking continuously for this mysterious substance manufactured by the pancreas Extracts were made from pancreas obtained from the slaughter-house, and they were tested by administering them to depancreatised animals. As already pointed out, if such animals are fed on normal diets, they die of diabetes, but if the extract happened to contain the essential principle, then they would live on, with no sugar in the urine, and without the signs and symptoms of diabetes It would take too long here to consider the various steps leading to the successful culmination of these forty-five years of work. The story of Banting and Best's

discovery of insulin has been told so many times that we will not go over it again here. Suffice it to say that they realised the ambitions of von Mering and Minkowski, and were able to extract from the pancreas a substance which they called insulin, capable of restoring depancreatised dogs to a normal existence, and when applied to human beings, capable of saving lives.

With regard to the value of insulin there is no doubt whatsoever. Whereas in the old days very nearly all cases of diabetic coma died, it is possible to-day to save a great number of these patients. Of equal importance is the fact that the life of semi-starvation for the diabetic is a thing of the past, and it is now possible with the aid of this discovery to allow every patient sufficient food to keep him healthy, happy and able to work and earn his own living. The whole of this work was built up entirely upon animal experimentation.

In an article of this size it is impossible to give anything like a complete series of instances of the value of animal experiments to medical science, nor indeed will it profit the reader to any greater extent, since the two illustrations given are sufficient to indicate the value of this type of research.

There are many other aspects of the subject, and these can be studied in the official publications. For instance, the control of vivisection work is much more elaborate and careful than any anti-vivisectionist would have one believe. The application for a licence has to be signed in person by two eminent scientific men, such as the President of the Royal College of Physicians or the President of the Royal Society, and the authorities take the greatest care to make full inquiries before issuing a licence. Again, the place at which experiments are done must be on the approved list and must be specified. Yet another point to remember is that experiments are not allowed to be performed for the acquiring of manual dexterity in surgery. Many anti-vivisectionists have implied that surgeons get their hand in by operating on the lower animals. This is strictly forbidden, and no one is able to obtain a licence for this purpose. It will perhaps comfort the anti-vivisectionists to think that their own persons may serve as the raw material in the training of younger surgeons.

The official side of the question has been omitted almost entirely from this article, mainly because very full accounts may be obtained in the publications of the Home Office and other sources.

Here the writer has endeavoured to divide the problem under the two separate headings: the ethical principle and the practical consideration of whether science has advanced through vivisection. Two conclusive proofs have been given of the latter, and a further study of the evidence would provide more. The

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truth is, the criticism of a highly technical science such as medicine by untrained and, from a scientific point of view, uneducated people is valueless. For the former:

> rectius occupat
> nomen beati, qui deorum
> muneribus sapienter uti.

E. C. Dodds.

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE

A New View

Several articles have appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* on the above subject. They have been mainly of a pessimistic and one-sided character. The first two writers, in speaking of the changed mentality of country places, have contended that the prestige of the country parson has gone, and that he is no longer of any practical use in the villages. The next writer argues that he can still find his place in the people's hearts, and become their friend and counsellor, if he uses his opportunity aright, and also that the form of divine service best adapted to the countryside is the choral Eucharist. I would venture in this paper to suggest a more cheerful view about the position and possibilities of the village parson, and a worthier conception of his functions.

Now, there is no doubt that the position of the country clergyman has been largely altered, we may almost say transformed, since the late war. Indeed, the process of evolution has been going on rapidly since the beginning of the present century, though that critical event accelerated and brought it into glaring prominence.

The countryside has been largely modified, even in its outward aspect, since the year 1900. A different scene meets our eyes. In most parts of England there are few smiling fields of golden corn; there are only scanty pastures of lowing kine and bleating sheep; there are few labourers to be seen in their picturesque smocks, wending their way across the lea to the parish church; there are few carts loaded with hay or manure creaking along the country lanes. The tranquil peace and quiet of the countryside has largely vanished except in isolated districts, whilst the noisy impertinence of the ubiquitous motor car has made itself blatantly evident. Everywhere in the country roads the petrol pumps, decked out with their garish colours, flaunt and deride the artistic sense. In many of the most beautiful parts of rural England you can see with shuddering horror ugly and inharmonious bungalows, inhabited by what the rustic calls out-town people, springing up like mushrooms, and ousting the old picturesque thatched cottages which used to delight us. Even in regular country districts,

which would seem to be safe from such intrusions, we are threatened with the planting of factories to pour their noisome smoke and smell, and din, and alien modernism into the lanes and hedgerows of our quiet villages. Motor omnibuses and chara-bancs, not to speak of hosts of private motors of all kinds, are invading in thousands our rural parishes, and making Sunday hideous with their tumult and turmoil, their litter and laxity. Everywhere are to be seen the high poles and aerials which pick up the wireless telegraphy.

And if the outward aspect of the country has been transformed in such a radical way as to amount to a revolution, the habits and attitude, the mental and spiritual outlook, of the rural residents are also changed in many striking ways.

The feudal tenure of the old days, lasting on in a modified form until towards the end of the nineteenth century, has gone, and most of us will not regret this change We find nowadays that the squire and his lady have nearly all left the country villages. In the old days, that some of us can remember still, they took an interest in the church and parish, but now for the most part they cannot afford to live in their former mansions owing to the agricultural depression and serious financial losses. So they have been obliged to exchange their expensive houses for more economical ones. Wealthy men, who come from the towns and have no care or feeling for the country and country-folk, have taken their place. The parson, deprived of half his income by the altered value of money, is expected to live on in the same cumbersome and unmanageable house, and to maintain it in repair, and to make all sorts of payments to Queen Anne's Bounty with a cheerful face.

The farmer, half or wholly ruined by the same agricultural crisis—I am told that 75 per cent. of these men are bankrupt—and harassed by constant financial worries, often ceases to come to church at all, and finds himself unable to give any but the most exiguous help to the church expenses.

The country labourer, who is now sufficiently educated to contrast his inferior lot with that of the urban worker, is eager, if he is worth anything, to migrate as quickly as possible into the towns and exchange the dulness of the country for the thrill and excitement and improved wages of the town.

One finds that for the most part he stands aloof from the church and its activities, and views the doings of the parson with complete indifference. The young men hasten to be off on their bicycles or motor cycles, with their sweethearts pillioned behind them, to attend the cinema in the nearest town, or on Sundays to spend the day in idleness or inanity

These country residents are not really hostile to the church—

they are completely indifferent; to use a common phrase, they have no use for it. Sunday for them is a day of purposeless lounging and inertness; religion does not come in at all for the majority of villagers. The parson as a parson does not seem to be wanted. He has become a superfluity in the twentieth century—a picturesque anachronism with his clerical collar and mediæval cassock. What with the wireless, the women's institute and the village hall, we are told that our day is done; we are warned that it is time to retire into the decent oblivion that our shortcomings have merited, and commit the work of the countryside into worthier custody As the village people flock into the town, and the town rushes furiously into the country, the outlook of the rural dweller becomes increasingly urban and material; more and more he tends to ignore the parson and go on his own way. We are told that the reign of the country clergyman has ceased for good and all, and that we await a new and more effective *régime*, founded on more practical principles *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*: it is right to learn even from one's critics, though their views would appear to be rather exaggerated The parson who would refuse to acknowledge the greatness of the change that has taken place in the countryside would indeed be an ostrich hiding his head in the sand; indeed, it is nothing less than startling. But this revolution surely ought not to be a call to despair, but a challenge to fresh effort and adaptation, and to a genuine attempt to find out how we can meet the new conditions which confront us.

The clergy no longer occupy the same position as they did thirty or even twenty years ago. The parson once possessed naturally the respect of the countryside; it was his rightful inheritance. The country-folk used to look up to him, as the word implies, as the representative person of the parish, and in some remote villages they may still do so, but in the majority it is not so any longer; we cannot say that they regard him with any special respect or veneration But the clergyman must recognise that this is a good thing from many points of view. He has to win his spurs; he has to make good by his own personality rather than by the authority of his office as a priest in God's church. Our parishioners are apt to estimate us by what we actually are rather than by what we claim to be. We can claim no special homage or sacrosanctity except that which we deserve. So it was with our Lord; He spake with the authority of a truly inspired prophet, not with the traditional pose of a priest. He did not claim to be heard because He repeated what others had said before Him, but because He spake with a divine and inward conviction which stirred and persuaded men. After all it is not the cowl, but the character, that makes the parson. In the

Roman Catholic Church every member regards his priest as invested with divine and special authority—as armed with special powers to excommunicate, to bind and loose, to work miracles on his behalf. Though I firmly believe that every parson is in some degree a priest, and derives his mission from God, yet I do not want to see this sort of authoritative view unduly emphasised: it seems to me to imply a superstitious view of the parson's function and work. The parson must be a man before he is a priest, if he is going to make good in this age.

There is a passage of the prophet Isaiah which is very suggestive as to the attitude to be adopted by the parson in view of the great changes that have taken place in the countryside. In the 32nd chapter he paints a striking picture of the ideal king: 'Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes in judgment.' Then he goes on to say: 'A man shall be as a hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a rock in a thirsty land.' Having laid down the foundation of social life in kingship, he goes on to tell us what the shelter and spring of society are to be—not science or material wealth, nor anything else but the strength and vigour of human personality. After just government the prophet asks for outstanding characters, men and women of influence and mark. And he enforces the need by a striking metaphor. In the East the following circumstances are often noticed: when the desert touches a river valley the sand drifts continually with the force of the wind and causes the soil to be barren; but set a rock down on the sand, and see the difference it makes. Soon, protected by the rock, the blades spring up, and in course of time a fruitful garden appears. How is this done? Simply by the presence of the rock arresting the drift of the sand. This is just the way in which outstanding men and women may benefit human society. Like rocks, they must set themselves against malign influences. Now we are terribly subject to such drifts in the countryside. A village may be a hot-bed of prejudice, of error, of immorality, of evil-speaking, and it is the duty of every parson to be a rock; to do his best to arrest these mischievous tendencies; to be a courageous leader to shelter men from the bitter words of irrational prejudice and jealous strife, or from the unclean and unwholesome drifts of scandal and gossip, which are so often rampant in the countryside.

Is it not often true that men and women fail in the struggle for virtue just for lack of the example and influence of one pure, heroic, Christ-like character, who would be to those weaker brethren as streams of water in a desert place? Now it seems to me that this is just the function that the country parson is called upon to fulfil—to be the strong leader in village life, the saviour

of society, the spring of vitality and refreshment for men and women who have lost their savour for the time being. And he is called upon to lead and initiate much more in the villages than in the towns, because frequently he is the only man of education and weight, if we except the village doctor, and to a certain extent the schoolmaster. Hence, just because his burden of responsibility is greater, the best man should be sent to the country. We cannot over-estimate the value of a well-equipped, high-minded, courageous parson in the life of the village community.

It has been asserted that the country clergyman can best discharge his work, and fulfil his purpose, in the present day by becoming a broad-minded, hail-fellow-well-met, affable member of society. His time and ability must be at the disposal of all and sundry of his parishioners He must be ready, as the official person, to baptise infants, to sign papers and testimonials, to marry couples, and to bury the dead, to take charge of the morals of the young, and to get up concerts and entertainments, when required. But he must not take his office too seriously; he must not profess too definite or starchy church views about the church and the duties of membership By insisting on these points he will only succeed in making himself unpopular and disliked. But, surely, no self-respecting parson can acquiesce in such a theory of his ministry and functions. He is bound, if he is worth his salt, to magnify his office, and to be a faithful steward of the high trust imposed upon him. To do anything else than that—to seek for popularity, to content himself with being a mere hewer of wood and a drawer of water in the community—would be for the sake of mere living to sacrifice life's true ends The parson has no choice, in view of his ordination vow He is bound to be 'a messenger, watchman, and steward of the Lord, to teach and premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family.' With this solemn injunction ringing in his ears, he must look upon it as his first duty to preach and teach the Word of God, and administer the sacraments to the people under his charge, in fact, to do his best to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus, by the help of that grace which He has made available for us. No parson who has any respect for his sacred profession can be content with being a mere registrar or caterer of amusement, an organiser of *fêtes* and jumble sales. If we are priests and ministers of the Lord, Christ and His cause must be our primary consideration. We must preach Him, whether by word or by example, whether in season or out of season, we must make Him known and teach the doctrines of the Church, no matter whether we are popular or unpopular. The Master has markedly said, 'Woe unto you when men speak well of you,' and has

warned us that 'Whoso taketh not up his cross and followeth after Me is not worthy of Me.' It would be better that we should cease to be clergy altogether than that we should be false to our sacred promises. A godly layman is far better than a disloyal priest.

But, frankly, I do not think that the position of the parson is so desperate as it is painted. I believe that his opportunities, if they are rather different from what they used to be, are very great, if they are used in the right way. What, then, are those opportunities? They will naturally fall under two heads: (1) his opportunities outside the church; (2) his opportunities in the church.

1. First amongst them will come the parochial visiting, both of the sick and whole The country parson has a chance, which the town parson lacks, of knowing his people individually—perhaps sometimes he knows them too well. He cannot set too high a value on real visiting: we are aware that there is a kind of visiting which amounts to little more than discursive and vapid talking, which can result in very little good; but we are sure that if we keep before ourselves the ideal of St. Francis, or a Bishop Wilkinson, and make our visits to the houses, which the people still welcome, as an opportunity of speaking a word for Christ, we shall achieve a real spiritual result. The time of sickness especially often offers a door, which may have been partly, or wholly, closed before, and creates an introduction to the lukewarm and stand-off parishioner.

Then there is the village school—the day school and the Sunday school. We are told that we clergy are out of touch with the children. It is wholly our fault if this is so. The parson in the country has the entry into the schools in almost every place, and can teach the children as he likes. But it behoves him to remember that the standard of intelligence in the country is rather low, and that it frequently takes a long time for facts to sink into the minds and hearts of his pupils. And, however earnestly he tries to teach them, he is confronted by the difficulty that the teaching he gives them is too often neutralised by the bad example of the parents at home. 'An ounce of example is worth a ton of theory' is very true of the problem of teaching country children We are threatened on all sides with the loss of our older pupils. If they are taken away to town centres on the weekdays we shall have to concentrate more upon the Sunday schools, and secure trained teachers for that work, paid out of church funds.

Then the country parson may find a great chance of touching young people in confirmation. There is generally a ready desire among candidates to offer themselves for this ordinance, and

among parents to grant them permission. We have here a unique opportunity of teaching the Christian faith, and of getting a boy or girl to realise its implication. Such a one who has been carefully prepared will never forget this experience; though afterwards he may drift away through the influence of bad companions, the impression made will never be completely obliterated from his life. In the course of my career I have met men and women who have expressed their thanks to me for the teaching which I have given them at this time and the trouble I took with them. The Church of England is wise, in my opinion, to have chosen the age of puberty for the 'laying on of hands' as the most impressionable period of life.

If we refer to more general agencies, like the parish hall and the women's institute, the parson can keep in touch with them, and can often suggest lines of policy and watch their programmes. My experience is that working men and women committees value and appreciate the parson's general guidance, if he does not intrude himself too much and exercises tact and judgment. His influence for good all depends upon his human sympathy and naturalness. A prig or a pedant is not wanted, and had better keep away.

2. The church, however, will be the parson's chief interest and concern. The old idea seems to be disappearing that the church is the spiritual home of all the people of the parish, that all, of whatever denomination, have a right to the ministrations of the incumbent. It may be that disestablishment is the only solution of the present distress, and will serve to bring home to the members of the Church of England the privileges and duties of their membership. At this moment we are bound to deplore the decreasing attendance at church owing to the new conditions, already described, which have come about in the countryside. But I think it would be untrue to attribute this state of things to any particular cause—Ritualism or Calvinism, or any increase of doubt and unbelief. We may assert that the village-folk believe in God, though their belief in many cases does not carry them much further than a sort of trust in an over-arching and beneficent Providence. The greater part of them have not assimilated the salient facts of the creed and their implications, but there is a divine spark in their hearts, which catches fire when the right moment comes. It is with them as with the psalmist, 'My heart was hot within me, and while I was thus musing, the fire kindled, and at the last I spake with my tongue.' At long last it may be that the labourer, stirred by some adventure in his life, or in the village, will forsake his ordinary lethargy and reveal that inward self which craves for God.

The question is, how are we going to get hold of this deep-

rooted instinct? how win these slow-witted but shrewd, these silent but at bottom religious-minded, rustics for God? It is becoming more and more difficult. We are met by the competition of the chapel and all sorts of religious facts, and by the competition of the wireless. It is absurd to call the wireless anything but a substitute for, and a caricature of, worship. But there are many in the villages who avail themselves of this excuse to stay away from church. It is obvious to any thinking person that no special method is going to bring people to worship—neither a musical service nor a sung Eucharist, neither pictured ritual nor fervent Bible preaching, neither a new Prayer Book brought up to date nor the revival of an old one. I think that we ought to aim at making our service as simple, sincere, and sensuous as possible, and not allow our own special knowledge to outrun the mental and spiritual development of the villagers. It is useless for the parson to enunciate doctrines which his people cannot understand. Arrows that are aimed too high will never hit the target; discourses that please ourselves will not always please others. This age sounds the call to return to the simplicity of Christ, to words and sentiments that can be grasped by the people and turned to account in their daily life. It is certainly not true that we must adapt our preaching to the taste of our hearers, but it is true that we should forswear some of our personal whims and prejudices and give them the food which they can digest. Jesus, the Good Shepherd, drew the sheep after Him because He fed them with the Bread and Water of life. He attracted the multitudes because He spoke the simple truth that touches the human heart, wherever it is found It is for His ministers to do likewise. The times may be changed, but He is the same—yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

S. H. Rendall.

WORDSWORTH'S GREEN LINNET

> Thou, Linnet, in thy green array,
> Presiding Spirit here to-day,
> Dost lead the revels of the May.

To those who know it, the pretty twitter of greenfinches is a constant and ever-welcome feature of the countryside and of suburban gardens during a large part of the year, but rarely can an English summer have been so filled with the joy of these lively little birds as during this year's remarkable spell of Continental weather. Day after day, month after month, until the end of July, the sun shone gloriously, the rains held off, and even the usual alternative of thunder showers was rare and ineffectual. Our summer flowers were forced into a precocious pomp of splendid blossoming, but, from dearth of water, lawns were scorched, bushes wilted, and a brown zone of withered leaves began to creep ominously up the stems of our favourite perennials. We looked askance at the hose which we dared not use, and prided ourselves on the reservoir of soapy water which we had improvised beneath the bathroom fall-pipe—our only hope of saving a fringe or two of garden from complete annihilation.

But the greenfinches shared none of these and graver anxieties, and the prolonged sunshine brought them nothing but enjoyment. Like their cousins the true linnets, they revelled in it, and with substantial reason, in marked contrast to other familiar songsters which, from inability to 'wet their whistles,' had relapsed into silence. During those blazing weeks of July the greenfinches, unlike the moping thrushes and blackbirds, were singing their fullest songs, and in such an ecstasy of delight as to raise them to a rare pitch of brilliance and variety. This emotional enrichment of their songs brought out very strikingly their tendency to rhapsodise in linnet-like fashion, thus incidentally throwing light on the origin of the linnet's departure from the rules of ordinary finch music.

Can the song of a greenfinch be so described that a person who has never noticed it may recognise it from the description? Here is one of the earliest representations of it: 'Didititititit, Yell yell yell, Didititititit, Itititititit, Yell yell yell yell, Zachweeo'

(Witchell, 1899); and here is one of the latest: 'Chip-it-chi-chipit, Cheer-cheer-cheer-cheer, Chivey-chivey-chivey, Chow-chow-chow-chow, Cheer' (Morris, 1925).

The interpretation of these formidable syllables may be assisted by recalling a still simpler song which everyone must have noticed on one country walk or another, that of the yellow-ammer, the familiar 'Little bit of bread and no . . . cheese.' This song on analysis resolves itself into a single *j*-like sound (the bird's call-note), which is repeated identically six or seven times as an introduction or prelude, and then terminated with the long-drawn 'cheese' as a finale at a different pitch, *i.e.*, approximately: 'Jip, jip, Jip, jip, Jip, jip . . . Jee-e-e' (the *p*'s being almost silent), or, when embellished by a preparatory rise on the last suspended note of the prelude: 'Jip, jip, Jip, jip, Jippy . . . Jee-e-e!'

The greenfinch's simplest song, like the yellow-ammer's, possesses a prelude, or opening phrase, and a long-drawn terminal note or finale, but between the two is incorporated an additional series of full-throated notes resembling the loudest notes of a canary. The prelude is a soft and characteristic 'twitter,' a clear note rapidly repeated five or six times, Witchell's 'Did-it-it-it-it-it.' The finale is a queer harsh sound not unlike the 'cheese' of a yellow-ammer, but slurred down the scale, like the word 'jeer' when resolved into two syllables. Accordingly, with the loud canary-like notes in the middle, the song takes on a tripartite form, each part set off from the next by a difference of pitch and quality, as well as by a slight pause, thus:

(1) 'Twitter, twitter, twitter!' (the prelude).
(2) 'Chow, chow, chow, chow, chow!' (joy-notes).
(3) 'Jee-e-r!' (finale).

There is no constancy in the musical intervals between the three parts of the song, which may be thirds, fourths, or fifths, according to the emotional stress of the moment, but the middle part is usually pitched above the prelude, and the finale is almost invariably lower than the rest and slurred downwards. The musical relations of the three parts may thus be described as normally *m* : *s* . *m*,*d* ; but in moments of somewhat perfunctory song the phrase of joy-notes may be dropped below the pitch of the introductory twitter; the interval, when I have noted it, being a fourth, thus: *d'-d'-d'-d'-d'* : *s*, *s*, *s*, *s*, *s*.

The change wrought in this song under the influence of delightful conditions is found in variations of the middle phrase, which is built up of joy-notes pure and simple, without any of the fixity due to utilitarian associations of the prelude and finale in the bird's everyday life. For both these phrases are frequently

used apart from song, the first being the greenfinch's 'call-twitter,' by which it signals to its mates and keeps in touch with them when flitting about in pairs or companies, and the last being the male's note of defiance or battle-cry. These two phrases, in fact, have much the same significance to greenfinches as have 'Hallo!' or 'Cheerio!' and the national anthem to Englishmen, or *Wie geht's?* and *Deutschland über Alles!* to Germans. But joy ranges over a wide field, and is notoriously not content with the same song on all occasions; so the greenfinch's expression of happiness, which is perhaps most frequently 'Chow, chow, chow,' overflows, when he is stirred more than usually, into a variety of phrases like 'Tew, tew, tew, tew, tew!' or 'Tirri, tirri, tirri, tirri!' or 'Tewey, tewey, tewey!' and others too elusive for even an approximate rendering, sometimes including a transformation of the defiance note: 'Ti, ti, ti, ti, ti, ti, Kree!' One has only to listen to a greenfinch in his more ecstatic moments to be sure that he is not merely expressing joy by the methods customary to his kind, but is perpetually feeling for novel expressions of it, the achievement of which adds to his enjoyment.

During a recent visit to the Lakes my companions and I could not help noticing the ubiquity of the greenfinch, on whatever side we descended from the mountains to the dales. His sprightly motions as he flitted from tree to tree, and his tinkling twitter, greeted us everywhere There were plenty of thrushes and blackbirds about, but all were silent, and the greenfinch alone made its presence effective by appeals both to 'eye and ear.' When Wordsworth wrote his verses on the *Green Linnet* (1803) he wrote accordingly of one of the most noticeable elements of his countryside, of a bird whose movements and song were rendered familiar by frequent experience from year to year. His lively presentation of the bird's characteristic traits may be recalled, though I limit my quotation to his lines on the song:

> One have I marked, the happiest guest
> In all this covert of the blest.
> Hail to thee, far above the rest
>   In joy of voice and pinion!
>
> . . . . .
>
> My dazzled sight he oft deceives,
> A brother of the dancing leaves;
> Then flits, and from the cottage eaves
>   Pours forth his song in *gushes*.

In this one appropriate word we have the essential feature of the greenfinch's song, as described above: its discontinuity, its division into isolated sections, or, rather, its improvisation in successive staves or phrases, each a little different from those before and after it, each repetitive of its own distinctive element—

in a word, its 'gushes.' There is no other bird, finch or other, to the song of which this word could be so fittingly applied, or even with accuracy applied at all. The whole song of the yellow-ammer is scarcely more than a single 'gush.' That of a chaffinch is built up, it is true, of several staves, each comparable with a separate 'gush' of the greenfinch; nevertheless, owing to differences in their modulation, these staves or phrases of the chaffinch definitely balance one another as parts of an artistic whole, and the total effect is not one of separate movements, but of a single melodic performance. More closely comparable, in spite of superficial differences, is the song of the true or rose linnet, since this song is entirely composed of successive phrases, and these are not musically integrated like the chaffinch's; but again, the phrases, as compared with the greenfinch's, are so short, so numerous, and so richly varied, that they seem not so much to break the stream of music into sections as to decorate it with an inexhaustible succession of sparkling surprises.

Among students of bird-song there is general agreement that call-notes and battle-cries were the starting-point of song in birds, as they still in many birds form the basis and, by repetition with modulation, the framework of the song proper; but in the finest songs, both of finches, warblers, and thrushes, these elements have dropped out entirely, or are so transfigured as to be barely recognisable. To anyone reflecting on these things it must be clear that the linnet has developed its rhapsodies out of just such carols as those of the greenfinch, by increasing the number, shortening the length, and enriching the tones of its central or joy-phrases, with ultimate suppression of the formal prelude and finale altogether. In the evolution of thrush music a different order of events has prevailed. The origin of the warbler type of song is still obscure. It adds a new interest to the song of the greenfinch to recognise in the slight variations of its simple form the germs of one of the most brilliant and ecstatic types of bird music.

It will perhaps be remembered that Wordsworth's appreciation of the greenfinch's song finds expression, not only in the special verses already cited, but in one of his earliest and most distinctive poems—*The Tables Turned* (1798):

> Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife:
> Come, hear the *woodland linnet*,
> How sweet his music! on my life
> There's more of wisdom in it.
>
> And hark! how blithe the throstle sings!
> He, too, is no mean preacher:
> Come forth into the light of things,
> Let Nature be your teacher.

The sentiments developed in this poem have been a curious stumbling block to Wordsworth's critics, although expressing so simply and naturally the poet's conviction of the inadequacy of purely intellectual conceptions. If to the 'unfeeling intellect,' as he everywhere maintains, the universe is 'unintelligible,' and if, on the other hand, through the gateway of emotion we may 'see into the life of things' and find there a joyful harmony of order, grandeur, and beauty, the doctrines of this little poem merely exemplify the principle that the greater includes the less. Enter, he says, into the joy of Nature by drinking in its 'thousand blended notes,' and the difficulties of humanity and ethics cease to be part of any plan, as the philosophers maintain, but appear as passing clouds of human perversity—'what man has made of man.' So 'Up, my friend! Clear your looks! Hear what the birds have to tell you—the wisdom that comes of health, the truth proclaimed by cheerfulness!

> One impulse from a vernal wood
> May teach you more of man,
> Of moral evil and of good,
> Than all the sages can.'

The main object, however, of my reference to this poem is to remark on the order in which a keen observer and a discriminating lover of beauty has placed the songs of the greenfinch and the thrush, and on the significance of the epithets which the poet has applied to them—'sweet' in the case of the greenfinch, 'blithe' in that of the thrush. There can be no question that, if we were asked to rank these two birds in the order of their musical development, the thrush must on every count be given the higher position. Why, then, did Wordsworth turn first to the greenfinch, rather than to the thrush, for his example of 'sweet music'? The question is not an idle one, for there is a radical difference in the mode of song of the two birds, and in the difference lies the answer to the question. To the poet, of course, it was a matter of complete indifference how the two birds sang, even if the analysis of bird music had made any progress in his day, which it had not. He was concerned solely with their emotional appeal, and, by putting the two songs in a certain order, he was in effect assessing, not their musical value in an objective sense, but their emotional effects subjectively:

> Contented if he might enjoy
> The things which others understand.

Nevertheless it can be shown, I think, that the emotional qualities of the two songs are due to certain fixed differences in

the mode of their production, which do not necessarily register a corresponding contrast in the actual temperament of the singers. These alternative methods, rarely distinguished, and ranked indifferently under the general category of music or song, have been termed, from an imperfect human analogy, 'instrumental' and 'vocal,' though both are vocal, and there is no appreciable difference in the vocal instruments. They might more appropriately be termed 'melodic' (or cadenced) and 'linguistic' (or declaimed), for one is based on harmonic intervals, and the other on the play of vocables akin to those employed in speech. Music, or melody, is dominant in the former, absent or subordinate in the latter.

Now anything systematic, regular, and rigid is necessarily at variance with free emotional expression—even metre, which is so intimately associated with poetry and song. Spontaneous emotion does not naturally express itself in quatrains of eight, six, eight, six syllables, or in any other predetermined metrical system. Yet the thrush is tied to a definite plan of song, the balancing of two or three repetitions of one phrase by similar repetitions of another, and these phrases are pure musical cadences, turned up or turned down, and limited each to two, three, or four notes of a harmonic scale. Under the restraints of such a tradition of song the thrush can be thoroughly 'blithe,' even boisterous, but he cannot, even if he would, move rapidly from one shade of feeling to another. The whole song has one character, like *L'Allegro* in its trochaics The bird is not at liberty, as was Milton, to change over to iambics, and, in a minor key, give us the opposite sentiments of *Il Penseroso*

The greenfinch, on the other hand, has no claim to be regarded as a musician at all—a poet, if you like, with a tendency to *vers libre*, and equipped with a 'sweet' voice which adorns his exclamations, but coining no tunes, and using no more music than a platform reciter. His phrases are simple iterations, not musical cadences, but they catch an air of modulated eloquence, of impassioned soliloquy, from the 'expression,' as we say, which the bird puts into them. The phrases are mutually independent, both as regards length and pitch, being neither melodically balanced, like those of a thrush, nor adjusted to a rhythmical scheme, like those of a chaffinch. They are thus metrically and melodically free, and capable of immediate adaptation to the mood of the moment, within the limits imposed by the extent of the bird's vocabulary. So when the phrases mount, as they sometimes do, to an emotional climax, we seem to be able to follow the play of the bird's feelings far more readily than when these are translated into the melodic forms of a blackbird or a thrush. To Wordsworth the very artlessness of the greenfinch's phrases would

make a special appeal, and reinforce the 'sweetness' primarily due to its voice.

Nevertheless, it by no means follows that a greenfinch is really capable of, and actually enjoys, higher or more varied emotions than a thrush. The whole behaviour, vocal and otherwise, of these birds, is much more consistent with the view that the greenfinch is artistically less advanced and 'wears its heart upon its sleeve' (or 'wing'?), while the thrush, using a more recondite medium of expression, pours equal and more sustained passion into the elaboration of its song. The ecstatic cries and quivering wings of the greenfinch and other primitive singers make an irresistible appeal to our sympathies. They are sometimes exquisitely beautiful. Yet, when we remember that every species of bird has its own distinct type of performance, repeated in its season many times a day, the attainment of an ecstatic climax may be, if not inevitable, at least not altogether outside the programme.

What is undeniable about a bird is the intensity which permeates all its activities—foraging, mating, fighting, singing, nest-building, feeding the young, seeing them off. The tasks involved in these activities are all prescribed, the sequence the same one year after another. The bird enters upon each successive phase without hesitation, as if there were no alternative and no need for reflection, and it concentrates all its energies upon the immediate task If its nest is destroyed, it builds another at once of precisely the same pattern, and in the same kind of place. If danger threatens its young, it gets into a fever of alarm and expresses it, but if one is killed, it accepts the result, sings a song, and proceeds to feed the others as if nothing had happened. We call it a life of instinct: it is certainly a life without sentimentality or regrets We may reasonably infer that the bird's mind is not occupied with reflections of any kind, whether upon the order and beauty of the universe, or the prospects of to-morrow's dinner. When the bird is not engaged upon a task, it sleeps. But in particular circumstances it is moved to sing, and does so according to plan with the same intensity and concentration that it does everything else, doubtless experiencing degrees of joy according to its success, and singing the better for the joy that animates it.

Summed up in this way, a bird's life seems a mere bundle of automatisms, and hardly worthy of special attention; yet it is indubitably akin to our own, whatever the difference, and of its kind is so perfect that every detail of it compels our admiration. During the past week the greenfinch which up to that time had been singing regularly in my garden disappeared, or at any rate was silent. Two days ago, and again to-day, his ringing twitter, 'Didididit,' reappeared, but without any attempt at expansion

into song, and without any defiant 'Jee-e-r.' Still more conspicuous was a chorus, that accompanied it, of plaintively upturned disyllabic cries not heard before: 'Zíwy!' 'Jíwy!' 'Chíwy!' It was soon evident that all these cries came from one and the same party, and the explanation was not difficult. My little friend and his mate were paying a first round of calls with their newly fledged family, after having come successfully through the great domestic crisis of the year in a neighbour's garden. Three out of a probable five had won through. The youngsters were still dependent on their parents for food, the collection of which during the silent period had presumably left no time for song, and was still exacting. The young ones, however, were already strong on the wing, and flitted restlessly about in company from tree to tree, chirping incessantly. Gradually the twittering chorus collected round the 'Dídititíts' in an oak-tree, with the exception of one series of juvenile cries which remained isolated in a beech on the opposite side of the lawn. The parental calls in the oak now became more insistent and peremptory, but apparently without effect. Then *one* bird of the party flew off to the beech, from which there came at once a sharp 'Dídititít,' followed by several half-hearted 'Chíwy's'; and a moment later *two* birds recrossed the lawn from the beech to the oak. Here, as shown by the resulting concentration of all the cries, the whole family was now assembled. Shortly afterwards, with a shower of twitters, it flew off to another oak a little further off, and so, doubtless, from one tree to another throughout the day. Feeding and flitting, watching and warding incessantly, well have the innumerable little pairs, as devoted to their families as this pair of mine, earned the short night's rest which awaits them—their only reward beyond the joy of their own efficiency.

Nor can one's admiration be withheld, because in a few more days the parents will be as anxious to let the youngsters stray as they now are to keep them together. The nicely woven strands of a bird's life must not be tangled by any prolongation of family sentiment beyond its time-limit. In due course the young will join with others and roam the stubble-fields, ready next year to make the great adventure for themselves. Whether 'order was Heaven's first law' or not, the charm of birds rests largely on the fact that in them order and beauty are inseparable.

WALTER GARSTANG.

COLERIDGE AND IMAGINATION

A STRIKING feature of the whole modern movement has been its passion for origins. Tendencies that in other respects diverge widely agree in the assumption that, not the end, as Aristotle asserts, but the beginning, is 'the chief thing of all.' One may detect at least this likeness between the man of science who scoffs at the very idea of final causes and seeks to get back to electrons or chromosomes, and the primitivist who has a predilection for 'art's spring-birth so dim and dewy' and sets 'the budding rose above the rose full blown' We no longer believe in the nobility of the savage, but still hope, under the obsession of evolutionary theory, to derive our chief enlightenment regarding the human race itself from an endless prying into pre-history. Similarly, in dealing with the individual, we delve in the depths of the subliminal self and incline to interpret maturity in terms of childhood. Here again the backward glance is a bond between points of view that, at first sight, seem utterly dissimilar. At the very age, for example, when the child is hailed by Wordsworth as 'mighty prophet, seer blest,' he is most likely, according to Freud, developing an 'Œdipus complex'

This passion for origins has been especially conspicuous for several generations past in both the creation and the critical study of art and literature. It has at last made possible a work like the recent important volume on Coleridge by Professor J. L. Lowes.[1] The search for sources—in this case the sources of *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*—has perhaps never been carried on more competently. In tracking Coleridge's immense and recondite reading Professor Lowes has displayed an industry little short of prodigious. He has claims to be regarded as the most accomplished of literary sleuths. He has devoted well over 400 pages of his book to building up the background of two short poems, not to speak of 150 pages of notes, which are, in his own phrase, 'securely kenneled in the rear.' Moreover, he does not mean that his investigation should cater merely to learned curiosity. He has related it to another main preoccupation of our

[1] *The Road to Xanadu, A Study in the Ways of the Imagination.* (Constable & Co.)

time—that with subliminal psychology—in the hope of thus throwing light on the mystery of the creative imagination itself.

Professor Lowes distinguishes three stages in the creative process. The first stage is conscious: the fixing of the attention on some particular field and the accumulation of material that bears upon it. In the second and, it would seem, essential stage the material thus accumulated sinks into the region of the subliminal self, and there enters into new and unexpected associations. Professor Lowes seeks to show how in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan* the images that Coleridge had derived from his multifarious reading, especially of books of travel, were thus magically modified in the 'deep well of unconscious cerebration.' The view of creative genius that has been popular ever since the eighteenth century has encouraged emphasis on the unconscious and the spontaneous, more or less at the expense of the purposeful. Thus Ruskin writes of Turner: 'He only did right when he ceased to reflect; was powerful only when he made no effort, and successful only when he had taken no aim.' In much the same vein Emerson declares of the Parthenon and the Gothic cathedrals. 'These temples grew as grows the grass.' (!) Even the partisan of a pure spontaneity cannot, however, if one is to believe Professor Lowes, afford to be ignorant An ample preliminary enrichment of the mind is desirable, if only that the unconscious may have something to work upon

The third stage of the creative process recognised by Professor Lowes is, like the first, conscious However magically the material supplied by the unconscious may have been modified, it is still more or less inchoate. It is only by an effort, deliberate though still imaginative, that it can be fashioned into a harmonious whole. The 'shaping spirit of imagination' has thus presided over *The Ancient Mariner*, whereas it is absent from *Kubla Khan*. This latter poem may indeed be regarded as the most notable example in literature of creation that has not got beyond the second stage—at least, if one accept the usual belief, based on Coleridge's own statements, that it came to him precisely in its present form as a fragment of an opium dream.

One may grant that Professor Lowes' account of the 'ways of the imagination' is relevant to the two poems he has studied and yet ask if he has not exaggerated its general relevancy. He says in his preface that he does not propose to consider whether *The Ancient Mariner* is classic or romantic, or whether it meets the Aristotelian test of high seriousness Actually, he has answered these very questions by implication in the body of the book when he mentions the poetical Coleridge in the same breath with Homer, Dante and Milton, and uses the phrase 'supreme imaginative vision' in connexion with *The Ancient Mariner*. My own

endeavour will be to show that the imagination displayed in *The Ancient Mariner* is qualitatively different from that displayed in poetry that may rightly be regarded as highly serious. The whole problem has an importance transcending Coleridge and his influence, far-reaching though that influence has been. The imagination, as Pascal puts it, disposes of everything—even of religion, to an extent that Pascal himself would probably have been loth to admit. The importance of the subject is, however, equalled only by its difficulty. The chief difficulty is that imagination belongs to a class of words, unhappily tending to increase, that have been used in so many meanings that they have almost ceased to have any meaning. One's first temptation is simply to banish words of this type from one's vocabulary. A saner procedure is to strive for more accurate definition—definition which, if it is to be valid, should be based first of all on a broad historical survey of what the general term under consideration actually has meant.*

What one discovers in dealing in this fashion with the word 'imagination' is that it has in the past been used primarily to describe the various impressions of sense or else a faculty that was supposed to store up these impressions. It therefore gives only appearances, and not reality, as is implied, indeed, in the very etymology of the Greek word *phantasia*, of which the Latin *imaginatio* is a rendering. Here is a main source of the persistent suspicion and disparagement of the imagination that can be traced from early Greek times to the eighteenth century. When St. Bonaventura, for example, says that the 'soul knows God without the support of the outer senses' he merely means to affirm that man is not dependent for his perception of religious truth on the imagination.

The association of imagination or phantasy with mere appearance no doubt explains why Aristotle does not employ the word at all in his *Poetics*. For poetry, he tells us, that is to be accounted highly serious, must penetrate beyond the impressions of sense to the universal. To be sure, this universal is not achieved directly, but only with the aid of 'myth' or fiction. Goethe showed that he had caught Aristotle's meaning perfectly, an achievement of which few modern critics have been capable, when he said that great poetry gives us 'the illusion of a higher reality'.

Moreover, the art of representative fiction, as Aristotle conceives it, is intensely dramatic. To imitate the universal means practically to depict human actions, not at random, but with reference to some sound scale of ethical values. Centrality

* Useful material will be found in *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought* (1928), by M. W. Bundy. A second volume is promised that will cover the modern period.

of vision is necessary if poetry is to have 'probability,' if, in oth words, it is to disengage true unity and purpose from the welter the actual. But though Aristotle's prime emphasis is in poet and elsewhere on purpose, he recognises man's almost insatiab craving for the marvellous. The more wonder the better, l seems to say, provided it does not involve an undue sacrifice truth to the universal. Tragedy that has, with the aid of repr sentative fiction or significant illusion, succeeded in portraying t universal through the particular tends to raise the spectator to i own level and, as a result of this enlargement of spirit, to relie him of what is merely petty and personal in his own emotion This is the true catharsis, the 'calm of mind, all passion spent that Milton has, with the intuition of a great poet, rendered admirably at the end of *Samson Agonistes*

The neo-classic theorist made much of Aristotelian probabilit but tended to divorce it from illusion. Fiction in the sense illusion came to be associated with certain forms of romant extravagance that had their source in a one-sided quest of wonde Moreover, the word 'imagination' came to be applied to fiction this eccentric type Here is another main source of the distru of the imagination that prevailed until about the middle of t eighteenth century. Dr. Johnson, for example, holds that t poet should aim at the 'grandeur of generality,' but, so far fro agreeing with Aristotle that the poet can come at this generalit only with the aid of fiction, he displays the usual neo-class suspicion of fiction and imagination He felt that he himself ha suffered serious harm from fiction, especially from his ear reading of mediaeval romances

At all events, imitation had in Johnson's day ceased to see creative; it suggested rather an uninspired copying of model At the same time there prevailed a dry and didactic interpretati of probability and catharsis that, as I have said, took little accou of illusion. Yet Voltaire himself had declared that 'illusion the queen of the human heart.' The neo-classic inadequacy this point was a chief factor in the rise of the romantic movemen The inception of the movement was marked by the appearan of a new phrase, the 'creative imagination' This creativene was associated, not with imitation, but with spontaneity, whi came to mean practically emotional spontaneity. Furthermor the movement speedily took on a primitivistic colouring.

The eighteenth century theorists of originality and genius th prepared the way for Wordsworth's definition of poetry as 'th spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings,' and for the close related idea that this overflow is most likely to be found peasants and other simple folk who are still close to 'Natur Wordsworth, however, goes beyond the earlier primitivists i

reinterpreting—largely, it would seem, under the influence of Coleridge—the word 'imagination.' Imagination in the older sense of fiction, whether probable or improbable, he disparages. He himself lacked what he terms the 'human and dramatic imagination,' but felt he had something better in the 'enthusiastic and meditative imagination.' The imagination to which he accords his homage is not only 'Reason in her most exalted mood,' but the faculty that enables one, in contradistinction to the more or less arbitrary associations of mere 'fancy,' to achieve a true spiritual unity, not to be sure immediately, but mediately through the objects of sense. For the Wordsworth of *Tintern Abbey* God is, in M. Legouis' phrase, a 'gift of the senses,' a position radically opposed to that which appears in the sentence of St. Bonaventura I have just quoted. Wordsworth has coined for his imaginative blending of himself with the landscape the phrase 'a wise passiveness.' But can one regard this imaginative blending as meditative? Genuine meditation requires effort. One may speak properly of the *act* of recollection, but not of the act of reverie; and it is pantheistic reverie that *Tintern Abbey* plainly encourages. At all events, a striking feature of Wordsworth's poetical theory and, to no small degree, of his practice is his dissociation of the imagination from effort or action in either the ordinary dramatic or the religious sense.

For the relationship he establishes between sight and insight, and the resulting facility with which he reads a transcendental significance into the 'meanest flower that blows,' Wordsworth was, as I have said, indebted to Coleridge, who was in turn indebted to the Germans; though as to the exact extent of the indebtedness in either case it is well not to be too dogmatic. One would therefore have anticipated that Coleridge in his treatment of imagination and kindred topics in the *Literary Life* would be in accord with Wordsworth. Coleridge would not, however, be the baffling figure he is if such were entirely the case. In the earlier chapters of this work he does indeed set out to define imagination in a way that would apparently have confirmed Wordsworth at essential points, but tends to get lost in what he himself terms 'the holy jungle of transcendental metaphysics.' One is reminded by all this portion of the *Literary Life* of Carlyle's inimitable account of Coleridge's conversation at Highgate: if anyone asked him a question, Carlyle reports, instead of answering it, or decidedly setting out towards an answer of it, he would 'accumulate formidable apparatus, logical swim-bladders, transcendental life-preservers and other precautionary and vehiculatory gear for setting out.' After much preparation of this kind in the *Literary Life* he seems in chapter xiii. to be getting under way at last; but just at this point someone writes him a letter

(this someone, as we know now, was Coleridge himself) warns him that he is getting beyond the depth of his public and advising him to reserve his more recondite considerations for his work on the Logos (which was of course never written). Whereupon Coleridge turns from Schelling and the Germans to Aristotle.

The result of this escape from the 'jungle' is a sudden increase in clarity. There arises out of the transcendental haze one of 'the balmy sunny islets of the blest and the intelligible' that, according to Carlyle, also emerged at times in Coleridge's conversation. Indeed, the chapters in which Coleridge deals on Aristotelian grounds with the paradoxes into which Wordsworth had been betrayed by his primitivism constitute the chief islet of this kind to be found in his prose writings. Thus (if I may be pardoned for summarising material so familiar) Coleridge, having laid down the principle that poetry requires an 'involution of the universal in the individual,' proceeds to apply this principle to *The Excursion*. Wordsworth has in this poem put sublime philosophic discourse in the mouth of a peddler. Some particular peddler may be sublime, Coleridge retorts, but peddlers as a class are not sublime. The peddler of *The Excursion* is a possible, but not a probable, peddler. Again, a child of six who is a 'mighty prophet' can scarcely be regarded as a representative child. Coleridge objects in like Aristotelian fashion to Wordsworth's assertion that the true language of poetry is to be found on the lips of dalesmen who enjoy the advantage of contact with the 'beautiful and permanent forms of Nature.' Excellence of speech, Coleridge replies in substance, is a product of conscious culture. So far as the dalesmen possess it, it has come to them not as an emanation of the landscape, but as a result above all of their reading of the Bible. Wordsworth was right in rejecting the 'gaudiness and inane phraseology' that had arisen from the imposition on poetry of the artificial decorum of a social class. But there is a true as well as an artificial decorum. Though the poet should eschew mere polite prejudice, he cannot afford to neglect in his choice of words their conventional associations, as Wordsworth, a recluse with a defective sense of humour, was at times too prone to do. The intrusion of words with trivial associations into serious verse will produce on readers the effect of 'sudden and unpleasant sinkings from the height to which the poet had previously lifted them.' Wordsworth is also guilty at times of a somewhat different type of indecorum—namely, of using 'thoughts and images too great for the subject.' This latter type of disproportion Coleridge terms 'mental bombast.'

Though Coleridge's critique of Wordsworth is thus Aristotelian in its details, transcendentalism would seem to reappear in its conclusion; and transcendentalism is a doctrine that mixes abou[t]

as well with that of Aristotle as oil with water. 'Last and pre-eminently,' he says, 'I challenge for this poet [i.e., Wordsworth] the gift of IMAGINATION in the highest and strictest sense of the word.' If Coleridge had been a more thoroughgoing Aristotelian he might have found that the chief source of 'mental bombast' in Wordsworth arises from the disproportionate significance that he had been led by his transcendental philosophy to attach to natural appearances—when, for example, he exclaims, on his discovery of the small celandine, that he will 'make a stir, like a sage astronomer.' The stir would seem justified only in case it could be shown that, through imaginative communion with the small celandine, he attained a real spiritual unity. But what proof is there of the reality of a communion achieved in that way? One may perhaps best reply in the words of Coleridge:

> Oh, William, we receive but what we give
> And in our life alone does nature live

In that case the Nature with which one communes is not Nature as known to the impartial observer, but merely a projection of one's own mood on outer objects—in other words, a form of the pathetic fallacy. It follows that the unity thus achieved is not real but fanciful, so that the distinction between imagination and fancy that both Wordsworth and Coleridge strove to establish breaks down at the centre.

Compared with the poetry that portrays action through the medium of fiction with reference to normal experience, communion with Nature of the transcendental sort would appear to be only a new and fascinating mode of escape. The need of escape is deep-seated and universal, and has been satisfied in manners manifold in the literature of the past. One would not, indeed, err greatly in choosing as epigraph for about nine-tenths of this literature the lines of Emily Dickinson:

> I never hear the word 'escape'
> Without a quicker blood,
> A sudden expectation,
> A flying attitude.

The chief instrument of escape is the imagination—a certain quality of imagination. One need not quarrel with imagination of this quality when it shows itself frankly for what it is. It becomes dubious only when put at the basis of what purports to be idealism or even religion. This form of self-deception has flourished especially in connexion with our modern return to Nature. Thus Rousseau writes: 'My soul wanders and soars in the universe on the wings of imagination in ecstasies that surpass every other enjoyment.' The results that follow from indulging this type of imagination are scarcely of a kind to satisfy either the humanist

or the man of science. The wandering and soaring, they would agree, are, for the most part, not in the universe, but in the tower of ivory. Similarly the 'liberty' and 'intensest love' to which Coleridge lays claim as a result of 'shooting his being through earth, sea and air' are accomplished only in dreamland. Like the Wordsworth of *Tintern Abbey*, Coleridge is setting up in this passage of *France: An Ode* pantheistic reverie as a substitute for true meditation.

This is not, of course, the whole truth about either Wordsworth or Coleridge. There is more in a poem like *Tintern Abbey* than the 'egotistical sublime' of which Keats accused Wordsworth. There is at times genuine sublimity. Wordsworth associates this elevation, however, more or less arbitrarily with the 'light of setting suns,' thus encouraging a confusion between spiritual and æsthetic perception.[3] As a matter of fact, the first person who seems to have done justice æsthetically to the light of setting suns is 'the notorious ribald of Arezzo,' Aretino (Letter to Titian, May 1544)

There is, again, in Coleridge an element of genuine religious vision. He seems singularly different, however, in the total impression he produces, from the religious teachers of the past. These teachers, whether a St. Bernard or a Buddha, are as energetic and purposeful as the head of some great industrial enterprise in our own time, though, one scarcely need add, in an entirely different way; whereas one can scarcely find in the whole annals of literature another personality so richly endowed as Coleridge and at the same time so rudderless According to the familiar anecdote, he could not even determine which side of the garden walk would suit him best, but corkscrewed back and forth from one side to the other There is more here than the ordinary contrast between the willingness of the spirit and the weakness of the flesh. His irresoluteness is related in at least some measure to his primitivism—above all to his notion that genius is shown primarily in a capacity for sinking 'back again into the childlike feeling of devout wonder' It is no doubt true, as Mencius remarked long ago, that the great man is he who has not lost his child's heart; but it is also true that greatness appears in the power to impose on life a masculine purpose. It is not easy to estimate the precise proportion of primitivistic to genuinely religious elements in Coleridge himself. Regarding his major influence it is possible to speak more confidently. This influence has, in Walter Pater's phrase, been a 'part of the long pleading

[3] In a notable volume, *The Cycle of Modern Poetry* (Humphrey Milford, 1929), Professor G. R. Elliott has shown that the poetic imagination has been largely dominated during the past century by Wordsworth's pantheistic myth of a 'spirit' that 'rolls through all things.'

of German culture for the things "behind the veil." Practically this has meant an interest in the elusive phenomena that are off the centre of normal consciousness—the very phenomena, in short, to which Professor Lowes has devoted so much attention. As a result of his preoccupation with these crepuscular regions Coleridge impressed at times those who approached him as almost somnambulistic.[4] The picture Peacock has drawn of him in Nightmare Abbey with his curtains drawn at midday and sprinkling salt on the candle to make the light burn blue has at least the truth of caricature.

This interest in the abnormal was by no means confined to Coleridge. It has been said of his age in general that it 'grovelled in the ghastly and wallowed in the weird.' Such an age had in *The Ancient Mariner* its appropriate masterpiece. In its psychology and incidents and scenic setting it marks the extreme sacrifice of the verisimilar to the marvellous It is at a far remove from the Aristotelian high seriousness, which not only requires relevancy to normal experience, but a relevancy tested in terms of action. Apart from the initial shooting of an albatross, the Mariner does not do anything In the literal sense of the word he is not an agent, but a patient. The true protagonists of *The Ancient Mariner*, Professor Lowes remarks rightly, are the elements—'Earth, Air, Fire and Water in the multiform balefulness and beauty.' As Charles Lamb puts it. 'I dislike all the miraculous part of the poem, but the feelings of the man under the operation of such scenery dragged me along like Tom Piper's magic whistle' Between a poem, like *The Ancient Mariner*, in which the unifying element is feeling and a poem which has a true unity of action the difference is one of kind; between it and, let us say, *The Fall of the House of Usher* the difference is at most one of degree. In this and other tales Poe has, like Coleridge, and indeed partly under his influence, achieved a unity of tone or impression—a technique, in short—perfectly suited to the shift of the centre of interest from action to emotion.

Intense emotion, especially under the stress of a unique experience, is isolating. Perhaps no work embodies more successfully than *The Ancient Mariner* the main romantic *motif* of solitude.

Alone, alone, all, all alone!

Here, if anywhere, the soul is a state of the landscape and the landscape a state of the soul—the outer symbol of a ghastly isolation. The mood of solitude based on the sense of one's emotional uniqueness is closely interwoven, again, as every student of the modern movement knows, with the instinct of

[4] *Cf.* the title of the recent volume by J. Charpentier, *Coleridge, le Somnambule Sublime.* (Paris, 1928.)

confession. Rousseau himself says of certain childhood experi-ences: 'I am aware that the reader does not need to know th details, but I need to tell them to him.' In much the same fashi the Wedding Guest does not need to hear the Mariner's tale, b the Mariner needs to relate it to him. The psycho-analysts hav with rare effrontery, applied to the relief that results from yielding to the confessional urge the noble term 'catharsis.' should be apparent that the term cannot be applied in its corre meaning to fiction in which wonder and strangeness prevail completely over imaginative imitation of the universal.

It follows from all that has been said that *The Ancient Marin* judged by the quality of the imagination that informs it, is n only romantic, but ultra-romantic. One should not, therefo disparage it, or in general regard as the only test of poetry degree of conformity with the model set up by Aristotle in h *Poetics*. One must insist that in the house of art are ma mansions. It does not follow that the mansions are all on the sa level or of equal architectural dignity. That *The Ancient Marin* is good in its own way—almost miraculously good—goes withe saying. The reason for thinking that this way is inferior to t way envisaged by Aristotle is that it is less concerned with mo choices in their bearing on the only problem that finally matters that of man's happiness or misery. Professor Lowes' praise w seem pitched in too high a key to anyone who accepts this or so similar scale of poetical values. He himself is not quite consiste at this point. At one moment he agrees with Coleridge that t fiction of the poem should have been openly irresponsible like th of '*The Arabian Nights*' tale of the merchant's sitting down eat dates by the side of a well, and throwing the shells aside, a lo! a genie starts up, and says he *must* kill the aforesaid me chant, *because* one of the date shells has, it seems, put out the e of the genie's son.' In general Professor Lowes seems to dism the whole demand for probability as worthy only of litera philistines like Mrs. Barbauld, who complained, it will be remem bered, of *The Ancient Mariner* that it was 'improbable and had moral.'

At other moments, though recognising the grotesque dispr portion between the Mariner's initial act and its consequence Professor Lowes seems to take the tale seriously as a treatme of the great drama of guilt and expiation. The fact is that it impossible to extract any serious ethical purport from *T Ancient Mariner*—except perhaps a warning as to the fate of th innocent bystander, unless, indeed, one hold that it is fitti that, for having sympathised with the man who shot an albatro 'four times fifty living men' should perish in torments u speakable.

In the meanwhile, contrary to Mrs. Barbauld's assertion, *The Ancient Mariner* actually has a moral ('He prayeth best, who loveth best,' etc.). Moreover, this moral, unexceptionable in itself, turns out, when taken in its context, to be a sham moral. The mode in which the Mariner is relieved of the burden of his transgression, symbolised by the albatross hung about his neck—namely, by admiring the colour of water-snakes—is an extreme example of a confusion to which I have already alluded: he obtains subrationally and unconsciously ('I blessed them *unaware*') the equivalent of Christian charity. Like many other works in the modern movement, the poem thus lays claim to a religious seriousness that at bottom it does not possess. To this extent at least it is an example of a hybrid and ambiguous art.

By turning their attention to the wonder and magic of natural appearances Wordsworth and Coleridge and other romantics opened up an almost inexhaustible source of genuine poetry. Wonder cannot, however, in this or in any other form serve as a substitute for the virtues that imply a something in man that is set above the phenomenal order. If we are to believe the great teachers of the past, the pathway to religious wisdom does not lie through the flower in the crannied wall or the equivalent. The attempt to base religion on wonder becomes positively grotesque when Walt Whitman declares that 'a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels.' The underlying confusion of values has, however, persisted in less obvious forms, and is, indeed, the most dubious legacy to our own time from the romantic age. Thus Professor C. H. Herford asserts in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* that what Shelley has done in *Prometheus Unbound* is to give 'magnificent expression to the faith of Plato and of Christ.' According to Mr. Middleton Murry, again, when a person does not dare to come out and attack Christ openly he vents his spleen on Rousseau. The acme of confusion is reached by an American scholar, Mr. J. W. Beach, in the following defence of Wordsworth's *Expostulation and Reply*:

> If Wordsworth assured his bookish friend that one impulse from a vernal wood may teach him more than all the sages can, that is the principle upon which the sages themselves have generally acted. Wordsworth on his old gray stone is occupied much like Buddha beneath his sacred Bo-tree. Even the professor is the better for his summer vacation.

The distinction between two entirely different orders of intuition that is being blurred or obliterated by the writers I have just been citing is closely related to the problem of the imagination. Perhaps no recent critic has spoken more wisely on the nature of this relationship than a French contemporary of Coleridge—Joubert; and that at the very time when Coleridge was insinuat-

ing that 'a Frenchman is the only animal in the human shape that by no possibility can lift itself up to religion or poetry.' Joubert not only displays the same high type of vision that appears at times in Coleridge, but he has the advantage over Coleridge of not being addicted either to opium or German metaphysics. The most important distinction made by Joubert is that between an imagination that does not rise above the impressions of sense and an imagination that gives access to the supersensuous—that is, in short, an organ of insight. It is only with the aid of this latter type of imagination that one achieves the 'illusion of a higher reality'; the illusion is indeed, according to Joubert, 'an integral part of the reality.'

One cannot afford to disdain in the creative process what may be termed the spontaneities, all that seems to come as a free gift—for example, the magical combinations and permutations of images in the 'deep well.' Coleridge, however, falls into a dangerous primitivistic exaggeration when he says that 'there is in genius itself an unconscious activity, nay, that is the genius in the man of genius.' The imagination that Joubert calls the 'eye of the soul' is fully conscious and also creative, though in a different sense: it creates values. It does so by co-operating with reason in the service of a higher will. The unconscious activities must be controlled with reference to the values thus created with the help of the ethical imagination, as one may term it, if they are to have direction and purpose—in other words, human significance. Technique is admittedly something that must be consciously acquired. The question of the ethical imagination is, however, plainly one that concerns not merely the technique or outer form of creative work, but its inmost essence.

Failure to make some such distinction as that which I have been attempting exposes one to the risk of confounding work that has abundant human substance with work that has little or none. Serious confusions of this kind are rife at the present time—more serious, indeed, than any with which Professor Lowes may be properly charged. For example, Mr. E. E. Kellett writes in his recent volume *Reconsiderations*:

> There is something in the very choice of subject which marks out the supreme poet from his fellows. It is not an accident that Coleridge chose to write of *diablerie* and witchcraft. . . . The fact that Chaucer's subjects are in the main of the earth, earthy, is significant of the limits of his poetic genius.

It may be maintained that Dante has a depth of religious insight that puts him definitely above Chaucer. But to accord to romantic *diablerie* the same rating as to religious insight, and to dismiss Chaucer, one of the most human of poets, as 'of the earth, earthy' in comparison with the Coleridge of *The Ancient Mariner*,

is surely inadmissible. Here and elsewhere in his volume Mr. Kellett reminds one of the French partisans of 'pure poetry.' So much is eliminated by the Abbé Bremond,[8] the chief spokesman for this group, as not being of the essence of poetry, that it is, like Jowett's idea of God, in danger of being defecated to a pure transparency. Poetry becomes a *je ne sais quoi*, an 'electricity,' an indefinable magic that is similar, the Abbé Bremond would have us believe, to the mysterious and impalpable something that is present in the attitude of prayer. The truth is that the abbé is ready to make an abject surrender of conscious discrimination and control in favour of a pure spontaneity, with a resulting confusion of the subrational with the superrational, and finally of romanticism with religion, that, in so prominent a churchman, is positively disconcerting.

The sacrifice of human substance to the Moloch of spontaneity is even more manifest in the contemporary French group known as the 'superrealists' (*surréalistes*), affiliated in point of view with the English and American writers who abandon themselves to the 'stream of consciousness.' The very name that the members of this group have assumed would indicate that they are in error as to the direction in which they are moving. What they term 'reality' is plainly, not above, but below, the human and rational level. The upshot of the quest of creative renewal in this region would appear to be, if one may judge from some of the contributions to *transition* (*sic*), the organ of the group, a sort of psychic automatism.

I am not going too far afield in speaking of the *surréalistes* apropos of Coleridge. If a poem like *The Pains of Sleep* anticipates Baudelaire, *Kubla Khan*, as I have already remarked, probably remains the best example of a spontaneity that, so far from having been disciplined to either humanistic or religious purpose, has not even undergone any technical shaping of the kind one finds in *The Ancient Mariner*. It illustrates what Coleridge himself calls the 'streamy nature of association' in reverie at least as well as, and far more agreeably than, let us say, the closing pages of Joyce's *Ulysses*.

The notion that one becomes creative only by being spontaneous is closely related to the notion that one becomes original only by being unique. If we are to judge by *surréalisme* and other recent literary cults, the time is approaching when each writer will, in the name of his genius conceived as self-expression, retire so completely into his own private dream that communication will become impossible. To be sure, the drift of these recent cults towards sheer unintelligibility marks a violent extreme of the kind that usually comes towards the end of a movement. It is an

[8] See his volumes *La Poésie pure* and *Prière et Poésie* (1926).

extreme, however, that points to a one-sidedness in the movement from the start—the tendency, namely, to exalt the differences between man and man and to disparage or deny the identities. The result has been a fatal confusion between individuality and personality. True personality is not something that, like individuality, is bestowed upon a man simply because he has taken the trouble to be born. It is something that he must consciously win with reference to a standard set above his merely temperamental self; whereas there has probably never been a blade of grass which, if it became vocal, might not say truthfully, in the language of Rousseau, that, if not better than other blades of grass, at least it was different. The notion that one may become creative simply by combining temperamental overflow with a greater or lesser degree of technical skill has resulted in work that often displays genius indeed, but suffers at the same time from a taint of eccentricity—work in which, in Aristotelian parlance, the wonderful quite overtops the probable. Anatole France writes of Victor Hugo, perhaps the supreme example of genius of the eccentric type:

> One is saddened and at the same time frightened not to encounter in his enormous work, in the midst of so many monsters, a single human figure. . . . He wished to inspire wonder and long had the power to do so but is it possible always to inspire wonder?

The doctrine of imitation, setting up as it does some standard with reference to which a man must humanise his gift, whatever that gift may chance to be, is, in all its forms, chastening—perhaps, in some of its forms, too chastening. One remembers the prostration of the literary aspirant before the models during the neo-classic period. On the other hand, the doctrine that discredits imitation in favour of spontaneity does not put a man sufficiently on his guard against what Buddha and other sages have declared to be the two root diseases of human nature—conceit and laziness. It would not be difficult to find modern applications of a sentence that was written by Robert Wolseley as long ago as 1685: 'Every ass that's romantic believes he's inspired.'

But to return to Coleridge: at his best, especially when he insists that great poetry must be representative, he can scarcely be charged with having encouraged the over-facile type of inspiration. One may ask, however, whether he has brought the doctrine of representativeness, with its inevitable corollaries of imitation and probability, into sufficiently close relation with his actual defining of the imagination and its *rôle*. The most famous of his critical phrases, the 'willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith,' does *not* appear to afford any adequate basis for discriminating between poetic faith and poetic

credulity. The fact that a fiction of any kind is enthralling is no sure proof that it has human substance. Otherwise certain detective stories would merit a high literary rating. The phrase was actually framed with a view to justifying *The Ancient Mariner*, a tale that lacks probability, not only in Mrs. Barbauld's sense, but, as I have been trying to show, in Aristotle's as well. Nor is it enough to speak of 'the shaping spirit of imagination,' for the imagination may shape chimeras. One cannot, again, be wholly satisfied with the definition of 'the primary imagination' as 'a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM.' This would seem to be an invitation to the romantic to exalt himself to the level of deity before making sure of the validity of his imaginings apart from his own emotions.

We must conclude, therefore, that, in spite of many admirable remarks by the way, Coleridge does not succeed in disengaging his theory of the imagination sufficiently from the transcendental mist. It is to be regretted, above all, that he did not affirm clearly the *rôle* of the imagination in giving access to a supersensous reality—an affirmation that is necessary if the doctrine of imitation and probability is to be relieved of every suspicion of formalism. Instead, he inclined to see the highest use of the imagination in Wordsworth's communing with natural appearances, and so became one of the promoters of the great pathetic fallacy that has been bewildering the human spirit ever since.

Wordsworth, who tended to read into the landscape what is not there (for example, 'unutterable love'), at the same time that he rendered, often fortunately, the wonder that is there, disparaged science. Yet probably the chief reason for the comparative eclipse of the imagination that seizes what is normal and central in human experience in favour of the imagination that yields to the lure of wonder has been the discoveries of science. These discoveries have engendered an intoxication with novelty for which the past offers no parallel. The modern man has been kept on the tiptoe of expectation by one marvel after another. For the moment he is thus imaginatively enthralled by the conquest of the air. He is infinitely removed from the Horatian *nil admirari*, even though he does not set out deliberately, like a certain French minor poet, to 'live in a state of bedazzlement.' As a result of the interplay and co-operation of the various forms of naturalism the attitude of the modern man towards life has become purely exploratory—a sheer expansion of wonder and curiosity. He cannot even conceive another attitude. Yet a situation is gradually growing up that may force him to conceive it. Wonder has a large place in the scheme of things, but is after all only a sorry substitute for the law of measure of the humanist or for the religious virtues—awe, reverence, and humility.

If one wishes to understand how humanism and religion have been more or less compromised by the modern movement, with its 'renascence of wonder,' it is still helpful to go back to its earlier stages. Matthew Arnold expressed the opinion that the burst of creative activity in English literature through the first quarter of the nineteenth century had about it something premature. Whatever justification there may be for this opinion is found in the failure of the romantic leaders to deal critically enough with the idea of creation itself. The doctrine of creative spontaneity towards which they inclined, though in the case of Coleridge with reservations, suffered, as I have been trying to show, from a one-sidedness that has persisted to the present day. Unless this one-sidedness is corrected, it is to be feared that art and literature will be menaced with a more than Alexandrian decline. As a matter of fact, Joyce's *Ulysses*, which has just been saluted by Miss Rebecca West, speaking for no inconsiderable portion of the younger literary set, as a work of 'majestic genius,' marks a more advanced stage of psychic disintegration than anything that has come down to us from classical antiquity If there is to be any recovery of humanistic or religious truth, at least along critical lines, it would appear desirable to associate the creative process once more, not with spontaneity, but with imitation—imitation of the type that implies a supersensuous model imaginatively apprehended. According to an American critic, the late Stuart Sherman, 'the great revolutionary task of nineteenth century thinkers was to put man into Nature. The great task of twentieth century thinkers is to get him out again' Superficially, the most serious danger of the primitivistic immersion of man in Nature to which Sherman refers is that it leads to a denial of reason; a still graver danger, one finds on closer scrutiny, is that it leads to an obscuring of the true dualism—that between man's natural self and a higher will—or more frequently to the setting up of some subrational parody of this will such as one finds in *The Ancient Mariner*. The obscuring of the higher will has coincided practically with the decline of the doctrine of divine grace with which it has in the Christian Occident been traditionally associated. The issues involved evidently extend far beyond the boundaries of literature. But, to consider literature alone, it would seem necessary to recover in some form, perhaps in a purely psychological form, the true dualism, if creation is once more to be achieved that deserves to be accounted highly serious—creation, in other words, that is informed by the human and dramatic quality of imagination.

IRVING BABBITT.

THE EMPRESS FREDERICK

I

The phrase 'a tragic figure' is often loosely used; but to the Empress Frederick it may be applied with strictness. The drama follows the lines of classic tragedy, the story moves to pity for a worthy object by no unworthy means. Almost from the first the note of inevitability was struck, and in her sex and her exceptional gifts were sown the seeds of the coming catastrophe. A woman less remarkable in intellect, less firm in character, less sincere and unreserved in speech might have escaped calamity; but as the threads of circumstances drew together they tangled into a tragic knot which defied unravelling, and, when it was cut, it was by a reversal of fortune as sudden as it was complete.

In 1861 her father-in-law succeeded to the throne of Prussia as King William I. Her husband thus became Crown Prince and heir apparent. During twenty-seven years of political self-effacement he and his wife carefully prepared themselves for what they believed to be their mission as leaders in the constitutional and intellectual development of Germany along Liberal lines. When, in March 1888, the Crown Prince succeeded his father as the Emperor Frederick III he was a dying man. His reign lasted only ninety days. For his widow his death meant beneficent designs and great opportunities for usefulness stifled at their birth. Excluded henceforth from any participation in the public life of a people whom she honestly loved, vilified in the national Press, deserted by many of those whom she thought her friends, she spent the remaining years of her life in retirement, learning to endure with dignified patience.

Two recent publications have revived interest in the story. One is Emil Ludwig's *Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II.*[1]: the other is the volume of *Letters of the Empress Frederick*,[2] edited by Sir Frederick Ponsonby. Relying on official records and contemporary journalism, Herr Ludwig has in his brilliant book renewed some of the former charges against the Empress. It is this revival of old accusations, supported by officially manufactured evidence,

[1] *Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II.*, by Emil Ludwig (G. P. Putnam & Sons, 21s. net).
[2] *Letters of the Empress Frederick*, by Sir Frederick Ponsonby (Macmillan, 25s.).

which affords a justification for the publication of the Empress's *Letters*. Again and again, in her heart-to-heart talks with her mother, she unconsciously discredits widespread misinterpretations of her character, motives and actions. Herr Ludwig himself has generously acknowledged the changes in his opinions which the *Letters* have compelled him to make. His frank admission has considerably altered the circumstances in which I first thought of writing this paper. So few people are now living who remember the Empress Frederick or the events of 1887–90 that, in defence of her memory, I then felt something of an obligation to break a silence of forty years. Now the circumstances are different. Yet so many of her later letters are concentrated on one topic that they may, if we forget to whom they were written, create misleading impressions. She was not querulous, nor did she wear her heart on her sleeve. Therefore I should still like to record a few reminiscences of one of the most gifted women whom I have ever met.

The Crown Princess had known me from childhood, and in the early 'eighties delighted me by her kindly interest in my literary attempts, asked me to send her my articles, and flattered me by her criticisms and suggestions. She was an admirable talker, and the brilliance of her fine eyes heightened the vivacity and charm of her conversation. Her mind was, I think, receptive rather than original. But she had read much in certain directions; she had thought, travelled and observed; and she had a tenacious memory, a remarkable gift of assimilation, and an exceptional facility of expression. For years she had cultivated and enjoyed the society of all the men who had achieved eminence in literature, art or science, and, speaking German, French and Italian fluently, she drew from them their best. To me her talk was at once illuminating and fascinating.

I was presented later, in circumstances which began somewhat disagreeably, to the Crown Prince. I describe the scene partly because, in its unclouded brightness, it makes an effective contrast to the sombre sequel, partly for another reason which will appear hereafter.

One late summer in the Isle of Wight, often twice a week, the Crown Princess, with me as her partner, used to play lawn tennis against Princess Victoria and Count Seckendorff. One afternoon we were in the middle of this customary game on the tennis court at my old home—an equerry walking up and down, his arms full of the balls which he had collected in the nets, and crying out at intervals, 'Bois, bois.' At the far end of the court, under a cedar tree, the Crown Prince, who had come later than the players, sat in a low wicker-chair drinking his tea, and feeding Bijou, his blue-grey Italian greyhound, with little bits of brown

bread and butter. With him were his two younger daughters, Princess Sophie and Princess Margaret.

It was blazing hot, and I wore a straw hat with the black, red and yellow ribbon of the Zingari Cricket Club. I was standing on the base line about to serve, when an aide-de-camp touched my arm and said, 'The colours which you are wearing are those of the most advanced Socialist club in Berlin. If they have any similar meaning in this country, His Imperial Highness bids me say that he must leave at once.' My first feeling was one of amusement at the shock which such a suspicion would have given to Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane. But I answered that the colours were those of a well-known cricket club, and had no political significance. When he had gone, the Crown Princess asked me what he had said. I told her, and she exclaimed, 'What can he be thinking of? He must often have seen my brother wearing the colours. When we cross over I shall present you.'

The set ended, we changed courts, and the Princess took me up to the Prince, saying: 'Here is your anarchist.' He stood up, held out his hand, and with kindly simplicity said, 'I'm sorry.' Then, turning to his wife, he said, 'Der rechte Ring ist nicht erweislich.' By one of those happy chances which come so rarely in life, I recognised the quotation from a famous scene in *Nathan der Weise*. With a bow, and, I hope, a pardonable twist of the sense of the original, I said, 'No, sir, but the test of truth is respect and devotion.' He smiled and nodded, and the princess and I took our places to go on with the game. On our way she said to me, 'You have made a friend of him. He thinks *Nathan der Weise* the finest play that was ever written. He likes it even better than *Faust*.'

No one could then have predicted the tragic fate which destiny had prepared for more than one member of the imperial family. In our many talks the Crown Princess spoke much of art and literature, but particularly of political and social conditions in Germany, and especially of the Liberal Party. Except in Berlin, German Liberals had little hold of Prussia; but in other parts of the empire they were strong. The heirs of the earlier 'Coburgers,' they in the main represented the views which the Prince Consort had deeply impressed not only on his daughter, but on his son-in-law. Though, after 1863, both abstained from any active interference in politics, the Crown Prince and his wife made no secret of their sympathy with the Liberal demand for freedom of the Press, liberty of conscience, representative institutions, and free constitutional development. They thought that, in face of the intellectual and industrial expansion of the country, the rigid maintenance of the old order and the persistence in mediæval ideals of autocracy were a danger. They desired to reconcile the

monarchy with popular aspirations, and so to avert or soften the shock of conflicting interests which a repressive and reactionary policy seemed likely to embitter, if not to accelerate. On these lines was framed the manifesto which, on his accession, the Emperor Frederick III. issued to the German nation.

The issues between the German Liberals and the supporters of Bismarck in 1886 seemed to the Crown Princess to bear a close resemblance to those which in 1832 divided the English Whigs from their Tory opponents. Always eager to promote a better understanding between England and Germany, she was disappointed that this country, instead of sympathising with the aims and aspirations of German Liberals, was rather disposed to regard them as republicans In explanation of the views of her political friends, but never in criticism of the Government, she sent me, in the years 1885–89, several notes on the subject with the request that I would embody them in articles or paragraphs for publication in our daily Press. I did what I was asked to do to the best of my ability, and punctiliously burned the notes as soon as they had been used She was pleased when, as occasionally happened, passages were quoted in such German newspapers as the *Frankfürter Zeitung*. But I could not, as I told her, be sanguine of any results in this country The English public admired Bismarck and was profoundly indifferent to the internal politics of any foreign nation It was easy to obtain the insertion of unpaid anonymous matter , but I had no permanent connexion with the daily Press, and no means of influencing the general attitude of the newspapers in which the paragraphs or articles were published. Perhaps, also, in my anxiety not to reveal its source, I did not always use my information to the fullest advantage.

Only once did caution impel me to protest against any publication, and on that occasion it deprived me of a journalistic 'scoop.' The Crown Princess sent me some curiously minute details of Bismarck's methods of dealing with the Press in Germany and elsewhere. It was generally known that he employed considerable sums of money, drawn from the sequestrated revenues of the kingdom of Hanover, on the subvention of newspapers. This large expenditure, combined with the frequency and severity of Press prosecutions, and coupled with the withdrawal from Opposition organs of inspired statements and official intelligence, had reduced a large section of German journalism to complete subservience. The evidence placed in my hands revealed the wide ramifications of the Chancellor's secret activities in the control and manufacture of public opinion. But it was plainly not within the knowledge of the Crown Princess, and I had no means of satisfying myself that it was absolutely trustworthy. In any case, it seemed to me imprudent to launch an attack

The Chancellor's agents were efficient; the source of the information might be discovered, and on those living in Germany Bismarck's hand was heavy. To my great relief, the Crown Princess acquiesced in the argument or entreaty and withdrew the papers.

One other incident arose out of these circumstances. When the Crown Princess left England in September 1887 she put into my hands a large square envelope, securely sealed, and bearing on the outside, in her bold flowing hand, 'Not to be opened or given up without my express approval.' She did not tell me the contents, but asked me to take care of the envelope for her. It was on this same visit to England that the Crown Prince and Princess had left the bulk of their private papers at Windsor. They must have had a strange prevision of soldiers guarding ingress or egress to the Neue Palais at the moment of the Emperor's death, or of similar precautions taken at Friedrichshof when she herself was dying I put the envelope, which seemed to contain a number of loose sheets, into a box, and placed it in one of the bins of the cellars at All Souls College, Oxford. Two or three years later, on her first visit to England after her husband's death, she asked me "Where have you put my "Thirty-Twos"?' 'If, madam,' I said, 'you mean your envelope, it is in a dry place, kept at an equable temperature in fact, it is in the All Souls cellar.' She laughed and said, 'That seems safe enough, and I think some of my friends would not wish for a better lodging.' I knew that, on the analogy of the English Whigs and the Reform Bill of 1832, the papers related to the German Liberals, and this was confirmed by the direction of her subsequent conversation. She talked eagerly of publishing articles from some of the leaders of the party on their special subjects in an English review. I was able to arrange this for her in *The Nineteenth Century*. Only Liebknecht wrote.[1] Bamberger, who contributed an article later, belonged to a more advanced group than that in which the Empress was interested Her comment on the failure of the scheme was, 'I cannot blame them: their heads are in the lion's mouth.' Meanwhile, the envelope remained in my custody. No allusion was ever again made to it at later interviews. Shortly after I had ceased to be a Fellow of the college I transferred the packet from the cellar to the strong room at the Bedford Office. The Empress died in August 1901, leaving no instructions. I waited till January 1902, and then, unopened, and with the seals unbroken, burned the envelope. I do not know its contents. If they were details about the leading members of the Liberal Party, they referred to hopes of a fuller life which had been long since shattered. I do not regret that I left my natural curiosity un-

[1] January 1890.

satisfied, for I am certain that I did what the Empress would herself have wished. The papers belonged to the dead, but were dangerous to the living.

The last occasion on which I was asked by the Empress, as she had then become, to publish anything in the English daily Press was when Prince Alexander of Battenberg married and entered the Austrian army. She wished his marriage to be treated as a chivalrous gesture, signifying his irrevocable surrender, under the pressure of adverse circumstances, of other hopes and ambitions. I obeyed I found a friend in Stead, and the point of view was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Some months before, the Empress had talked to me with great frankness about the Prince. She told me that Moltke appreciated his military talents, and that both she and her husband had formed the highest opinion of his political tact and sagacity. She hoped that he would eventually rise, through the successive stages of a brigade, a divisional command, and chief of the staff in the German army, to the position of Imperial Chancellor. If she ever spoke with similar freedom at Berlin or Potsdam, her projects, in all probability, reached the ears of Bismarck This knowledge, combined with the rumour of a proposed marriage with a member of the imperial family and with the necessity of fulfilling his secret clause in the treaty with Russia, would help to explain the outburst of the official Press against Queen Victoria and his own threatened resignation in April 1888

Under Bismarck's dictatorship prudence suggested reticence on other subjects besides a distant prospect of a change of chancellors. But courage of speech rather than caution was characteristic of the Crown Princess The excellence of her intentions sometimes blinded her to the risk of wounding the acute susceptibilities of national pride. Trivial though the example may seem, lawn tennis affords a good illustration of the point. The Crown Princess played it, not only because she liked it as a game, but also because she saw in it a possible agent in a social change which she always had closely at heart It formed part of the many schemes in which she was actively and personally interested for the higher education of women, such as the Victoria Lyceum, the Victoria and Frederick William Institute, the Victoria Fortbildungschule, or the introduction into girls' schools of gymnastic exercises and physical drill. She hoped that an amusement which women could share with men would help her sex to escape from the domestic slavery in which they lived in the middle-class society of North Germany On this missionary aspect of the game I have heard her talk enthusiastically to a company which was composed, with the exception of myself, entirely of Germans. A Prussian woman, she said, was excluded from her

husband's real life. She bore his children; but otherwise she was, at the best, his respected housekeeper—never, or rarely, his companion. A common interest even in a game, though that game was an English one, might open up a new life to the wife of a Prussian professor—and the illustration was her own—who now only unlaced her husband's boots, put on his slippers, and ministered to his creature comforts.

The picture was no doubt substantially true; but the truth about ourselves is often more annoying than fiction. In North Germany, forty years ago, a woman's sphere was restricted to children, clothes, cookery, and church-going. Beyond those limits a husband could not seek his wife's advice without a sacrifice of dignity, or accept her counsel without a loss of manhood. Any intervention on her part in public affairs would have scandalised popular opinion. Encouraged and trained by her father at home to study and express her views on all matters of interest, political as well as social, the Crown Princess found it difficult to appreciate the strength of this national prejudice. Whether she failed to realise or deliberately combated the feeling I do not know. The footing of domestic equality on which she and her husband lived together outraged the Prussian conception of matrimony. They had the same interests, the same tastes, the same friends. Politically their views coincided. They were associated in many artistic and philanthropic enterprises, and there existed between them that mutual confidence and trustful co-operation which form the English ideal of married happiness. Their relations with one another were inevitably misunderstood in North Germany. Conjecture did the rest. It stimulated the parrot-cry of the official Press that the Crown Prince was dominated by his English wife which found an echo in less ephemeral literature.

It is perfectly intelligible [wrote Freytag in *Der Kronprinz, etc.* (1889)] that so complete an ascendency of the wife over the husband, who was destined to be the future ruler of Prussia, threatened to occasion difficulties and conflicts, which, perhaps, would be greater for the woman than the man—greater for the wife who led and inspired the husband whose guidance she ought to have accepted.

From the earliest years of her married life the Crown Princess rejected the narrow sphere to which the work of Prussian women was restricted. Education, art galleries, museums, hospitals, hygiene and sanitation were among the many public activities to which her practical energies were turned. Such recognition as her efforts received was grudging. The same Prussian prejudice, combined with the growing anti-English feeling, explains the scanty acknowledgment of her fine work for military hospitals

and for nursing in the war of 1870. At Homburg and in the Rhineland she organised, partly at her own expense, a line of up-to-date hospitals. Of the movement for trained lady-nurses she was at once the inspiration and the driving force. But the work was not only that of a woman; it was also that of an Englishwoman. The Crown Princess, who had carefully studied the most recent improvements of hospitals and nursing in this country, made no secret that she followed English models in her reorganisation. At the moment disappointment with the neutrality of England in the war with France and irritation at the advantages which the French derived from English trade had bred bitter ill-will towards our country. It never wholly passed away.

Another feeling, already strong in North Germany and intensified by recent events, added to the difficulties of the Crown Princess. The nation in the years 1864–76 had leaped to the forefront among Continental Powers. Legitimately proud of their military triumphs, they brooked no foreign interference with their national development on independent lines. They especially resented English influences. It was not only that the prestige of England had sunk low on the Continent. Official circles at Berlin were scornful of her vacillating policy, the military aristocracy despised the trade on which her prosperity was built. Just as England chafed at being improved by the Prince Consort, so North Germany was irritated by the efforts of the Crown Princess to raise the standards of its native civilisation. When she installed baths in her home, or substituted a modern sanitary patent for a primitive reliance on Providence, or remodelled her nurseries, or bought clothes in London, or welcomed as a guest a Jewish artist, or, in the midst of an active *Juden-hetze*, accepted the patronage of the Auerbach Schools for Jewish orphans or opened her doors to men whose only claim to distinction was their literary, scientific, or artistic eminence, it was felt that national habits, racial prejudices, and aristocratic exclusiveness were compared with England and condemned by the critical eyes of an English observer. From such material it was easy to create the legend that the Crown Princess designed to Anglicise Germany, socially as well as politically.

More serious were the rumours, insinuated, if not initiated, by the official Press, of her unpatriotic attitude towards the enemies of her country. From such charges the recently published letters are a vindication. They prove that the Crown Princess sided strongly with Prussia against Denmark on the Schleswig-Holstein question; that, though she thought the conflict with Austria might have been avoided, she was enthusiastically eager for the triumph of the Prussian cause; and that, in the War of 1870–71

she was heart and soul with the German people in the national uprising against what was then believed to be the wanton aggression of France. These facts were then unknown, and a general atmosphere of suspicion had been created which secured a hearing, if not credence, for any accusation against the Crown Princess.

Fuller information has disposed of some injurious reports, once widely believed; others have been made more widely improbable. Of these latter charges the most sinister was that, through the correspondence of the Crown Princess with her mother during the war, valuable information reached the French Government. That there was a general leakage of official secrets from this source was always part of Bismarck's political stock-in-trade. Whether he really believed it, or not, it is difficult to say. He used it to justify the concealment of matters of political importance from the Crown Prince. The more specific charge, clearly stated by Bismarck in his Memorial of September 1888, is suggested by Herr Ludwig in his otherwise generous tribute to the Empress Frederick (*Observer*, February 3, 1929). At the time when the rumour first appeared it could not have been believed, unless the German public had assumed that both Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess sympathised with France against Germany. Recent publications have proved both assumptions to be baseless. But Herr Ludwig in the *Observer* seems to speak with authority. He says of the Crown Princess that 'during the war she actually goes so far as not merely to copy out her husband's diary for her mother, but, as she writes herself, to hide her rashness from her husband.' Herr Ludwig may command some evidence of which I am unaware. He is not supported by the only passage in the recent volume of *Letters* (p. 83) which bears on the statement. The victory of Wörth was won on August 6, 1870. The Crown Prince, who was in command, was the hero of the hour. From her bed on August 11 the Crown Princess dictated a letter to her mother, and sent an enclosure 'which I beg you to return to me. I am sure the description of the Battle of Wörth in Fritz's own hand will interest you; it is so modest and like his own dear self. The little outburst of a wife's pride in her husband may have been indiscreet; but, if it stands alone, it scarcely justifies the charge that she was 'wronging her country and her husband.'

Except in her home, the life of the Crown Princess in Germany was not happy. Of her unpopularity in certain influential circles she was aware, and she spoke of it with a touch of that wistfulness which suggested the unspoken words: 'And I have tried so hard.' Some of its causes have been already indicated. The undercurrent of hostility to England always ran strongly: national pride resented the English ideals which the Crown Princess

represented; Prussian prejudices were offended by her many sided public activities; her Liberalism irritated Conservatives and the military and official aristocracy; her broad scientific outlook alarmed the narrow evangelicalism of the Court. None of these feelings were suffered to die down; all for political motives were kept alive. Between the Crown Princess and Bismarck, though each respected the abilities of the other, there was not only a conflict of political ideals, but a clash of personalities. The genius of the great Chancellor, his inestimable services to Germany, and the prolongation of the life of the aged Emperor had given him powers which a younger monarch was unlikely to tolerate. But more than his personal ascendency was at stake. Ever since his accession to office in 1862 he had known that his ideas of government differed from those of the heir apparent, and he sincerely dreaded the effect of the free play of representative institutions in an empire which was not yet firmly united and still politically immature. He realised the strength of the party in Germany which was opposed to the autocracy of the central power. He had, therefore, to prepare for the future. One method was to remove Prince William from the influence of his parents and train him in his own autocratic principles; another was to discredit the imminent triumph of Liberalism by representing it as meaning the imitation of English models and the domination of an English petticoat. Sir Rennell Rodd has recorded the Chancellor's conversation with the late Lady Ermyntrude Malet. 'How,' he asked her, 'did I succeed in crushing every man who stood in my way? . . . I set one man against another, and again and again I broke them.' It was the method which he adopted between the Crown Princess and the German people. Every national, social, and political prejudice against her which existed among Prussians or Conservatives was exploited in the official Press. He showed no mercy. If women intervened in public life, they did so at their peril. All the cards were stacked in his hands, and in the final stage of the struggle he played them ruthlessly, sometimes unscrupulously.

ERNLE.

(To be continued.)

WOLFE AND QUEBEC

THE 13th of this month will be the 170th anniversary of the Battle of Quebec, where Wolfe fell in the moment of victory. For two reasons the battle, ever since it was fought, has won for itself a special prominence. The first news of it reached England in October 1759, at a moment particularly favourable for its reception. During that year people at home had been following the course of the war with some anxiety. Apart from the struggle at sea, England was fighting France on four fronts and in four continents; the bulk of the British Army was abroad fighting in Germany and in North America, and merely a small force of regulars was left in Great Britain. It was known that France was making great preparations to invade this country, and the minds of English people were uneasy. Then came the news of the great victory won in Germany at Minden, followed, a fortnight later, by intelligence that Boscawen had overwhelmed a French fleet off Lagos. These were but the prelude to 'a torrent of prosperous news' which came in early in September from America. Amherst had captured Fort Ticonderoga. Johnson was master of Fort Niagara. The final settlement of the contest with France for North America seemed in sight. All England went wild with enthusiasm. Horace Walpole exclaimed that we had taken more places and ships in a week than would have set up such pedant nations as Greece and Rome to all futurity, and playfully suggested Ticonderogus and Niagaricus as sonorous agnomina to Amherst and Johnson.

Five weeks later came the sobering anti-climax—a gloomy despatch from Wolfe outside Quebec written while he was smarting under his second failure to dislodge the covering army under Montcalm from its position. This reached Pitt on October 14. Wisely he attempted no concealment. He at once sent the despatch to the *Gazette*. He himself was under no illusions. He gave up all hope of success and said so publicly. The mortification of the people in England was extreme, and the edge of disappointment was rendered all the keener by the fact that high hopes had been aroused. But within two days, when the country was starving for happy tidings, the manna of Wolfe's victory on

the Plain of Abraham fell as from the heavens. The reaction from despair to joy was sharp and vivid. And the pathos of Wolfe's death in the moment of victory, the cutting short in early manhood of a life so full of promise, and the dying words, so eloquent of soldierly self-sacrifice, of the hero of Quebec invested the battle in which he fell with a glamour of its own.

To the chagrin which had been felt there succeeded a frenzy of joy. The end of Wolfe struck his contemporaries 'less as death than as an apotheosis,' and so extravagant were the panegyrics expressed that the historian Smollett felt compelled to record that the praise of Wolfe 'was exalted to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole.' In the following year it seemed as if, for a moment, Wolfe's campaign and victory were about to be seen in their true perspective. The French in Canada were making vigorous efforts to retake their lost fortress, a French army severely defeated the British garrison which went out to meet it, and the fate of Quebec hung in the balance The chill dawn of suspicion that Wolfe's dramatic victory had by no means been decisive began to break over a disenchanted England. Horace Walpole's playfulness gave way to petulance 'Who the deuce,' he cried angrily, 'was thinking of Quebec? America was like a book one has read and done with, but here we are on a sudden reading our book backwards.'

Luckily Quebec did not fall into the hands of the French. The British Navy saw to that Hawke's great victory in Quiberon Bay, in the November of 1759, placed sea command definitely in our hands, and just as the garrison of Quebec was steeling itself to withstand a French assault a ship of war was seen standing up the St. Lawrence and into the Basin of Quebec. Her colours were British, and Lévis, the French commander, saw that the game was up. Abandoning forty pieces of artillery, he raised the siege and began a retirement on Montreal. At that city Amherst, the British commander-in-chief—Amherst the dogged, the efficient, and the forgotten—later effected a concentration of three converging water-borne columns, one being from Quebec. At Montreal on September 8, 1760, the French capitulated to Amherst, 'surrendering to the British Crown more than was ever given to any Crown before,' as Amherst's brother was careful to note in his diary. But the fall of New France did little to eclipse the victory at Quebec in the previous year The dissolution of an immense empire had been unprovided with a dramatic setting. It came, not as the result of a fiercely contested and decisive world battle, but after a parley and with scarce an exchange of shots between the opposing outposts. The combined total of the united columns under Amherst amounted to 17,000 men. Against this disciplined force, Vaudreuil, the French viceroy, could oppose

but a mere handful. The Canadian militia had all returned to their homes. The Indians, quick to desert a lost cause, had vanished into the woods. Even in the regiments of French regulars the desertions had been numerous. The ultimate surrender was, therefore, bloodless and tame, and the contrast between it and the dramatic victory gained by Wolfe just twelve months earlier inevitably threw the latter once more into bold relief and produced that distorted perspective which is only to-day in process of readjustment.

In course of time the Battle of Quebec might have subsided into its proper place as a brilliant episode in the conquest of Canada; it might have merely challenged comparison with the capture of Louisburg in the preceding year, and with the contemporary advance under Amherst against Montreal, instead of completely eclipsing them, as actually happened. This happy consummation was, however, prevented by the rise and spread of one of the most monstrous legends connected with war—a legend which for self-evident absurdity has been matched in our time only by the story of large bodies of Russian troops passing through Great Britain in 1914. Nearly half a century after the Battle of Quebec the conversation of an elderly professor—who, as a lad, had held a civilian appointment in the fleet co-operating with Wolfe—half remembered by his listeners, and by them inaccurately recorded, gave rise to the story that Wolfe, during the passage of the flotilla of troops down the St. Lawrence in the small hours of September 13, 1759, had recited aloud part or all of Gray's *Elegy*. The frightful weight of the *a priori* evidence against such an occurrence as a recitation aloud by a general officer commanding, during a night advance, close under the enemy's picquets was overlooked. We in the twentieth century, by a process of comparison, can afford to smile at the legend. In more modern times a night advance preparatory to a great victory has been afforded us by the Egyptian campaign of 1882. By a curious coincidence the night march across the desert prior to Tel-el-Kebir occurred on the anniversary of the night descent of the St. Lawrence prior to Quebec. There are many survivors of Tel-el-Kebir still with us, and these will explode with Homeric laughter if it is ever suggested to them that during the advance, when absolute silence was as essential as it was on the St. Lawrence just a century and a quarter earlier, Sir Garnet Wolseley took the opportunity to recite a poem.

The *a priori* evidence was, however, disregarded. No attempt was made to search for facts. Sentiment took the bit in her teeth, and the waning glamour of Wolfe's achievement blazed up once again when the flames were fed with the fizzling fat of fiction. To imaginative writers the silent passage of the flotilla

down the river, broken by the reverie of the young commander, the presentiment of death revealed by his emphasis of the line, 'The paths of glory lead but to the grave'—all this was a purple patch ready made. Consistency between the need for absolute silence and the flagrant disregard by Wolfe of his own strict orders on the subject was disregarded. To take one of the earlier examples, Grahame, in his *History of the United States*, published in 1836, begins by stating: 'Silence was commanded under pain of death, which was indeed doubly menaced.' He admits that a 'death-like stillness was preserved in every boat,' except, however, in that occupied by Wolfe, who 'in accents barely audible to the profound attention of his listening officers'—and so on. Subsequent writers, however, have not been content with 'barely audible' accents. Wolfe recited 'aloud'; he recited not merely one line or one stanza, but the *whole poem* (128 lines); he followed this up by an irritable remark, certainly not in a 'barely audible' accent, but with outspoken petulance. Several authors indeed, not even content with this, have given us Wolfe's thoughts at the time: how 'his mind fled across the ocean'; how 'he thought of his mother and betrothed'; how an 'uprush of feeling' made him burst forth in recitation. Could sentimentality sink to lower depths? Even in the twentieth century the legend has persisted; even military writers have been found to follow the beaten track of error; even so great an authority on the laws of evidence as Lord Birkenhead but a few years ago repeated this legend to a literary assembly at Edinburgh.[1]

The fairy tale which makes up the popular version of Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy* would not be worth referring to were it not for the undoubted fact that for a century it gave to Wolfe's victory at Quebec a prominence which had the effect of placing in the

[1] The popular version was blown sky high in an article by Edward E. Morris, 'Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy*,' in the *English Historical Review* for January 1900. Without having to refer to the *a priori* evidence against the occurrence, and without finding it necessary to allude to the fact that there is not one single contemporary reference to the incident, Mr Morris clearly proves that the popular version is false. Mr Morris was not aware of the Currie evidence (*Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of James Currie, M.D., F.R.S.*, edited by his son William Wallace Currie, 1831, vol. ii., p. 248), which immensely strengthens his case. This and the other evidence are ably reviewed by Professor Waugh in his *James Wolfe, Man and Soldier* (1928), who likewise rejects the popular version, but he does not, we think, arrive at the right conclusion as to the date and place of the episode, such as it was. Nor does he stress, as he ought, the fact that the quotation of the line or stanza of the *Elegy* was not made by Wolfe at all, but by 'a gentleman in the boat.' As regards the date and place of the episode, we have long been convinced, from a careful examination of all the evidence, that it took place during the reconnaissance made from the south shore of the St. Lawrence on the afternoon of September 10 (according to some accounts September 11), 1759. The passage down stream prior to the attack was made in the hours before dawn of the night September 12-13.

shade the successful efforts of other commanders likewise engaged in expelling the French from North America. As has been mentioned before, the perspective of the struggle has been distorted. The reader will not unnaturally reply that the writer of such a statement is bound to attempt that readjustment which the perspective is alleged to require. It is with such object that this article is written.

The struggle for empire between France and England which Wolfe materially helped to bring to a close had been of long duration. For exactly a century and a half friction had existed in North America, and on that continent time after time actual collision had occurred between the two races. In 1759 Quebec was no virgin fortress. Nearly 100 years before Wolfe was born the fleur-de-lys had been lowered, and for three years the English flag had waved above its battlements. The fortress had been restored to France, but twice since then attempts had been made upon it, although without success. It is unnecessary, however, to trace the struggle between France and England in North America throughout the whole of its course. In order to survey Wolfe's share in it our attention may be confined to the intensive contest which for six years from 1754-59 crowned the long struggle.

For some years before this period it had been clear that the future of North America must be put to the test, and in the year 1745 Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, had summed up the case bluntly, but with truth, when he declared to the English Prime Minister that 'French and English cannot live upon the same continent.' There were two main causes of friction. The first was Nova Scotia, which, although it had been ceded to England by treaty, still remained French in sympathy and outlook and was a hotbed of French political and religious intrigue. A more pronounced cause of disagreement is to be found in the geographical situation which was now beginning to make itself felt. The French, in addition to their possession of Canada, which in those days practically ended west of the Great Lakes, claimed also by right of discovery the 'valley' of the Mississippi. Such claim had extended the dominion of the King of France by an area bounded on one side by the Rocky Mountains and on the other by the Alleghanies. The aim of France was to maintain connexion between the Gulf of Mexico and the St. Lawrence by a thin chain of forts; the urge of the strip of English colonies on the Atlantic coast line was to develop westwards. One line ran roughly north and south, the other east and west. Collision was therefore inevitable, and the Ohio country became the bone of contention. The French increased their small garrisons there and threw up new forts. Virginia sent a small force under Major

George Washington to assert British rights. On May 27, 1754, shots were exchanged with a small French column on a tributary of the Monongahela, and thus began the war which was to decide for ever the future of North America.

The die was now cast, and England was compelled to follow the example of France in sending regular military units to North America, although, at first, England began on an absurdly small scale. On balance the advantage of the year 1755 lay with the French, for of the four small expeditions undertaken against them only one resulted in success, and that success was far more than neutralised by the disaster to Braddock's column. In the following year fortune still smiled on the arms of France, who in North America, by the capture and destruction of Oswego, recovered the undisputed command of Lake Ontario, secured her communications with the west, and by her victories lessened English prestige in the eyes of the Indians—an important factor even though the struggle for North America was clearly more and more becoming one to be fought out by regular forces. Again, in 1757, the year closed to the advantage of the French in North America. The French navy had frustrated a blow aimed against Louisburg, the 'Gibraltar of the West,' while on land a French army under Montcalm had forced Fort William Henry to surrender and had then laid it in ruins.

These years 1756 and 1757 had been full of misfortune for England, not only in North America, but elsewhere. To the loss of Oswego, to the failure at Louisburg, and to the surrender of Fort William Henry in America had to be added Byng's failure at Minorca, which fell into the hands of the French, a disastrous expedition to Rochefort, the humiliating surrender of the Duke of Cumberland on the Continent, and, in Asia, the horror of the Black Hole of Calcutta. *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena doloris?* Pitt had cried in bitter adaptation. But even before the dismal catalogue of failure had been completed he had been reinstated as Secretary of State on his own terms. Eager for the fray, he was confident of success. 'I am sure,' he stated, 'I can save this country and that no one else can.'

Pitt's epigram that he 'would conquer America in Germany' is well known; but that policy came later—the first strokes were to be administered across the Atlantic The time was favourable, for France had made the fatal mistake of turning her back on the sea and of allowing herself to be entangled in a new and unnatural Continental alliance in the Seven Years' War. Pitt's method of grappling with the North American problem was almost revolutionary when contrasted with the previous conduct of the struggle. In the first place, there was to be centralisation; and centralisation from Whitehall at that. Not only was the plan

of campaign for 1758 to be there drawn up, but details of comparative *minutiæ* were also included in the instructions sent out to the local commander-in-chief. Centralisation has always very obvious drawbacks. Nevertheless the centralisation which had been such a marked feature of Canadian administration had shown that it could to some extent neutralise the enormous superiority in population held by the British colonies in America, which were, however, 'crumbled into little governments.' And, further, centralisation which revolved round a genius like Pitt, aided by an Anson and a Ligonier as his naval and military advisers, would be without many of the usual drawbacks. In the second place, it was now made clear that the question was no longer to be one of merely checking French trespass upon English territory; the expression 'invasion of Canada' was definitely mentioned more than once. New France was to be conquered, and the French were either to be made British subjects or to be turned out of North America, lock, stock, and barrel. Thirdly, the mother country practically took upon herself all the expense to be incurred in the vast operation. The colonies, both north and south, were asked to raise men; but the King would be at the charge of the necessary artillery, provisions, boats and vessels, and even the pay and cost of equipment would be reimbursed by the British Parliament. In the fourth place, more and more was the system to be developed by which the destiny of North America was to be fought for by regular troops, aided though they would be by the provincials in America.

The campaign of 1758, fought out on these lines, was an immense success when contrasted with the record of the previous years. The great French water fortress of Louisburg was taken, an operation in which the whole of the victorious naval force and more than 95 per cent of the troops employed were British regulars. Although offset by a bloody reverse experienced elsewhere in the theatre of war by Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, the capture of Louisburg was a sterling asset and an important step forward in the invasion of Canada which was to be renewed next year. Even King George II. suddenly became as eager for conquests in Canada as he had previously been indifferent. Forgetful for a moment of his beloved Hanover, he declared to Newcastle that England must hold Louisburg, conquer Canada, and drive the French out of North America.

The plan of campaign for the invasion of Canada in 1759, drawn up in Whitehall, laid down three lines of attack. A combined naval and military expedition was to proceed from Louisburg up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. From New York State another force was to move northwards with Montreal as its objective. One of the most important strategical features of the theatre of

war was the existence of an all-water route—or practically so—from New York to the St. Lawrence below Montreal, and curiously enough this route was so direct as almost to form a straight line. The route consisted in the first place of the River Hudson; and when this was left, and a twelve-mile belt of forest upland had been traversed, Lakes George and Champlain were entered, and from the latter access to the St Lawrence was afforded by the River Richelieu. Along the route the French had erected obstacles in the shape of forts, the most powerful being those of Ticonderoga and Crown Point at the southern end of Lake Champlain. The third line of attack was also to be largely water-borne from the River Hudson westward to Lake Ontario, where Oswego was to be recovered and the fort re-established; and it was hoped that any operations on Lake Ontario might be pushed still further westward to Fort Niagara at the far end of the lake. The dangers inherent in a plan of campaign dictated from an office thousands of miles from the theatre of war and implying operations so divergent need no stressing. But in the case of success each operation would bear great fruit The expedition against Quebec would capture the capital and would seal up the entrance from Europe to New France. The centre attack, by seizing the St. Lawrence at Montreal, would grasp the artery through which pulsed the life blood of the colony, and—should Quebec not be taken—would isolate the capital. On the left the capture of Fort Niagara would cut off France not only from her forts along the Mississippi and in the west, but from the debatable territory on the Ohio as well. It is essential to remember the triple nature of the operations, for there is undoubtedly a tendency, for reasons stated earlier in this article, to concentrate attention solely upon the expedition against Quebec and to hail Wolfe, in consequence, with the wholly incorrect title of the 'Conqueror of Canada.'

The commander-in-chief—under whose hand was also to be the centre attack—was to be Jeffery Amherst, the victor of Louisburg in 1758 On the left the reduction of Fort Niagara was entrusted to Brigadier-General Prideaux, who was to work in conjunction with a column under Brigadier-General Stanwix, whose objective was the relief of Pittsburg, founded on the site of the French Fort Duquesne, near to which Braddock had met disaster. For the important sea-borne expedition against Quebec the land forces were to be entrusted to a young officer of thirty-one, who as a brigadier had served with distinction at the siege of Louisburg, James Wolfe. Wolfe had landed at Louisburg with the reputation of being one of the two best soldiers of his years in the army, the other being the young Lord Howe, who, like Wolfe, was to meet his death in this campaign of 1759. But until then

the career of Wolfe, although highly honourable, had not been particularly remarkable. Receiving his first commission when merely a lad, he had served in the War of the Austrian Succession, and in Scotland during the '45. He had showed zeal, ability, and a taste for military study when these qualities, and particularly the combination of them, were very rare when compared with to-day. By means of assistance from his father's pocket, Wolfe, when twenty-three years old, had bought himself into command of the 20th Foot, now the Lancashire Fusiliers. In this position he showed very marked ability, and the 20th became known as the best trained and best disciplined unit in the Army; but Wolfe's service as a commanding officer was carried out in time of peace, and chiefly in small stations in Scotland, so that he had no opportunity of showing his worth as a regimental leader in the field. In 1757 his reputation—and it must be stated also the close friendship between his father and the military commander concerned—secured his appointment to the staff of the ill-fated Rochefort expedition. This was the initial stroke of Pitt's policy against France. It resulted in abject and humiliating failure, and at the courts-martial which were the sequel it was established that had the bold yet sound advice which Wolfe had tendered been followed, the result might have been far different. In his furious anger against the military incompetents who had brought derision upon his project Pitt was attracted by Wolfe and marked him down for advancement. The opportunity came the following year at Louisburg, where Wolfe amply justified the expectations of the Secretary of State. Now, Wolfe was selected for the Quebec expedition with the local rank of major-general, an appointment quite unusual for a man in his early thirties. Wolfe was ever handicapped by indifferent health. He suffered at times from ague; on several occasions he was afflicted with scorbutic trouble; often he was racked with rheumatism; before he was twenty-five he had developed stone, which for the short remainder of his life often caused him great pain. He was undoubtedly tubercular, and towards his end he was afflicted with chronic tuberculosis of the bladder and kidneys. Racked by disease as he was, his judgment was often hasty and not seldom inaccurate and unjust. But the shard of a feeble and emaciated frame held a spirit of unquenchable fire. Of dauntless courage, unflagging energy, and endowed with the priceless gift of vision, Wolfe was every inch a soldier and a born leader of men.

Wolfe had proceeded home on leave after the fall of Louisburg, and he left England again on February 14, 1759, on board the *Neptune*, the flagship of Admiral Saunders, who was in command of the naval part of the expedition. The fleet escorted a large number of empty transports, for no troops were being sent from

home, and the conquest of Canada was to be achieved by the twenty-three regular regiments in North America, reinforced possibly by some from the West Indies, and aided by some of the 20,000 provincials to be raised in the northern colonies. Various causes delayed the start of the expedition from its base at Louisburg, June 6 having arrived before the entire fleet was clear of the harbour, an operation which took six days. Nine days later the left attack got under way when Prideaux began moving up the Mohawk River towards Lake Ontario. In the centre Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was still assembling his force of 6500 British and 5000 provincials at the head of Lake George.

Of the three separate operations that to be carried out by Wolfe and Saunders was obviously the most difficult. There was no precedent for guidance. To carry an expedition hundreds of miles up a river, where the navigation was notoriously difficult, through a hostile country, against a fortress defended by regular troops was an operation beyond all experience. A very serious matter, too, was the fact that instead of the 12,000 troops which Wolfe had been promised the total proved to be considerably under 9000 The fortress against which he was moving was believed to be exceedingly strong This, as a matter of fact, was an exaggeration, but, by a curious irony, Wolfe's difficulties were increased rather than diminished thereby Strictly speaking, Quebec was not a fortress at all, but merely a fortified city; and no less an authority than Saxe had written strongly of the folly of giving fortifications to a city and then imagining the result to be a fortress The whole military situation of Canada was, indeed, unsatisfactory Montcalm, at the close of 1758, had frankly stated to the French Government 'La paix est nécessaire ou le Canada est perdu.' As for Quebec, Montcalm's envoy, on arrival at Versailles, had simply stated: 'Quebec est sans fortifications et n'en est pas susceptible' The result was unfortunate for Wolfe Since Quebec was the capital, its protection was obviously called for, and since it was not fitted to withstand a siege and assault, a covering army was clearly required. Wolfe had expected to be able to land his army below Quebec, to march round the city, and then to sit down before its western or land front. But on arrival Wolfe saw at once that new plans would be required, for his proposed landing would be opposed by the covering army under Montcalm, which was in position along the Beauport shore between the Rivers St. Charles and Montmorenci, and the strength of which was clearly greater than that of the army under his own command

The whole military problem of the conquest of Canada had thus undergone a sudden transformation, but, in view of the separation of Amherst from Wolfe, of the distance of North

America from Whitehall, and of the non-existence of any method of communication comparable with the means existing to-day, no adequate steps could be taken to meet it. It was known, of course, that the sum total of British and provincials engaged in the invasion of Canada exceeded the total of French regulars, colonial infantry, militia, volunteers, and Indians available to resist it. Obviously it was clear to Wolfe that the unexpected strength opposing his landing on the Beauport shore must imply a diminution *pro tanto* of the force opposing Amherst in his thrust against Montreal, and of that defending Niagara against Prideaux. An interchange of correspondence by telegraph or wireless—had such means been possible—would quite probably have induced Amherst to order Wolfe to do everything to 'pin' Montcalm and his army, but not, in the existing circumstances, to risk his own force by attempting actually to take Quebec. Meanwhile Amherst himself, reassured that the resistance in front of him would be less than he had thought, would have pushed on rapidly instead, as actually happened, of proceeding methodically and with extreme slowness.

Wolfe, however, was not in the happy position which rapid communication ensures. He had been ordered to take Quebec, and there was a time limit imposed by Nature. For the fleet would have to leave before the St. Lawrence froze, and the departure of the ships could not be deferred probably much longer than the beginning of October. Wolfe's first action was to erect batteries on the south bank of the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec and to bring the city under a heavy and continuous bombardment. Then came the task of trying to dislodge Montcalm from the position he held on the Beauport shore between the River St. Charles and the Montmorenci. The first attempt had to be abandoned; the second, on July 31, hopeless from the first, was a disastrous failure. At the end of July the general situation as regards the invasion of Canada was as follows. Wolfe was as far off as ever from actually taking Quebec, but the effect of his persistence was being felt elsewhere. Amherst had merely to beat the air. His advance so far had been practically bloodless, for the strong French positions of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned by the enemy without a blow. Far to the west Fort Niagara had surrendered on the 24th of the month.

Wolfe's dogged determination was now beginning to bring its own reward. Montcalm became alarmed at the sure, if slow, advance of Amherst towards the heart of Canada, and hurried off a detachment to Montreal. Further, many of the Canadian militia with Montcalm, anxious to get in the harvest before it was too late, were beginning to desert, while Montcalm's Indian allies,

watching with awe Wolfe's shells crashing into Quebec, became dubious as to the certainty of the French being the winning side. Through a French deserter Wolfe had gained information of the British successes at Ticonderoga and Niagara. He could quite justifiably have argued that portion of the glory was due to him; but his sensitive nature exaggerated his own failures at Quebec when set in comparison with the victories of Amherst and Johnson.[8] He had been ordered to take Quebec, and, before leaving England, he had in an outburst of enthusiasm not unmixed with gasconade assured Pitt that he would not fail. Before, however, he could take Quebec he must beat Montcalm, and to beat 'the old fox,' as Wolfe called him, Montcalm must be forced to unglue himself from his trenches. Wolfe was anxious to make another attempt against the Beauport position, but the three brigadiers when consulted unanimously rejected the proposal, suggesting that the army should be moved up stream, where a landing on the north bank, by threatening Montcalm's communications with Montreal, would force the French general to come out and fight.

There was no particular difficulty in adopting this course, for already many of the warships and transports had run the gauntlet of Quebec by night. Minor operations had taken place up river, and a raid had been successfully carried out against a French supply depôt some fifty miles above Quebec. Accordingly, during the night of September 4–5, a flotilla passed Quebec with the baggage and stores, and on the following night the troops moved westward along the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, embarking later on the ships of Admiral Holmes, who was in charge of the up-river naval operations. Wolfe's striking force was now opposite Cap Rouge, some ten miles above Quebec. It was about that place that Wolfe's brigadiers had proposed to force a landing, but their scheme had one fatal objection. Wolfe's army had no horses to draw his guns or transport, whereas Montcalm was well provided in that respect, and, further, the French had a cavalry force some 200 strong. In mobility and manœuvring power Wolfe would, therefore, have been at a serious disadvantage as compared with his opponent. On the other hand, if it could be so managed that Montcalm could be brought to action close under the western front of Quebec on the Plain of Abraham, Wolfe, in the event of victory, would not only find himself on the long-wished-for position where he had proposed to place his army, but would thus separate Montcalm from the strong detachment which the French commander-in-chief had sent to Cap Rouge under Bougainville.

[8] Prideaux had been killed, and the actual capture of Fort Niagara was effected by William Johnson.

The impetuous tides of the St. Lawrence suggested to Wolfe the solution of the problem. For he saw that by using the last of the flood he could, by a feint, draw Bougainville still further up stream, and by getting Admiral Saunders, with the bulk of the fleet, to 'pin' Montcalm to the Beauport position by a simultaneous demonstration, it might be possible, the moment the ebb set in at Cap Rouge, secretly and under cover of darkness to slip down the river and suddenly emerge on the Plain of Abraham close to Quebec. The plan was entirely Wolfe's own. He had marked down the cove at Anse du Foulon where the landing might take place, and two days before the attempt was to be made he took two of his brigadiers, Holmes the admiral, and the naval officer who was to command the flotilla of troops, to view the proposed landing place from the south shore. The plan was daring, and its exposition seems to have caused dismay, if not consternation, in the minds of those to whom the project was unfolded. Wolfe, however, stood firm, proving that to physical bravery beyond question he united the very highest form of moral courage

Every schoolboy knows of the silent descent of the river during the hours before dawn on September 13, 1759; how the landing was successfully accomplished at Anse du Foulon; how the French post at the summit of the cove was overrun; and how Wolfe drew up his army on the Plain of Abraham before Montcalm, pinned to his position below Quebec, had grasped what had occurred. So far in the Quebec venture Fortune had frowned on Wolfe, but now she showed that a brave attempt merited her smiles. Montcalm really had the game in his hands, for Wolfe was in a position of distinct peril, having Quebec and Montcalm's army in front and Bougainville's strong detachment in his rear, while depending upon the narrow zig-zag path from Anse du Foulon as a line of supply. Montcalm, however, made the fatal mistake of attacking at once before even he had collected all his troops from the Beauport position, without trying to co-ordinate his movements with those of Bougainville, and without obtaining extra field-guns which were available in Quebec. The result is well known In numbers Wolfe and Montcalm were equally matched, but whereas the army of the former consisted entirely of regulars, that of Montcalm was a medley of regular regiments, militia, colonial units, volunteers and Indians The actual battle was decided in a few minutes when two volleys from the British broke the French line and drove it headlong in retreat, Wolfe falling mortally wounded during the pursuit

Four days later Quebec surrendered, but the conquest of Canada was as yet far from being complete Montcalm's army was still in being. It had not been forced into the city, there to

be involved in the capitulation, but had escaped—in considerable disorder, it is true—making its way round the British left to Montreal. Curiously enough the fall of Quebec actually strengthened the French power of resistance in Canada, for whereas the remnant of Montcalm's army was still available for mobile operations, the victorious British army which occupied the city was impotent for many months. It had no horses, and none were procurable in Quebec, and when the British fleet sailed away in October the victors of Quebec were left marooned in the city with insufficient food and stores—a state of things which seriously drained the strength of the garrison through attacks of scurvy. During the winter of 1759–60 the whole destiny of Canada hung upon the question of command of the sea, for upon this issue depended the reinforcement in the spring of the troops in Canada by France and England respectively. On November 20, 1759, Hawke put the matter beyond doubt. His victory at Quiberon Bay ensured that the country which could reinforce her troops across the Atlantic would not be France. The garrison of Quebec, refreshed, re-equipped and restored by the assistance of the British Navy, was thus enabled to take part in Amherst's great combined attack of 1760 by which the fate of Canada was sealed.

It is thus incorrect to hail Wolfe—although quite lately he was so hailed—as the 'Conqueror of Canada.' It is still more incorrect to say—as has been said within the last few weeks—that 'he wrenched half a continent from France.' This, however, can be said. Wolfe carried out the immensely difficult task assigned him. What he was called upon to do he did. He did it within the time limit imposed. He did it with forces which fell far short in numbers of the figure upon which he had counted. He did it in face of the severe handicap of ill health, and of the still greater handicap of the distrust and uneasiness of his colleagues and subordinates. And in doing it he gave his life, thanking God for such a death. For devotion to duty, for untiring resolution, for dauntless courage, for personality and leadership, and for the sure grasp of a chance fleetingly offered, no name can stand higher than that of James Wolfe.

F. E. WHITTON.

THE CRIMINAL

II. Small Fry

To the law-abiding citizen whose interest in crime is restricted to the perusal of detective stories and the columns of a Sunday newspaper, it may come as a shock to know that less than 500 persons annually are considered worthy of penal servitude, and that in order to maintain this standard the State has to use much of its old material several times over

Still more disappointing is the depressing fact that out of the approximate 43,000 persons who strive to keep open as many prisons as possible for the benefit of H M Prison Service appallingly few, by any stretch of the imagination, can be accounted criminals in the professional artistic sense, the only sense worthy of mention in these pages

Crime is distinctly a vocation, and the criminal world is a world within a world, but not of it Indeed, the criminal, like his direct opposite, the saint, stands about equidistant from that established way of thinking conveniently described as civilised public opinion

In so far as he follows the ordinary profession or trade of a citizen, he does so because it is a protective blind to his actual occupation, and a small investment of practical value as well. It is easier, for example, for Mr X to be a successful burglar by night if he be Mr X, the newsagent and tobacconist, whom everyone knows and who is on the best of terms with the local police by day For this reason Mr X may also find it convenient to be a churchwarden and send his children to the Sunday school, or to do anything whatever calculated to raise him in the respect of his fellow-citizens

Thus, so long as his fellow-citizens admire titles and a display of wealth, or succumb to the charms of the philanthropist, the social worker, or even the hard-working tradesman, so will the criminal find infinite choice within the world of daily affairs for the trappings of the disguise he may select for that part he is to play—if he is to cultivate his spiritual powers

The criminal knows that his whole outlook on life is distasteful to the authorities in Church and State, and that, if he is arrested

or betrayed into their hands, he will be treated in accordance with traditional methods; that is to say, they will endeavour to make him believe that it does not pay to contract out, whilst encouraging him to believe, through the medium of their chaplains and prison visitors, that it does pay to surrender.

In so far as the criminal is an artist, he will adopt the Nietzschian motto 'That which does not kill me strengthens me,' while he will regard the voice of the chaplains as did Ulysses that of the Sirens, possibly without being obliged to have recourse to such desperate remedies as did that redoubtable hero.

From what has been already said, it will be understood that it is impossible to write of the criminal from the standpoint of a moral critic. Once one has crossed the frontier of his country, if one is to be a faithful recorder, one must write in the spiritual language of the country one has entered, and from the mental standpoint of its inhabitants alone. Thus the object of these pages is description, and not edification, though it may be that the narration of bare facts is wont to provide its own commentary.

As a very elementary and simple way of earning a living, should one be fond of an outdoor life and sight-seeing, may be commended that successfully practised by two young men named Dick and Harry.

They had arrived at the conclusion that as their parents had evidently considered an attendance at the Sunday school and the choir to be a necessary part of their education, though an arduous one, it might be a good idea to make the knowledge thus acquired the basis of a livelihood.

Filled with this ambition, they set forth on a walking tour, their object being to visit all the parsonages of England which were situated in towns of a reasonably sized population, to call on the vicars or the curates, to greet them with joyous affability, and to remind them that they were once members of their choir and their Sunday schools. They had not proceeded far upon their journey before they were staggered even themselves at the number of parsons who recalled their faces and gave them welcome, or who confessed to a lapse of memory, yet believed their claims to recognition.

For one young curate they had an especial affection. He received them in the place of his vicar, for whose absence on holiday he humbly apologised. He invited them into his rooms, where, after explaining that he had nothing in the house for lunch, he suggested that they should rest their wearied limbs, while he went out to the shops to procure the wherewithal for a feast worthy of the occasion. To this they raised no insuperable

objections, save to assure him that they could manage to hold ou a while longer, should it be imposing upon him any too grea trouble. This, to their surprise, seemed only to stimulate hi unselfish wish to act as the host of two such distinguished wandering artists. So off he went to the shops, leaving them in complete possession.

This afforded them a great deal of amusement, because they were cheery souls. It revived them indeed enormously, so much so that they shook off their weariness and made a careful investigation into the contents of the drawers in this exceedingly young curate's domicile. They did not find very much to interest them, but they took those souvenirs which they considered had any marketable value. Had they been wretched examples of ordinary unimaginative law-breakers, they would at this point have shuffled off and left the poor young man all alone to his luncheon. But Dick and Harry were utterly incapable of doing anything so mean and low-down as that Quite otherwise, they waited their host's return and had a capital feast Conversation flowed easily; they had so much in common to discuss, for even when they had at length said all that could be said upon the subject of Church music they still felt obliged to make a few useful remarks upon the best methods of conducting a Sunday school At length they rose to go, nor could anything they said to the contrary prevent that good young man from giving them a little journey money as a 'send-off'

For this young curate they retained the kindliest feelings. They considered that, so long as the Church sticks in the education of its clergy, to the excellent habit of training them to be credulous rather than sceptical of what is told them on authority, quite a reliable living might be possible for artists like themselves for some time to come The only regret they had was that they had been obliged to give him such a valuable lesson in return for his hospitality, though they consoled themselves with the thought that it had not been given entirely free

Some time after this they encountered a most vexatious vicar, whose education could only be described as deplorable. He greeted them as pleasantly as had the young curate of blessed memory, and he seemed at least perfectly to recall their features. Nothing could have exceeded the welcome he gave them. While lunch was preparing, delicious hints of which had already penetrated to the vicar's study where they were seated, listening to his cheery talk and permitting their eyes to wander in anticipation towards closed closets and a most attractive writing table, they were interrupted by a sudden resolution on the part of their host to show them over the church.

They followed him, hats in hand, in wondering awe. He

showed them everything. Then he took them into the vestry, locked them in and sent for the police.

In prison they confessed to something approaching an admiration for this vicar. They would have liked to suggest to him exactly what the prison chaplain suggested to them, that it was never too late to repent. They thought when they were released they would go straight to him for assistance, because they felt they could accept it from him more honourably than from anyone else they knew. At any rate, as they wisely said, 'It is always useful to have a clergyman for a pal. One may need a passport—who knows?' It is needless to say that Dick and Harry did not permit their imprisonment in any way to diminish their ardour. 'The great thing while you are in "quod" is to think over your mistakes and to improve upon your methods'—so they said.

In their province of criminal art it was their business to study *Crockford* at the free library with the same love and care as that bestowed on *Debrett's Peerage* by an admirer of the well-born and well-landed. The promotion of vicars and the ordinations of curates were matters of vital import. *Crockford's Directory* was to them, and probably to many others, a gold mine. All that had to be done was to memorise the outlines of a curate's career, and then to visit him and recall memories of one of his previous parishes, in which one might safely claim to be the nephew of the caretaker of the mission-hall, after taking the trouble first to ascertain his name.

'A few names, a little local knowledge, and plenty of bluff will carry you through all right. After all, personality counts. All doors can be opened with that key—except perhaps the prison door, though even that opened when a certain convict chatted with a certain Home Secretary, didn't it?' But enough of Dick and Harry who lived on clergymen.

Another simple way of earning a living, and one that may be recommended to those of riper years than my friends aforementioned, was illustrated by an elderly man in recent years, in one of London's most crowded areas.

He had the perspicacity to perceive that during the war the Southern Railway had found it advisable to close some of their redundant stations, and it dawned upon his fertile mind what an inconvenience this must have been to large numbers of residents who had been wont to avail themselves of their amenities. He was a venerable old man. He was indeed precisely the sort of old man that one might expect to be employed as the agent of some philanthropic society. This may possibly have occurred to him also. At any rate, he decided to commence a round of visitation to the residents of the neighbourhoods in question, and to invite

them to contribute to a fund which he said was being raised locally in order to have the derelict stations reopened, it being felt apparently, that the Southern Railway ought not itself to be burdened with the cost.

It may surprise the reader to know that large numbers of householders contributed gladly towards the attainment of so praiseworthy an object. It did not, I fancy, surprise the old man himself, for he had, I think, had some previous acquaintance with the credulity of the metropolitan housewife. So he went on collecting, and although no railway station was actually reinstated in its lost privileges as the result of his efforts, this in no wise damped the ardour of the residents They simply took it for granted that it requires a very large sum of money to get a railway station reopened, far more perhaps than might have been imagined to be the case The old man seemed to have shared their feelings on the subject, as he shared also, most profitably, in their protracted disappointments

Of course he knew that sooner or later he would be asked himself to contribute to the personnel of some local police-dock. It was a race against time by one who, it may be, knew the meaning of time Meanwhile, he plodded on—faint, perhaps, yet pursuing—until at long length he was gently led into the presence of a magistrate, an amiable gentleman, like himself. They looked at each other, and felt most likely they had a good deal in common. Each was well acquainted with the knowledge that human nature abhors a vacuum, and that there is room for all sorts and kinds of livelihoods in this venerable, wonderful world

Be this as it may, the magistrate dealt gently with the old man, and did not hesitate to give his reasons for so doing. In his opinion, he said, householders who contributed at their doorways to elderly strangers for the reopening of a local railway station ought to be permitted to surrender their oblations in peace on the altar of Sublime Folly.

The old man was sent to Brixton on remand for a week, in order to have an opportunity to envisage the situation, and presumably to decide, should he be bound over, in what manner he should in future keep the peace among His Majesty's subjects.

Reverentia ad senes. Railway stations, even when closed to the public, have their uses.

Whether this old gentleman had realised late in life the possibilities afforded by house to house collections I cannot definitely say, but his behaviour serves very adequately to illustrate the crook mind in one of its milder settings. He posed as something more or less credible in order to achieve what might seem to many wholly incredible, and was successful He was, in

his own order, a genuine artist—his art being that of false pretences.

More ambitious, and far more seductive, was a young maiden who, notwithstanding a good education and a reliable position in society, for reasons perhaps best known to herself alone decided to cross the frontier. Nature had endowed her with a dazzling beauty, and it may be that, as she observed the effects this had upon the opposite sex, she came to realise the extent to which she might use it as a weapon for the gratification of her desires. Her aim was to secure wealth, and particularly precious stones, where possible, by the spell of her personality alone, and, when this was not in itself sufficient, by recourse to the art of false pretences as an auxiliary to the fulfilment of her purpose. A living obtained by such means seemed to her always preferable to accepting the invitation of her relatives to recross the frontier into comfortable respectability To her the criminal world was, as it is to all who hear its voice calling to them, a spiritual realm, a magic kingdom which, like the island in *Mary Rose*, 'likes to be visited' Within its borders alone could she discover that climate in which her soul could breathe freely She may have craved the money and jewels for the power they bestowed when possessed, but had she paused to analyse her feelings at this period of her career (which she certainly did not) it would have been to confess that the joys and dangers of acquisition exceeded immeasurably those experienced when the treasure was in her grasp

Further, it must be added that she was not unacquainted with the art of thieving, should it ever become necessary to fall back upon this method of procedure In every sense, therefore, she was, while still in the early twenties, as well equipped a young woman as one could wish to see on that side of the frontier which some call the right, and others the wrong.

For the purpose of these pages, which is always to lay stress upon the beauty of crime as an art, it will suffice to record two episodes in the career of this charming lady, in the first of which she appears in her zenith and in the second, one hopes only temporarily, in her nadir

Picture her, therefore, one bright afternoon radiantly attired, 'mystic, wonderful,' stepping out of a car at the entrance to the establishment of a West End jeweller of repute Follow her into the shop, observe the politeness of the attendants, one of whom presently conveys to the manager her request for a personal interview.

The manager, on beholding her, is enchanted by such an apparition of youthful loveliness on his threshold. He listens with deference to what she has to say The story is not a new one, but,

coming from her lips, in some mysterious way it acquires a new interpretation. She informs him that she is so fortunate as to possess a wealthy, a very wealthy, admirer, that this gentleman has expressed the wish to make her a present of a diamond necklet, that he has asked her to make her own selection from the stock of any jeweller of repute, that most naturally she has come straight to him, a decision which she expects by this time has long ceased to afford the manager any flattery. May she inspect some of his necklets? The manager being only too delighted, she quickly arrives at the diamonds of her choice

Then she explains to him that she would be grateful if he would personally call upon her the following day, at her flat, when she would like her admirer to see the necklet before its purchase was completed. This the manager agrees to do, whereupon she wishes him good-day and makes one of her customary dazzling exits

The next day the manager duly presents himself at her flat, where he is received by the lady herself, who conducts him into her sitting-room, where he unpacks the necklet to her contagious joy.

She then explains that her admirer is in the next room, but the manager will readily comprehend that, being a man of great prominence, he does not wish to make himself known.

'But I know,' she says, joyfully catching up the diamonds and beaming at him, 'he will buy them for me directly he sets eyes on them.' And having said this, she rushes out of the room and locks the door. Then she rushes out of the flat, and a little later she rushes out of the country.

That was her greatest achievement

Some considerable time afterwards two detectives in the region of Piccadilly Circus had their attention aroused by the very remarkable behaviour of a woman at an omnibus halt. Although she made a great effort to board every omnibus that drew up, she never succeeded in obtaining an entrance to any. All she seemed to do was to cling perpetually for support to the hip pockets of gentlemen also desirous of mounting the omnibuses, but with greater success than herself.

Now and again she was obviously embarrassed, for the contents of some of the hip pockets tumbled out into her hand, and there was never time to restore to the owners their lost possessions And when at length she was requested by her two spectators to stroll with them to Vine Street, and was subsequently asked to explain the source of her pocket-money, she said quite truthfully that it was pocket-money she had received from gentlemen. This, coupled with her charm of personality and

beauty, and the fact that she chose an omnibus halt in the environs of Piccadilly, almost constituted a defence. At any rate, she was charged with 'loitering with intent,' and thereby was awarded only a paltry two months in return for her ability.

ARTHUR R. L. GARDNER.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

A number of members of the reading public, men and women, have sent recommendations of recent books This list is a digest of their selections.—THE EDITOR.

ANTHOLOGIE DE LA NOUVELLE PROSE FRANÇAISE (Aux editions du Sagittaire) Simon Kia (Paris) 25 frs

EDMUND B D'AUVERGNE "Napoleon the Third" Nash and Grayson 21s *Biography* A valuable historical judgment with penetrating psychology and clear statement

JEAN BALDE "La Vigne et la Maison" Plon Nourrit. 3 frs. 50 c *Fiction* A rather depressing but interesting study of provincial life in Western France

HILAIRE BELLOC "Joan of Arc" Cassell 6s *Biography* Of all the lives of Joan of Arc this is the most convincing a beautiful "acte de foi"

DOROTHY BROOKES "Letters Pagan and Christian" Benn Brothers. 15s *Letters* Letters from 500 B C to A D 500 selected for their personal interest

M CHADOURNE "Vasco" Cape 7s 6d *Fiction* A degenerate Frenchman in the South Seas An excellent translation

ERNEST DIMNET "The Art of Thinking" Cape 6s. Healthy and refreshing introspection interesting both to the philosopher and the man in the street, incidentally also the revelation of a charming personality.

ALLAIN FOURNIER "The Wanderer." Constable 7s 6d. *Fiction*. Allain Fournier is a French de la Mare

CROSBIE GARSTON "Houp La" Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d. *Fiction* Light reading In parts definitely amusing

ANDRÉ GIDE "L'Ecole des Femmes" Gallemard (Paris). 9 frs. *Fiction*. A good psychological study

FRANCIS HACKETT. "Henry VIII." Cape 12s. 6d. *Biography*. The "new biography" at last. scientific history and imagination combined

SELMA LAGERLOF (trans FRANCESCA MARTIN). "The General's Ring." Werner Laurie. 3s 6d. *Fiction*. A Swedish folk story. Unsophisticated and wholly delightful.

HUGH LOFTING "Doctor Dolittle in the Moon" Cape. 7s 6d. *Fiction*. As usual, it makes one want to know what the Doctor will be up to next.

HAMISH MACLAREN. "Private Opinions of a British Bluejacket." Peter Davies. 6s. *Fiction*. An interesting experiment in free spelling and uncontrolled expression.

Mrs. Philip Martineau. "Caviare to Candy." Cobden-Sanderson. 6s. 6d. Recipes for small households.

T. Sturge Moore. "Armour for Aphrodite." Cayme Press. 8s. 6d. *Essays.* A subtle examination of æsthetic taste in charming prose: common-sense and super-sense.

C. S. Peel. "How We Lived Then." The Bodley Head. 15s. *Social History.* Domestic and social life in England during the war.

A. F. Pollard. "Wolsey." Longmans. 21s. *Biography.* A fully documented and finely-written work of great value.

Guy de Pourtales. "Ludwig II. of Bavaria." Thornton Butterworth. 10s. 6d. *Biography.*

Forrest Reid. "Walter de la Mare: a Critical Study." Faber and Faber. 7s. 6d.

Ludwig Renn (trans. W. and E. Muir). "War." Martin Secker. 7s. 6d. *Biography.* A German war book. Second only to "All Quiet on the Western Front."

Paul Rival. "La Folle Vie de la Reine Margot." Firmier-Didot (Paris). 20 frs. *Biography.* A true romance for those who are weary of unconvincing fiction. Charming contemporary illustrations.

Sarah Salt. "Sense and Sensuality." Gollancz. 7s. 6d. *Fiction.* Depicts a modern clique busy with the readjustments of sexual values.

L. A. G. Strong. "Dewer Rides." Gollancz. 7s. 6d. *Fiction.* A vigorous and rather naïve story of farm life on Dartmoor fifty years ago.

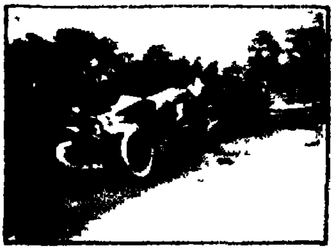
Arthur Waley. "The Pillow Book of Sei Shônagon." Allen and Unwin. 6s. *Memoirs.* Memoirs of a lady of the Japanese Imperial Court in the ninth century, with an admirable introduction by the translator.

Egon Wertheimer. "Portrait of the Labour Party." Putnam. 5s. *Politics.* A very able analysis of the English Labour Party by a German Social Democrat.

Clennel Wilkinson. "William Dampier." The Bodley Head. 12s. 6d. *Biography.* Life and voyages of the "Pirate and Hydrographer": a remarkable character.

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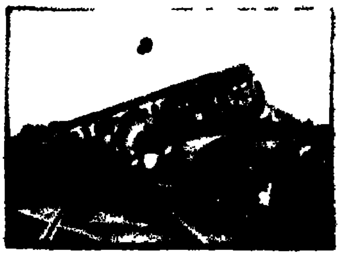
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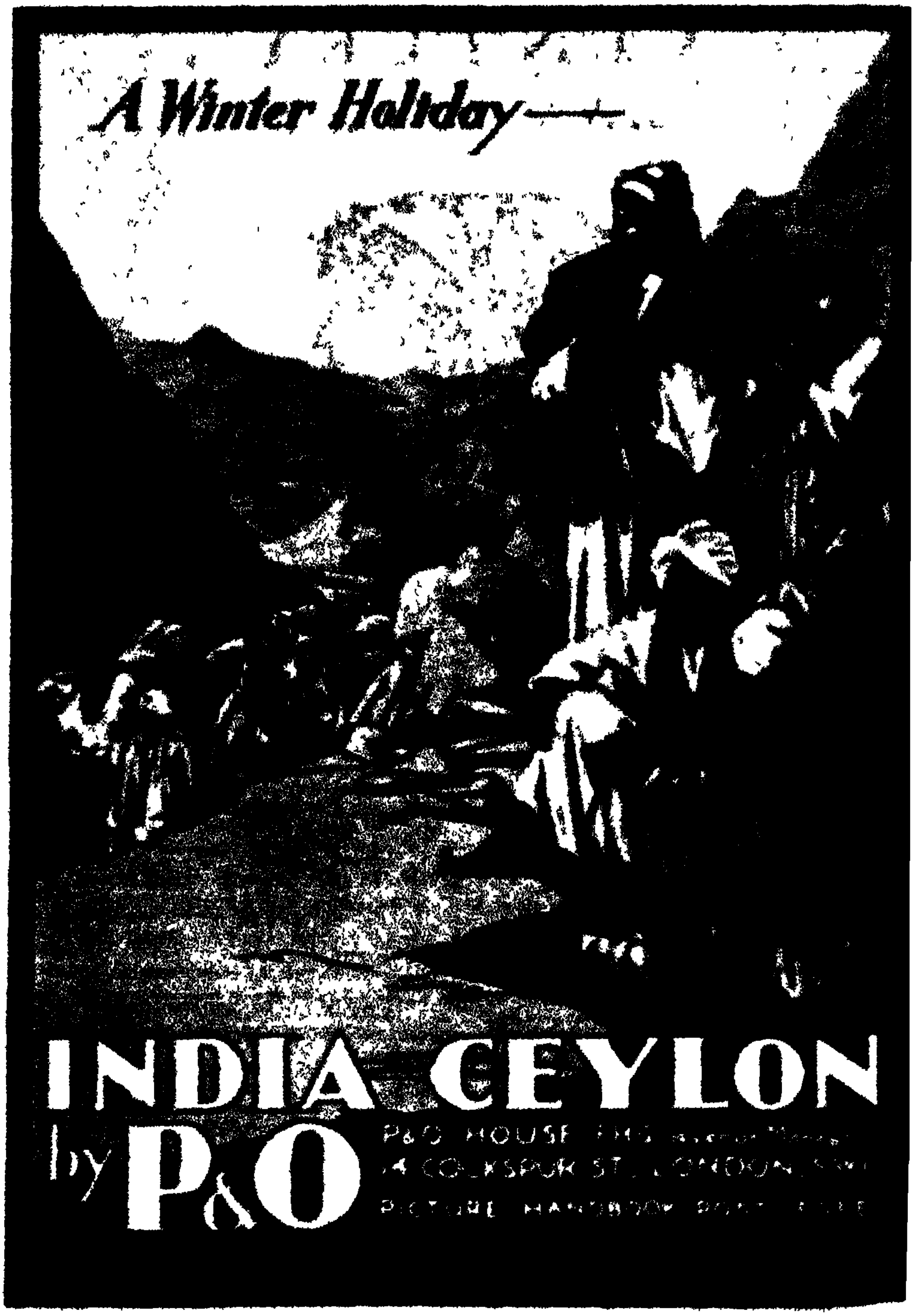
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No. DCXXXII—October 1929

'SWARAJ'

India and the League of Nations

My purpose in this article is to place before English readers in as concise and impartial a manner as possible the broad demand that India is making for Swaraj, and one of the methods by which some of the more original of the Nationalists are considering the possibility of attaining their ambition—viz., by an appeal to the League. To exhibit my desire for impartiality, I must preface my remarks by warning the simple-minded that the term 'India' is used by me to denote political-minded, vocal India—English-educated India. I leave it an open question whether the Congress truly represents India, with its teeming dumb millions, who have as yet hardly felt the breath, and certainly not been carried away by the gale, of Modernism. Some of us would like to think—are perhaps justified in thinking—that the welfare of the voiceless agriculturist and of the depressed class member is more assured in the keeping of the alien Britisher

than is that of the ambitious native politician who seems to supplant him as the immediate Indian dictator. For my present purpose I would leave the question open. Again, a question, which I merely mention without venturing to propound an answer, is whether the 'All Parties' Convention' can be truly regarded as including to any effective extent moderate as well as extremist opinion, the preponderant Mohammedan as well as the average Hindu sentiment. Whatever the answer to these questions may be, whatever undercurrents may add to the difficulties of navigation, there can be no doubt that in the forefront of the picture stands a demand for Swaraj, so genuinely insistent, so widespread, that an understanding of it is the first step to the comprehension of India's problem, and a thorough satisfaction of it a necessary element in the solution of that problem.

A little background of history will bring into due prominence the present position. Whatever may have been the original object in introducing English education and missionary teaching into India, their effect has been to wake that great country out of its mediaeval torpor and to set up that ferment—of disease or health, I will not say—that we may summarise as modern thought. In the political sphere it has created the spirit of independent Nationalism—the broad demand that they shall be ruled no longer by foreigners, but by themselves for themselves and according to their own traditions. It is not the product of the Great War, but the growth, slow at first, progressively rapid later, of seven or eight decades. The Great War merely helped to focus the already increasing light. Following the crisis of the Indian Mutiny, Queen Victoria's great proclamation of 1858 had pledged the Sovereign of the British Empire to observe no distinction between the white and the Indian subjects of that Empire, but there was no suggestion then that India should be ruled otherwise than from Whitehall. Fifty-nine years later, on August 20, 1917, a pledge of quite a new kind was given: that of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire. To us, the donors, conscious of our integrity of motive and purpose, that pledge seems generous. The donees, unhappily, are more critical. They tell us it was made in the crisis of the war to foster and preserve Indian loyalty, and they suspect that the conditions we as a practical people thought necessary to attach to our promise were made to enable us to evade its fulfilment. Knowing the difficulties of the art of government, we have said that it shall be granted gradually and by successive stages. An even worse crime in the Indians' eyes is found in the fact that our Parliament is to be the exclusive judge as to both the time and the measure of each advance to the promised goal. This, that is to us so obvious and right, is just what stings the Indian pride

[illegible] the fundamental cause of this [illegible] non-co-operation movement. I quote [illegible] out of a thousand from a recent article in the *Hindu*, of Madras:

> The people of Great Britain has not a joint voice with us in the exercise of our God-given and inalienable right of self-determination or sovereignty any more than we have a joint voice with the people of Great Britain in ordaining their own political institutions.

When, therefore, Great Britain, honestly desirous to implement her pledge, produced by legislation in 1919 a piece of machinery that, however ill at best it was bound to work, did in fact give the opportunity for a very considerable measure of independent self-government, large numbers of the Indians simply treated the gift with scorn. The Swaraj party refused at first to enter the new bodies, and though later they have come in, they still refuse, even when in majority, to take office, or indeed to take any part save that of a wrecking Opposition. I do not purport to justify or criticise their tactics, but merely to explain the fact. When as the first ten years of probation were drawing to their close, Great Britain—acting honestly again, and with complete party unanimity—sent out the Simon Commission, to our astonishment it was met by an almost unanimous opposition in India, not merely from the extreme party, but from the moderate too, for even they saw in its purely British composition another insult to India. Tact and diplomacy, and a courageous persistence, have enabled that Commission, in spite of continued hostility, to collect experience and much valuable evidence, not the least important item in the latter being unwittingly contributed by the Swarajists themselves in the Nehru Report and the criticisms thereof that followed by dissenting Mohammedans. There is now a period of comparative calm while the Commissioners prepare their report. No one envies them their task. One particularly bright hope on an otherwise dark horizon is furnished by a growing sense in Great Britain, and among responsible Britons in India, that no solution can be dictated from Westminster. However perfect and just it might be, the very fact that it came from Britain would ensure its rejection by India. We have a great asset in the present Viceroy, for even by the most extreme his sterling honesty is respected, and in his recent speeches he has admitted—nay, insisted—that the only possibility of solution lies in agreement on an equal footing between Britain and India. If this statesmanlike suggestion can be translated into appropriate measures, all may be well. But the difficulties on both sides are many and great, and no easy optimism is possible. One that may be mentioned is the resolution that was passed last December alike (though in different terms) by the All Parties'

[illegible]

Convention and the Congress—viz., that for immediate Dominion status for India. In the Congress there is a strong and growing demand—especially among the younger, more active members—for complete independence, and this section were only placated at all by the addition of a condition that if the lesser demand were not satisfied by the end of the year, the greater should then take its place and the policy of complete and universal non-co-operation be adopted. Everyone realises that it would be impossible to satisfy the lesser demand within the year, even if it were desirable. But faces will have to be saved, and non-co-operation, however non-violent it may profess to be, tends to chaos, that lack of law and order which no Government, however tolerant and benevolent, can afford to allow. There are clouds then ahead. Is there any way to avoid the storm?

A very interesting article in the *Hindu*, that from which I have already quoted, gives the suggestion of Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachari, a leading Swarajist, of a way out of the difficulty which may not be so fantastic as at first sight it appears to be—viz., by a reference to the League of Nations. Such an appeal, we are told, is 'the only resource to save us, not only from our rulers,' but also—it is interesting to note—'from ourselves.' There are two broad issues to be considered: first, whether there are *prima facie* grounds for the appeal; and the second, by what procedure it could be brought before the League.

With regard to the first, it is clear from the Covenant that only fully self-governing States are intended to be members of the League, for, though it might be argued that the wording of Article 1, which expresses this requirement, does not apply to the original members, of whom India was one, yet the spirit of that Article, and indeed of the whole document, necessitates this implication. Indeed, there is no precedent for a political treaty, much less for one of the character and importance of the Versailles Treaty, being signed by other than self-governing States. It must then be assumed that in 1920 India was a self-governing State in fact, or in immediate contemplation. By the declaration of August 1917 a pledge was given to India that 'responsible government' for her would be progressively realised. When the 'Allied and Associated Powers' worked out the terms of the Peace Treaties, they accepted India as a coadjutor and fellow-signatory on terms of absolute equality with themselves. This could only have been done on the understanding that Great Britain would in a very near future fulfil the pledge of 1917 and raise India to the status of her Dominions. We have then a tacit pledge by Great Britain to the other nations and an obligation on those other nations to see that Great Britain implements her promise. That the declaration of 1917 was conditional, and

that India is unfit for immediate self-government, is indeed arguable, but it could be argued only before the forum of the League, which has its rights and responsibility involved.

This perhaps may be taken as the most cogent argument for League interference, but other grounds are also urged. For instance, under Article 11 of the Covenant 'the League shall take' steps 'to safeguard the peace of nations.' There is no doubt that a serious rupture between India, with its population of 300,000,000, and Great Britain would be most disturbing to the whole world, and might be deemed to 'threaten to disturb international peace' and 'the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.'

If Great Britain wished to resist League interference, she would, of course, do so under the clause in Article 15 which excludes the League's jurisdiction where the matter is one 'which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction' of Great Britain. If this plea were advanced, and 'found by the Council' to be valid, the League could not interfere at all.

It is not, however, at all certain that such a finding would be arrived at. The decision would turn upon the delicate question whether the relationship between Great Britain and her Dominions—who have an absolutely equal status with her on the League—is, for League purposes, domestic or international, and only the most headstrong would venture to give a confident answer beforehand. Whatever that answer might be, it would not be at all comfortable or expedient for the British Commonwealth to have its extraordinarily vague constitution discussed in an international forum.

The Covenant of the League is, perhaps designedly, vague and elastic, and where the principle of 'domestic jurisdiction' conflicts with the important duty of maintaining world peace, every effort would be made to interpret the former as narrowly as may be, possibly confining it only to such petty disputes as have no international repercussions.

There are already precedents for interference with matters which should, by a strictly literal reading of Article 15, have been excluded from League jurisdiction by reason of their 'domestic' character. Two of these may be mentioned. The Aaland Islands were under the sovereignty of Finland, but they wished to be separated and to be incorporated with Sweden. In June 1920, Great Britain, exercising her friendly right under Article 11, brought the matter before the Council and in September 1920 after hearing the report of a commission of jurists, the Council declared its competence to deal with the situation, and, in fact, in June 1921 provided a solution which was accepted by all nations concerned. The other instance is that of the successful

distrust of our good intentions, and consistently maintained the right to untrammelled self-determination. Therefore, however full of wisdom and goodwill the report may be, that, unless it grants at once the impossible, it will be rejected by Indian leaders seems almost a certainty. What is the way out of the *impasse?* I think a British democracy will at once reject the idea of 'the strong hand,' though no doubt from some quarters that will be advocated. The only alternative that I can see is a reference to the League.

The great advantage to Great Britain of adopting this course would be the proof of her *bona fides* in the matter, not only in the eyes of the world in general, but even in those of India. There are questions in the decision of which it is impossible for Great Britain to claim impartiality. As one instance out of many, she is doubtless actuated by the best intentions in keeping the control of the police force in her own hands and in being very slow at Indianising the army; but her action can easily be ascribed to baser motives, such as desires to find employment for her own people and to keep the vital sanctions of administration in her own hands at the expense of the education of India's own people towards self-government. Let her put her cards down on the table of an international council and her honesty would become patent. The history of the British administration of India need fear no scrutiny by an impartial tribunal, for it would reveal one of the world's most splendid achievements. Modern India, even the India that is now kicking against the pricks, is a creature of British workmanship.

It may be argued that reference to the League would be regarded as a confession of weakness, a policy of scuttle. I would answer that it is the natural outcome of a recognition of modern conditions. The world is now one, and decisions that affect the whole world can no longer be wisely arrived at by a single nation acting alone. That nation has the greatest foresight that is prepared to accept facts as they are, and to base its actions upon international agreement. Nor is this a policy of scuttle, for while the broad result of reference to the League would undoubtedly and, as I think, rightly, be to introduce new consultants, prime responsibility would still remain with Great Britain.

For a moment, and subject to reservations which I shall make later, a rough, if dangerously inaccurate, analogy may be found for India's anomalous position, if my proposal is adopted, in the 'A' mandated territories, Great Britain being the League's mandatory.

More difficult questions to answer are: What can and what will the League do, if the reference I propose is made to it? From the point of view of world citizenship, it might be feared that a

task which Great Britain, with all her might and wisdom, cannot accomplish, would be too great a burden for a League not yet sufficiently at unity in itself, and with no executive power. If this fear is well founded, a well-wisher of the League might advise that it should refuse to accept responsibility. It is impossible to trace in any detail what action would be taken by, or expected of, the League. I have already suggested that England would be its *quasi*-mandatory, and it is therefore a mistake to think the League would be called on to 'govern' India. Its function would rather be that of friendly adviser, critic, examiner. Certain steps may be anticipated. I have already pointed out the anomalous fact that India's voice on the League is not in reality India's voice at all, but Great Britain's. At a very early stage it would be necessary to have this anomaly removed, as might very simply be done by the Government of India nominating only such representatives to the League as are popularly elected. For the first time, then, India's voice on the League would be on a footing of equality with that of Great Britain, and half the battle would be won. Would a new Commission go out to India on whose membership Indians as well as Britishers should sit, and perhaps an American, a German, a Swede? Perhaps, but very possibly enough for immediate decisions would be found in the evidence already collected. The League Council would hear both sides, and would then give recommendations, which both sides, it is to be hoped, would be willing to accept. If all this were successfully done, it would be a tremendous triumph for the League and a great strengthening of its position as an efficient international clearing house.

Everything, of course, depends upon the acceptance of the scheme by the principal parties concerned. I think Great Britain could be persuaded to adopt it. Imperialism, in its old bad sense, has few advocates to-day, and the relation between Britain and India is indeed the only big outstanding example to-day of an obsolete 'ruler and ruled' theory of State control of State, and any plan by which the establishment of a new order could be successfully assured would be gladly welcomed. The real crux of success, however, lies in the question of India's acceptance. One cannot repeat too often that the fundamental difficulty is psychological. India feels that she is continually treated as an inferior, and bitterly resents such treatment. Will the proposal I make overcome that difficulty? I have spoken of her being treated on the analogy of an 'A' mandated territory, but I have used the analogy only as an analogy, a shorthand and far from accurate method of expressing the immediate position. India is a member of the League, in theory, therefore, self-governing, and on an equality with every other member. India, in fact, is

not self-governing, and after the first step of giving her real equality is taken the second, of giving her real self-government, would follow. In determining how this shall be done with the greatest efficiency and rapidity, her voice will be not merely the equal of every other nation's, but, because she is the party most concerned, predominant. That there can be indeed no taint of 'inferiority' in League procedure is assured by the 'unanimity' rule that would leave India free to exercise her veto on objectionable proposals.

India is intensely annoyed when Great Britain speaks of Hindu-Mohammedan antagonisms, because she believes that secretly, if not openly, Great Britain fosters those antagonisms on the 'Divide and rule' principle. The same may be said of any difficulty arising from the existence of semi-independent native States, if it is raised by Great Britain. None the less Indian politicians are themselves painfully aware of these and many similar difficulties, and realise that they do need international help in overcoming them. It is true, the demand from India has been, and is, for an immediate grant of Dominion status or independence, but I believe this is more an irresponsible and irritated counter to the British insistence on continued control than a true expression of reasoned or deep-rooted conviction.

I think then that India may—dare I say 'will'?—accept from the League of Nations what she will not accept from Great Britain. Indeed, that is the purpose of this article. I have not said that reference to the League will solve the difficulties of India's problem, but that it will place them in the way of solution, for it will remove them from an atmosphere of bitterness and distrust to one where reason and goodwill may have a chance.

ARTHUR DAVIES.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF GOODNESS[1]

On the long, straight road that runs through endless pinewoods from Bordeaux towards the Pyrenees, the weary traveller comes unexpectedly on a solitary inn with the singular but seductive name of Malgré Tout. Unluckily, at the hour I passed lunch was still too recent, and dinner too remote, for a halt to be practicable. But the hint that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, life was still worth living—provided always one entered here for rest and refreshment—was so tactfully conveyed that I raised my hat to the invisible host within, who had combined an advertisement and an epitome of philosophy in two short words of greeting and farewell.

Probably most of us would agree with him, at any rate most of the time, that in spite of all its drawbacks life is reasonably well worth living. The poet complains that fate sometimes seems needlessly cruel, as if it delighted in killing the wrong people:

> Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and best
> That time and fate of all their vintage prest
> Have drunk their cup a round or two before.

But, in plain prose, we unworthy survivors are not conspicuously unwilling to survive, although we know perfectly well we are all fighting a battle which we must all ultimately lose. The mere postponement of defeat seems itself a sort of victory of good over evil, and few win through to extreme old age who have not enjoyed the greater part of the journey.

It is true that ecstasy is rare. But so also is anguish; whilst monotony—which is at least tolerable—is vastly more common than misery, and even monotony may have its memorable moments of insight and discovery. On the whole there is more happiness than unhappiness in the world, more pleasure than pain, and consequently more good than evil.

But it is also true that we are inclined to take the good for granted and to curse the evil. The aloof thinker may indeed

[1] 'Huxley's Problem of Justice' appeared in the Review last July. So much correspondence arose from this that the author has written the present article to meet the points which have been raised.—Editor.

explain away the evil of the world as unreal, and incompatible with the goodness of God. But to most of us it is the argument, not the evil, that seems unreal. In the rut and ruck of everyday life the existence of evil needs no proof and brooks no denial; if not actually present at the moment it is waiting round the corner all the time, an unnecessary defect of the world we live in.

The sage is perplexed and the saint scandalised by the mystery of its origin. Unfortunately for these high speculations, they ignore the plain fact that our primary judgments of good and evil are entirely pragmatic. By the terms of its limited lease life is essentially selective; it accepts what is useful for its purpose and rejects what is harmful. The former is naturally regarded as good, the latter as evil.

Life, like any other business, must be run at a profit if carried on at all, and a study of primary good and evil is therefore simply a balance-sheet of the profit and loss account of humanity in relation to the physical world around us. Anything physical that helps us to live is *ipso facto* good; anything that hampers enjoyment or endangers our tenure is *ipso facto* bad. Good land is land on which we can grow the food we want; bad land is land on which we cannot.

Unluckily matters do not in practice work out quite so simply. We do not find ourselves confronted with an actual block-world of physical good, against which is set a rival block-world of physical evil, or anything like it; the one shades off into the other, and each differs from the other according to time and circumstance and individual purpose. What is good for you is sometimes bad for me, and, much more disconcerting, what is at one time good for me is at another time bad for me. Water is necessary to life, but a flood is disastrous; it is proverbially easy to have too much of a good thing, but poison in small quantities is a useful medicine. Good hunting land may be bad agricultural land, and good pasture makes bad arable.

Still more unfortunate for the philosopher in search of principle is the fact that most things are neither good nor evil, but merely neutral. We use or misuse a very small portion of the physical world, and are as indifferent to the great bulk of creation as it is indifferent to us.

All the gold in the moon is not worth sixpence to the Bank of England, and physical good and evil are as restricted and relative to the position in which we stand as the terms 'above' and 'below.' It would be ridiculous to apply these valuations to the rings of Saturn or the moons of Jupiter, and the geography of goodness is therefore confined to the surface of this planet. The cosmos as a whole is not concerned with these local estimates.

Broadly speaking, then, we regard those things as physically

good which experience shows to be good for us, and those things as bad which experience shows to be bad for us; the rest we ignore as out of reach and therefore valueless. We learn to discriminate between physical good and evil in the same way as between mushrooms and toadstools, by trying both. What works well works well; practice makes principle as it goes along.

The local physical world to which we attach these pragmatic and utilitarian labels of good and evil may or may not be related to the moral world of conduct. But if it is not, it is curious that the latter has the same labels, which at least suggest a similar origin and significance, and the possibility of a similar standard of values.

One important distinction, it is true, immediately discloses itself between the physical and the moral sphere. What is physically good or evil is determined by every individual for himself—one man's meat is proverbially another man's poison; but what is morally good or evil is determined by society. It is no longer the advantage of one but of the group that is sought; a new standard of reference is set up which acts in the interests of the larger unit, and if necessary subdues or even sacrifices the smaller to its purpose. It may therefore sanction methods of action in the interest of society which are contrary to the interests of individuals; but the principle is the same in moral as in physical judgment. Those methods of conduct are socially good which experience shows to be profitable, and those methods bad which experience shows to be unprofitable.

So far from manners making man, it is man that makes manners; and ethics, like engineering, is the relation of available means to desired ends. The aim of every society is to ensure the permanence and prosperity of the group, as the aim of every individual is to ensure his own permanence and prosperity. But since the individual is transitory, whereas society is permanent, the group is more likely to impose its code on the individual than the individual on the group. The code is formulated for the advantage of the group rather than the individual, but also for the local advantage of a particular group rather than for humanity as a whole. Our estimates of moral, as of physical, good are therefore, in fact, geographical.

The security of the next generation is essential to the permanence of the group. But the extraordinary variety of marriage and inheritance laws through the ages shows that the permanence of the group can be secured in many different ways. When different societies have adopted monogamy, polygamy, and even polyandry as the family code, it is clear that some at least of our moral, like our physical, judgments are relative to the position in which we stand. However much we attempt to disguise it by

sanction and agreement, ethical standards established on that basis must ultimately be pragmatic, and the code of moral good and evil will be limited to the particular map of morals we are consulting at the moment.*

Similarly we all hold it good to protect life, to be merciful to the weak, and to show kindness to dumb animals. Sympathy and sorrow for the suffering of others is the noblest element in human nature; but the range of these feelings is in fact very limited, and in uncomfortably close relation to our own advantage. Nobody pities a dangerous competitor who is baffled by an unexpected difficulty; mercy in that direction is simply weakness. Compassion is practically confined to our own stock and the few domesticated animals that serve our uses. Who was ever kind to a fish?

In dealing with other forms of life, we apply this rule of pragmatic utility quite simply. Animals or plants that are useful or a source of pleasure to ourselves we breed and care for; those that are harmful or dangerous we persecute and do our best to exterminate. If I kill a man (except in self defence or war) I am a murderer. If I kill a dog I am cruel or careless. If I kill a wasp or mosquito I am a benefactor.*

Europeans do not in fact regard life as sacred: only human life, and then only within the recognised local sanctions. The rule that moral goodness means pragmatic utility could hardly be more clear.

Are they then deceived who affirm with Kant the existence of an absolute moral law? I think not; the difficulty arises not in the affirmation, but in the definition.

It is the fact that every society exists, and can only exist, on the assumption that its members (a) speak the truth, (b) act honestly, and (c) do their duty.

Of these assumptions I submit that the first is absolute morality, however it may be disguised in practice by necessary or conventional restrictions.

* Incidentally, Carlyle's theory that dynasties are ruined by the [illegible] of kings is not borne out by history. Charles I. lived respectably and was beheaded. Charles II lived dissolutely and died in his bed. Louis XIV and XV lived dissolutely and died peacefully. Louis XVI lived respectably and died on the scaffold. The last Emperors of Germany and Russia were true to their wives, and lost their thrones. Leopold II, whose amours were notorious, kept his throne to the end.

* We sometimes kill from kindness of heart, as when we put a favourite pet to death on account of old age or infirmity. But the position in fact is that we are ready to take life on grounds which we regard as sufficient if applied to others, but should most certainly regard as insufficient if applied to ourselves.

The second derives directly from the first, and is also absolute in theory, though similarly limited in practice.

The third is an indispensable cement that binds and conditions the other two. But, unlike truth and honesty, duty is not absolute; it is always relative to the position in which we stand. It is therefore not only more restricted in itself, but it affects and in practice limits our attitude towards truth and honesty.

These three assumptions must have been effective from the first, for even in the most primitive society of two a man and woman must speak the truth to each other, act honestly together, and do their duty by one another, or the partnership falls short of full success. And since man has always lived in a society—because otherwise he could not perpetuate the stock—it is clear that these three virtues go back to the origin of humanity, and even earlier.[4]

Now it is impossible to regard either truth or honesty as merely pragmatic qualities that have developed as and when they were wanted. Only the limitations on truth and honesty imposed by the current conceptions of duty in daily life can be regarded as pragmatic.

It is obvious, for example, that honesty is not always the best policy, or there would not be so much deceit. But if honesty were of pragmatic origin, it would have evolved, like our ideas of good and evil, along trial and error lines; the first man who happened to be honest would have found he could afford to be honest, and in the end that it paid him to be honest. But in that case we should still have been dishonest at heart, and only honest on occasion and by calculation or compulsion; whereas the reverse is actually the case. Man is honest but some men are dishonest.

Admittedly deception is often successful; moreover, it often pays the individual—usually at the expense of society.[5] It is nevertheless much rarer than straightforward dealing, which—despite such prudential maxims as *caveat emptor*—is the real basis of human conduct within the group in the great bulk of everyday actions and transactions.[6]

There must always be a large balance of honesty over dishonesty, or society could not continue to function. It is therefore reasonable to regard honesty as the original quality, and dis-

[4] Social animals warn each other of approaching danger, and in that way speak the truth to each other. Deceit is widespread in Nature, but animals deceive other species, seldom their own.

[5] Corruption breeds not more than honesty, says [illegible]. But the point is that it breeds more quickly, and breeds where honesty would not have bred at all. Everybody knows that some fortunes are got by crooked means, but those who inherit them seldom refuse the title-deeds.

[6] It is because honest work is the rule and dishonest the exception, that we trust others with our lives as readily as we do.

honesty as a subsequent variation or corruption, in the same way that religion preceded the pious frauds which banked up the crumbling path to heaven.

Duty, on the other hand, is essentially pragmatic and utilitarian—its presence a family or tribal good, its absence a family or tribal evil. At its highest, in some crisis of the State, duty may involve suffering or the sacrifice of life itself in order that the group may be preserved; at its lowest it may commit, command, or commend abominable crime. Duty is simply the discipline demanded by the unit as the price of survival; but since most men belong to more than one social unit, one duty is apt to conflict with another.

In order that the family survives it may be necessary to deceive the tribe, and in order that the tribe survives it may be necessary to deceive the enemy. 'Our business,' said a bluff Englishman once, 'is to prevent the foreigner from fooling us.' Now the best way to do that is clearly to fool the foreigner first. Duty therefore strengthens the sense of truth and honesty within the group, but weakens it without.

Truth and honesty, however, can never conflict; for, unlike duty, they are absolute by nature, and neither pragmatic nor utilitarian. Here, then, is fundamental and universal morality; but in its quest we have sought high above these local calculations of mere good and evil, and touched the greater altitudes of right and wrong.

It is largely because moralists have burked this grave distinction between what is right and what is merely good that our ethical systems have been confused and contradictory; men have fought shy of the admission that absolute right may conflict with local good. No doubt goodness will generally coincide with right rather than wrong, and good men do not in practice habitually lie and steal. But indisputably good men have been known to do wrong for the benefit of their class, and have thought it a duty to lie for the benefit of their country; and there are more than enough of these exceptions, in which local good is divorced from general right (and perhaps more difficult cases, in which general right produces local evil) to demonstrate the wide gap between the principles of right and good.

The truth is always right, but occasionally, as we all know, the telling of it makes for evil rather than good, and it may be the duty of the good citizen to economise its use and even, in extreme cases, to avoid or conceal it. These tactics are, or should be, rare and hateful. But they arise because our estimates of good and duty are always relative to the position in which we stand at the moment, whereas right and truth are for ever independent of place and time and any personal and local con-

siderations whatever. In practice, then, we profess the right but pursue the good.

The assumption that men act honestly and speak the truth is reasonably accurate within the group, but in contact with the stranger and the strange group animated by other and perhaps conflicting interests the currency of conduct is rapidly debased.

The essential point about any social group is that it involves co-operation for common purposes combined with competition for individual purposes, but it is usually impossible to define the precise point where the one should begin and the other end. Competition within the unit is generally restrained when it begins to damage the efficiency of the unit but the co-operation of individuals only reaches its maximum when it becomes sharply competitive with a rival unit. A band of brothers is proverbially united, but never so much united as when defending its existence against another band of brothers.

This leads immediately and inevitably to a moral conflict in which patriotic duty, charged with the survival of the group, tackles truth and honesty single handed and probably wins. The sense of loyalty to the unit, and playing the game for one's side, is everywhere accepted as a political rule that admits of no exceptions. It is this overriding duty of working for the survival of the group which lays down that deception of opponents is justifiable while desertion or treachery is unforgivable.

But local good is here frankly opposed to absolute right; deceit is condemned within the pack and condoned without. This is, of course, an impossible position for the moralist to whom good is an absolute value, and who now finds himself compelled to defend the truth within the group and tolerate untruth without. He cannot deny that loyalty is good. He cannot dispute that deception is evil. Yet here the two are identical.

The only way out of this intolerable *impasse* is to recognise that truth and honesty are in themselves matters, not of good and evil, but of right and wrong, and to admit that along this fluctuating border-line of group-interest we prefer the local good, because it pays a better dividend than absolute right.

As a working maxim of practical politics I am inclined, though with some hesitation, to take the lower road in this matter; and this seems a defensible attitude, so long as we recognise frankly that this pragmatic path is in fact the lower and not the ideal way. 'My country, right or wrong,' is not a maxim that any thinking man can subscribe to without serious misgiving; it involves a complete abdication of the critical attitude in politics, and sooner or later the recognition, tacit or explicit, of the

supremacy and infallibility of an entirely authoritarian State. Such an attitude, if generally adopted, must lead to monstrous tyranny and eventually to worse evil than it momentarily avoids.

But when actual danger threatens the country it is only on the most imperative call of conscience that these misgivings should be expressed. The freedom we insist on as a precious personal right in peace is necessarily restricted in war. We may suspect that our cause is not entirely just. But we may properly reflect that our country has done so much more for us than we are ever likely to do for our country that it is expedient to postpone the discussion to a more convenient season.[2]

Here, however, another difficulty arises, for most of us are members of more than one society, and the two groups may conflict. A man's duty to his family, country, and Church may be opposed, and allegiance to class prove stronger than allegiance to clan; he may then find himself in the critical position of having to choose between two competing loyalties, as did Wolsey, Pole and the Non-Jurors in the matter of Church and State. He naturally chooses the side which lies nearest his affections, but fidelity to the one necessarily implies infidelity to the other. The strongest Protestant, however, hardly suggests moral turpitude in the heart of Pole, or the most rigid Erastian in the renunciation of Sancroft.

But he acquits them not because they did good—which he strenuously denies—but because he recognises that they at least thought they were doing right. And by this reference to a higher standard he thus tacitly admits that even a mistaken sense of right can be pleaded as justification for great evil.

Or again, a man may become impressed with the flaws in his own side's position, and feel himself impelled either to revolt or join the other side, as did Luther and Newman. Both have been soundly abused, but both were so convinced they were right that not even partisanship can sustain the charge of treachery.

All private judgment, in fact, involves the possibility of rebellion, and all Englishmen agree that rebellion may sometimes be justified. But rebellion, even when right, often produces great evils, and revolt even against ungovernable tyranny occasionally does as much harm as good. The best men of every age will follow the light of conscience as they see it, and pursue the right irrespective of where it may lead them, but clearly there is no

[2] Heresy is deadly sin to the Churchman, as treason is to the patriot, because it strikes at the unity of that particular society; it is an appeal beyond the permitted frame of reference. A Christian afflicted with doubt would on the practical maxim in the text be justified in publishing his difficulty in normal times, but not when the Turks were under the walls of Vienna.

block-polity of social good here divided by a definite frontier from a block-polity of social evil.

This relativity of the good, as distinct from the absoluteness that we attach to right, is again emphasised by the fact that good often comes out of evil, and evil out of good. Two wrongs can never make one right, but

> There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would man observingly distil it out.

Shakespeare in this follows Seneca and the Stoics; and Southey, whose good philosophy is often obscured by his bad poetry, comes near the heart of the matter:

> Nothing in itself is good or evil
> But only in its use.*

The two things, in fact, are so inextricably mixed that it is impossible to separate them. The criterion of good and evil, for society as for the individual, is our estimate of advantage to the unit concerned; and except in that connexion the terms appear to be meaningless. They are properly local adjectives, not general substantives, and we have to look further afield for ultimate standards of right and wrong.

This first great dualism of good and evil, however, was so near to everybody's everyday experience that it became part of normal equipment, and these merely human attributes were subsequently exalted into universal abstractions with confusing results. Good, says Plato, is to be attributed to God alone; 'the cause of evil is to be sought elsewhere. That God, being good, is the Author of evil to anyone is to be strenuously denied and is not to be said or sung or heard in verse or prose by anyone whether young or old.'

The magnificent rhetoric crumbles before the simple fact that the same thing is sometimes good and sometimes evil; and outside the ambit of human necessity and desire we look in vain for cosmic good and evil. These considerations leave one doubtful whether God can be confined within such local dimensions; and the doubts are not diminished by the controversy over the origin of evil.

In practice the proposed solutions divide into four different categories.

1. Let it be assumed that the universe is itself malignant.

The tragic wife of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* expected everything from time and circumstance except fair play. Now if one

* *Madoc in Wales.* And *cf.* the rumble-tumble rhetoric of Carlyle: 'In the huge mass of evil, as it rolls and swells, there is ever some good working imprisoned towards deliverance and triumph.'

individual fails to get fair play, there seems no particular reason why another should; indeed, it needs a long and rather intricate argument to show that the second postulate does not follow from the first.*

But if nobody gets fair play, then life itself does not get a square deal from the universe; and—provided we believe in a superior power at all—we must have been created by a maleficent Being, who not only permits us to suffer, but to suffer unnecessarily; and perhaps even indulges a private smile behind the scenes at our misfortunes and mistakes. In short, a God who does not play cricket and is no gentleman.

Those who adopt this standpoint may possibly suffer from an inferiority complex, but at least they do not minimise the problem of evil. This primitive creed has in fact been near enough to common experience to be held at all times by large numbers of people, and some indication of its old vogue still survives in English law, which ascribes disasters to the act of God, and puts them in the same category as misfortunes due to the King's enemies.

But the view that the universe is malignant has long been abandoned as untenable. Whether the cosmos as a whole is friendly or unfriendly to life is an open question; humanity itself looks uncommonly like a local by-product, the branch line of a branch line, whose insignificant traffic is of no particular concern to headquarters. But the fact—if it is a fact—need not worry us, since in this particular world and at this particular time, we are getting a very fair run for our money. In any event, man is himself part of the universe, and the suggestion that the macrocosm produced a microcosm in order to persecute it into propitiating its master is frankly childish.[10]

2. Let it be assumed, then, that the universe is itself beneficent.

This rival and opposite attitude has been summarised in the Spencerian maxim that 'Evil tends perpetually to disappear; progress therefore is not an accident but a necessity—it is a part of nature.' Tennyson holds the same view a trifle more dubiously:

> We trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill.

This is the belief in progress, the gradual elimination of evil, and the expectation of 'some far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves.' It is a pleasant creed, and at bottom much

* See 'Huxley's Problem of Justice,' *The Nineteenth Century*, July [illegible].

10 In a famous anecdote Carlyle once sneered at a lady who remarked that she accepted the universe. He forgot that the bargain was necessarily reciprocal; for a limited period at least the universe has accepted us—perhaps not quite at our own valuation.

the same hypothesis as a beneficent Providence and God of love.

Nor is it inherently more improbable than its predecessor; if the race of life is handicapped at all, it is as likely to be in our favour as against us. On the whole, too, there seems at first glance rather more evidence in support of this position; the advance of man does give specious plausibility to an aristocratic belief that can only have arisen among the more fortunate and prosperous stocks. Man is an egocentric animal, and belief in progress is naturally strongest *among* those who find themselves in the best seats; he who rides inside the car has quite a different idea of mud from those who are splashed by the wheels.

But this attractive creed is vitiated by a logical weakness. It makes no serious attempt to explain the origin of evil, which must *ex hypothesi* have been greater at the beginning of things than now, and the more remote in time the act of creation the greater must have been the amount of evil permitted or produced by the presumptive Author of all good. Nor does this theory really explain the persistence of evil so well as its predecessor.

There are, however, two possible alternatives to these pleasant and unpleasant theories.

3. Since the world as most of us know it is neither entirely good nor entirely evil, it is conceivable that the good may come from one source and the evil from another; and this belief leads directly either to dualism or polytheism. Either is in fact tolerable from the purely ethical standpoint. But the progress of religion has killed polytheism, and the advance of science has killed dualism; and this third supposition has consequently no sufficient basis or background of fact.

4. By a process of exclusion we are therefore driven back on the fourth, and indubitably least popular theory of all: that the superior powers which surround us are neither friendly nor unfriendly, but entirely equitable and invariably just. When things fall out as we desire we generally say they are providential, and when they run counter to our wish we curse the fates against us; but in this scheme man is the object neither of celestial solicitude nor revenge. There is no forgiveness of sin, no dog's first bite, no First Offenders Act in these courts. Nature has neither spoilt darlings nor bullied children; whether we like it or not we get plain justice without mercy, a perfectly square deal without fear, but also emphatically without favour.

It is clear that this scheme consorts better with the evidence.

The world was obviously not made specially for our benefit, and it does not quite suit our convenience; rats steal the chickens we want to eat, weeds grow in flower-gardens, diseases kill our best friends and spare our worst enemies, and our little corner of

the cosmos does not always conduct itself as we could wish. We try to remould 'this sorry scheme of things' in so far as it fails to please us, but we are not really entitled to say that the cosmic process is moral if and when it suits us, and immoral if and when it does not.

There must in fact be a balance of good over evil in the world, or we could not continue to exist. But although life is an altogether exceptional thing, the materials of which life is made are by no means exceptional; and to say that there is a balance of good over evil is really to say no more than that the conditions under which we live must on the whole be favourable to life. As soon as conditions begin to be unfavourable life begins to diminish in quantity or quality; and as soon as they become definitely adverse, it ceases to exist. Since life is good, death is evil. But when life becomes evil, then death is good.

But if that is so, the problem of good and evil automatically shrinks to very small dimensions; these qualities are not cosmic properties at all, but simply labels we attach to things profitable or unprofitable to our uses. We must, it is true, be content to drop Goodness out of the Platonic trinity as a local and human, not a general or universal valuation. But perhaps we shall lose nothing if we put righteousness or justice in its place.

A. WYATT TILBY.

CHOICE

Outside the field of politics, where the ambiguous nature and the dubious benefits of liberty are perhaps at last beginning to be realised, there is a general agreement among our contemporaries that liberty is a good thing, and that we have more of it to-day than mankind has enjoyed at any previous epoch. The latter opinion, at least, is probably true. In art, literature and morals the principle that the individual is entitled to express his individuality, without deference to any authority whatsoever, is commonly taken for granted, while at the same time the area within which he can exercise this freedom has, from social and other causes, been considerably enlarged. The advance in liberty has, therefore, been both theoretical and practical. But before we join in the chorus of self-congratulation an inquiry into the essential nature of liberty seems advisable.

Liberty is a very volatile and elusive thing. It cannot be defined except by negatives, as the absence of restraint or interference or constraint; and it is elusive in fact as well as in idea, so that you cannot be sure when you have less or more of it. Is the boy, for instance, who is under pastors and masters, less or more free than the man who has given hostages to fortune, and who lives in daily terror of losing his job? Is the tramp in the hedge less or more free than the millionaire who flashes by in his Rolls-Royce? If you turn from the individual to the community it is equally difficult to balance the accounts. Have women more or less liberty since they exchanged the right to be supported for the right to earn their own living? Have the Trade Unions been on the whole an instrument of freedom or of tyranny? Different people would return different answers to these questions, and their answers would prove on examination to be dictated, not by their different notions of liberty (which is, as we have seen, a purely negative idea), but by their varying estimates of what makes life worth living. In other words, the only liberty that man, as a rational being, values is the liberty to choose and to put his choice into effect.

This fundamental truth has one very important consequence, which the advocates of liberty are prone to disregard. Liberty

is its own negation. Like the Hegelian thesis, it immediately begets its own antithesis. You are free to choose once; but having chosen, you are bound by your choice. Before you exercised your liberty there was theoretically an infinity of possible choices before you; after you have exercised it there is only one actuality behind you: and if there is anything in the psychology of habit, there are for ever fewer possibilities before you. You are free, let us say, to be faithful or unfaithful to your wife, but having been unfaithful, you have lost that freedom, and if a similar opportunity arises, you are incalculably more likely to be unfaithful again. Your loss of freedom is prospective as well as retrospective. You have broken one convention, and you are well on the way to establishing another. Similarly Mr Epstein, when commissioned to provide a memorial to W. H. Hudson, was free to produce a thing of beauty. He chose to produce Rima, and Rima is there. He has also established a convention, which somebody some day will have the fun of breaking. Anyone is free theoretically to write verse like Miss Sitwell or like Shakespeare, but he cannot write like both at once, and in writing like one he abjures *ad hoc* his freedom to write like the other.

This elementary law—that you cannot both eat your cake and have it—is often forgotten in the modern craze for liberty. Many people, especially among the younger generation, seem to believe that they can use their freedom of choice and yet retain it indefinitely, whereas it is essentially a thing that perishes in the using. Not only are all choices ultimately irrevocable, but no act of choice terminates in itself, but leads naturally, if not quite inevitably, to a series of similar choices. To choose at all is to choose a direction, unless our life is to be totally incoherent and disconnected. The most ardent lover of liberty would hardly choose such a life even if he could; nor could he if he would.

The genesis and the working of this delusion may be illustrated from the field of education. There was a time when the student at a university had a choice of four or five courses open to him: Theology, Law, Medicine, Mathematics, or the Humanities. He is now free to select among forty or fifty courses, and in some universities he can secure a single degree by a random mixture of half a dozen, ranging from Italian to dairy farming. In America they call this, significantly enough, the application of the democratic or elective principle. The results of such a system are not difficult to foresee. The youth who in three short years has switched from music to manures, and from astronomy to anthropology (nor is this by any means an extravagant supposition), has certainly enjoyed more freedom than one who has confined his attention to the classics, but it would be a sheer abuse of language to call him an educated man. He has been deluded

by the offer of a multiplicity of choices into believing that he can make more than one effective choice, and in this he is typical of his age in its attitude to the problems especially of art and conduct. The fatal modern heresy, as we shall see, is to suppose that in ethics and æsthetics—that is, in the domain *par excellence* of human choice—there is an inexhaustible field for experiment, a limitless freedom to choose.

It is next to be noted that the multiplication of alternative courses at a university is directly due to the advance of science, with its constant tendency to subdivide the field of knowledge and its basic conviction that every part of that field is equally worthy of cultivation. This fact, too, is symbolical, for it is to science that we chiefly owe the immense extension of practical, as distinct from theoretical, liberty, of which I spoke in my opening paragraph. Bacon, who must still be regarded as the prophet, though he has lost his title to be considered the founder, of modern science, wrote that 'human knowledge and human power meet in one'; and science has, in fact, enormously enlarged the range of human choice, not only by giving us increased control over the physical and material universe, but by revealing to us unsuspected or 'forbidden' possibilities of our own nature, both social and individual. Psychology, the scientific exploration of the human consciousness, and, still more, of the 'unconscious,' has, indeed, been largely responsible for the victory of the 'democratic' principle along the whole front. The psycho-analysts have been the 'storm-troops' of the intellectual revolution. They or their disciples have proclaimed, in opposition to the various religious, ethical or social codes, that all impulses have *prima facie* an equal right to expression, and that incalculable harm is done by unwarranted restriction of man's native power of choice in deference to what it is the fashion to call 'irrational taboos.' The reverberations of this doctrine, in art and literature as well as in morals, are too familiar to call for repetition.

Hitherto we have been speaking as if the act of choice were, or could be, wholly capricious and irrational; and, indeed, much that is unsound in Modernist theories is based, tacitly or explicitly, on this assumption. If our criticism of them is to be at all complete or constructive, it will be well to have a fuller and more positive idea of what is involved in the process of choosing. The first thinker to raise the problem of choice in a serious and clear-cut form was Aristotle, who described it as a union of reason and desire, as 'reason desiring' or 'intelligent desire.' He was closely followed by St. Thomas Aquinas, who, in discussing 'whether choice is an act of the will or the reason,' decides that it is *substantially* an act of the will, but *formally* an act of reason, inasmuch as reason in a sense precedes the will and directs its

activity. And he says elsewhere that the freedom of the will resides not in the will itself, but in the reason. If choice is a combination of reason and desire, this conclusion is inevitable, for desire as such is a necessary response to stimulus, and if there is any freedom in the matter, it must be found in the faculty which says whether the desire is to be satisfied or not.

An obvious reply to St. Thomas and his master is that a great many of our choices are purely immediate and instinctive, and that we certainly do not reason about them; and this, it is urged, is especially true in regard to our artistic and literary preferences. But the criticism falls to the ground for two reasons. First, reason and desire are not entirely separate faculties, though for the purposes of philosophical discussion it is convenient to treat them as if they were. Actually there is an emotional element in all reasoning and an element of reason in all desire. Especially in so complex an expression of 'desire' as our liking for a particular poem or statue a host of reasoned judgments has gone to form our 'taste,' most of them long ago forgotten, but many still present and active in our consciousness if we care to pay attention to them. And secondly, even if we ever 'chose' purely from desire, like brute beasts, our humanity would reassert itself after the choice, and reason would tell us if we had chosen ill or well. Thus, it will be seen, implies that there is a standard of values, which the reason can apprehend, to which we conform or from which we deviate in every act of choice properly so called.

It is in relation to the question of values, both ethical and aesthetic, that the influence of science has been almost wholly deplorable. The province of science is fact, and its methods are purely quantitative. It takes no cognisance of quality, except in so far as that can be quantitatively measured, and it is quite incompetent to form judgments of value. Unhappily scientists, in certain departments, are perpetually tempted to transgress the boundaries of their province, and few of them are either anxious or able to resist the temptation, while the ignorant public increasingly look to them for guidance in regions where they are particularly dangerous guides. The psycho-analysts are naturally the worst offenders, because the province of psychology—the analysis of the human soul—is one where the transition from fact to value is constantly and often imperceptibly made, and where it is, indeed, exceedingly difficult always to observe the vital distinction between the two. The psycho-analyst, as a man of science, traces a morbid condition in his patient's mind or body to some obscure cause in that patient's sexual life. We will assume that his diagnosis is correct, and note that so far he is firmly on the ground of fact. He then, as a physician, recommends a certain course of action, let us say, for the sake of argument, a breach of

the law of chastity. He has now passed over into the realm of values. The patient perhaps declines on religious grounds to take the psycho-analyst's advice; and the latter, if he belongs to a certain school of thought, has one more example to adduce of the disastrous effect of 'irrational tabus.'

Here the passage from judgments of fact to judgments of value is almost inevitable and probably unconscious, for the work of a medical practitioner lies in a sort of No-Man's Land between the two. He assumes quite properly that, for those who consult him in search of health, health is the paramount consideration. In his special province health is the *summum bonum*, the supreme value to which all other values are relative and subordinate. It is for the specialist in another province, the moralist or theologian, to say whether, in a particular case, the pursuit of health is incompatible with a higher good. We can hardly blame the physician, *quâ* physician, for thinking and speaking as if his 'universe of discourse' were the only one that mattered; but when he leaves his province, as many so-called sexologists are in the habit of doing, in order to teach a new and subversive morality, it is the function of a disinterested criticism to point out that he is acting *ultra vires*. It is very possible that our established code of sexual morality stands in need of cautious and intelligent revision, in the light of modern psychological discoveries. It is quite certain that a student of sexual abnormalities is the person least likely to assist us in the performance of so delicate a task.

The root of our troubles, however, is not to be found in the tendency of the scientist to usurp the functions of the moralist or clergyman. Mischievous as that is, it is only a symptom of a more deeply-seated evil, namely, a fundamental inability in the general mind to grasp the distinction between fact and value, or rather a readiness to assume that all facts have an equal value. For the scientist presumably this is true, since any fact, however seemingly insignificant, may serve to establish or disprove a hypothesis. But this worship of the actually existent has spread like a plague from the laboratory to the market-place, where it is likely to prove the most dangerous of all those *idola fori* against which Bacon uttered his solemn warning in vain. The Modernist movements in literature, art and music, in education, ethics and religion, are all to be explained by the single formula. All facts, all states of mind, have an equal value, an equal claim to respect, an equal title to be recorded. Plato says of the 'democratic man':

Whenever he is told that, though some pleasures belong to the appetites which are good and honourable, others belong to the evil appetites, and that the former ought to be practised and respected, but the latter chastised and enslaved, he does not receive this true doctrine, nor admit it

into his castle. On the contrary, at all these assertions he shakes his head, and maintains that all appetites are alike and ought to be equally respected.

One could scarcely ask for a more precise description of the state of mind which produces Freudian novels, expressionist drama and the various extravagances of Modernist poetry, painting and sculpture. Plato adds, pertinently enough: 'You have certainly described a life that might be led by a man whose motto is "Liberty and Equality."' Experimental methods have opened our eyes to the limitless wealth of possible directions that our activities might take, many of them hitherto unexplored; and they have necessarily failed to supply us with any new principle of choice, while they are commonly supposed to have discredited the old ones. The situation is really paradoxical. In one sense we have more freedom to choose than any previous generation, but our freedom is nullified because we admit no valid reason for preferring one course to another. In other words, if we are to reap any advantage of our liberty, we must have a scale of values.

The act of choice, if it is not to be entirely random and motiveless, presupposes some sort of criterion, some ground for preferring one thing to another. Even the democratic man would presumably admit this; but he would immediately qualify his admission by saying that any such ground of preference must be personal to the individual. You cannot quarrel with the choice of the soul. One man prefers a Greek tragedy by Sophocles, another an American tragedy by Theodore Dreiser, and no valid reason can be given why either should change his choice. The individual man—not man in general—is the measure of all things, and there is no common measure between individuals.

If this attitude of atomic individualism could really be maintained, it would be useless to discuss this question—or, for the matter of that, any question—any further. But the attitude breaks down in its mere statement, and that in two ways. First, if there were no common measure, no significant statement could be made. The only consistent behaviour for the thoroughgoing sceptic or individualist would be complete silence; and Aristotle has, in fact, recorded the classic instance of a really honest sceptic who, having convinced himself of his own philosophy, very properly refrained thereafter from all utterance, and only moved his finger. To preach individualism is in intention to make converts and to found a Church, which is the pure negation of the faith.

Secondly, all art and literature, no less than all social and political life, presupposes a common measure between at least some individuals, between the artist or the writer and his public. There must, again, be something—and a good deal—in common

mong the numerous admirers of Theodore Dreiser, and among the less numerous (if only the living are counted) admirers of ophocles. If this ' something ' were merely a mode of feeling, it ould not get us much farther, for feeling is essentially incommunicable, and there is a well-known proverb that warns us gainst disputing about tastes. If you happen to like a thing, hen it is the sort of thing you like ; and there is no more to be aid. Yet men continue to dispute about tastes, perhaps more ften and more vehemently than about anything else, as though hey had a secret conviction that more than a personal whim is nvolved. And common forms of speech, such as ' a trained aste ' or ' good taste,' justify us in assuming that there is a right nd wrong even in matters of feeling ; that it may be better to ike Sophocles than Dreiser, or, of course, *vice versa*. But if that s admitted some element besides feeling must necessarily enter nto the mental act of choice, some faculty of judgment, some bjective standard of value ; and the individual man is no longer he only measure.

This additional element, if it is to serve as a common measure etween man and man, to which both alike can appeal, can be othing but reason, which is the same in all men however different heir feelings may be. We are thus led back to the Aristotelian efinition of choice as a combination of desire and reason, and e are now in a better position for seeing how and where the odern spirit has been led astray in dealing with problems of art nd conduct, which belong to the realm of values, by its obsession ith scientific method, which is properly applicable only to the ealm of fact. To the man of science, as we have already seen, ll facts are equally interesting simply because they are. The odern error is to infer from this, in the sphere of art, that all acts, all moods, all fancies are equally worthy of representation, nd, in the sphere of conduct that all impulses and desires are qually entitled to expression in action unless, of course, like e impulse to homicide, they would bring one too forcibly into onflict with the existing social order. In other words, the tenency is to eliminate the rational element (the element of valuaion) altogether from the process of choice, whether as exhibited n aesthetic appreciation or in human behaviour, and to leave the ther element of feeling or desire entirely unregulated by any tandard of values.

Certain artistic and ethical valuations are found in practice o be already established, but these are, for some mysterious eason, assumed to be purely conventional and arbitrary and tultifying, and the individual is urged to flout them in every ossible way, to regard the world of art or morals as a virgin field or experiment.

This is where the method of science is practically misleading in the world of values. Experiment is appropriate in dealing with facts whose only claim to attention is their bare existence, for all facts as facts are equal and indifferent: you can manipulate and combine them at your pleasure. But in the realms of goodness and beauty, that is, of conduct and art, or of choice, you experiment at your peril, for you are dealing with values, a totally different order of reality. So universally is this truth recognised that the most ultra-modern of modern parents would forbid his child certain forms of conduct and even, one may surmise, the reading of certain books. If he were pushed to justify this defection from his principles, he might excuse it as a concession to social exigencies, or if he were exceptionally honest admit that until he has attained a certain development the individual is not qualified to be the measure of all things to himself but must conform to an externally-imposed standard. To admit this, however, is virtually to surrender the whole position, for it is to limit most rigorously the individual's right to experiment, since you compel him to conform to tradition and convention until his character and tastes are, in all essentials, irrevocably fixed, and he has acquired a scale of values against which he may, indeed, rebel, but from whose influence he can never wholly free himself.

The truth is that, even if all men did not in their heart of hearts accept the established valuations in the sphere of beauty and goodness as being in the main right and reasonable, still it follows from the very nature of choice that the individual could not afford to experiment for himself except within very narrow limits. For to choose is always to some extent to bind yourself by your choice, and therefore we cannot afford in our short lives to make many irretrievable mistakes. Tradition is, after all, the result of centuries of experiment. You may, if you please, try a new course of conduct, or one that seems to you new, in sexual matters, but you do so entirely at your own risk, and when you have tried it it will no longer be new; it will have all the staleness of the *fait accompli*. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is you who will have to eat it. Is it not conceivable, is it not rather highly probable, that in all the myriads of human years every possible variety of sexual conduct has been tried, that the failures have been eliminated, and that the type of conduct which has survived, in the shape of convention, has been on the whole the most successful, because it is the best?

In the province of art the weight of these considerations is still more obvious, because so many of the rejected experiments have survived for our edification. Some of the crudest and most grotesque effects of [illegible] sculpture and painting undoubtedly

ake a certain appeal which can be felt even by those who most plore the tendencies they represent. Without being beautiful, ey possess the elusive qualities of 'character' and 'suggestiveness'; and they owe these qualities, as the name of the latter ows, to the power of association. They seem to recall something which hovers on the fringes of consciousness like a vanishing ream; and what they recall is partly the barbarous but sincere ttempts of primitive or decadent art in foreign countries or istant ages, partly the impressions or fancies of our own childood. There is an arresting oddity about them, as of things seen a strange light or from a curious angle, and represented with kind of rude symbolism. They are in effect experiments born ut of due time, when the age for experimenting has gone by, nd performed by men who have deliberately forgotten all that t has learnt and embodied in tradition. When they are successful ey recapture momentarily the childhood of the individual or e race; but it is a second and self-conscious childhood, nor does ever reach true originality, because, as can be read at large in e most flattering critiques, it inevitably reminds us of Assyrian Mongolian or Paleolithic art.

It is strange in a scientific age, when we have laid so oroughly to heart one-half of the message of science—the value experiment—that we should so totally neglect the other half, e principle of the accumulation of knowledge. The man of ience accepts the work of Newton or Darwin as a basis for rther experiment (even when that work has proved partially fective); he does not launch out into the blue, as if Newton d Darwin had never existed. Why then, should the sculptor nore the achievement of Praxiteles and Michelangelo, or the oralist the achievement of Aristotle and Aquinas? The explanaon of this absurd discrepancy is to be found in the modern eory which denies the rational element in choice and, as a rollary, the existence of objective standards to be apprehended the reason. Science, according to the modern view, deals with alities which exist independently of our apprehension of them; t and morality deal with purely subjective states of our own inds and feelings. Therefore, in regard to the former, definite d assured discoveries can be made, by which posterity may ofit; in regard to the latter, all is in a perpetual state of flux, d each generation has to create its own values anew.

The only escape from this philosophy of despair is to recognise e independent reality of standards of beauty and goodness and e existence in man of a faculty of right reason which tells him hether his works (in the widest sense of the word) his choices art and conduct, are in accordance with those standards. I e the term 'right reason,' though it is, strictly speaking, tauto-

logical, because it admirably serves the purpose for which Aristotle invented it, to denote reason, not as an abstract power, but as it functions in human life in the mind of the good or prudent man, reason working in the sphere of probable rather than absolute truth, and manifesting itself in the act of choice. This, and this alone, supplies a common measure between man and man. It is also the unifying principle which binds together all the different interests within the life of the individual or the community. Science and art, law and morality, poetry and religion, are but so many manifestations of right reason; for 'she, being one, hath power to do all things, and remaining in herself, reneweth all things.' And because right reason is one, all its varied manifestations are in harmony with one another. There is a vital congruity between sound art and sound morality, though it is by no means the business of art to teach morality. The perfection of human life would be[1] 'the complete and harmonious development of all our faculties under the control and guidance of right reason.' This principle supplies a test or standard which we can apply indifferently in ethics or aesthetics; and it will result in a decisive rejection of much that is most typically modern. Imagine a child reared amid the visible influences of Modernist painting and sculpture, and whose soul was nourished on Sitwellian poetry and the novels of Joyce. We need not ask whether he would grow up good or happy, for these are terms whose meaning is much disputed; but we can form a shrewd guess as to whether he would be likely to attain a complete and harmonious development.

We can now see why we are safe on the whole in following the guidance of tradition. Right reason being, as we have seen, the vital principle of the social organism, assimilates and incorporates into the body of tradition what is harmonious with itself, and rejects what is discrepant. This is the force that controls our seeming liberty of choice. We are free to choose in matters of conduct or art, that is, in the realm of values; but though our field of choice has apparently been enormously extended by the breaking down of ethical and artistic conventions, we are still, as of old, free only to choose well or ill, and we choose ill unless we choose in accordance with right reason.

PHILIP S. RICHARDS

[1] Irving Babbitt, *Literature and the American College*, p. [illegible]

ANOTHER ASPECT OF VOTING REFORM[*]

There is little sign of public enthusiasm for any reform in our method of voting. The country is advised to leave well alone, and would probably be content to follow that advice, or even to leave moderately ill alone, for fear of substituting something worse. The country may be right. It is not claimed for the proposals which follow that, if put into practice, they would inevitably produce an improvement on our present system. What is claimed is that, novel and even grotesque as they may appear at first sight, a consideration of their merits and demerits will provoke thought on the question, still remarkably obscure, of what precise aims we should have in view when we contemplate voting reform.

Some people approach this problem along the avenue of theory. They say that no man should be forced to vote for a party which he cannot whole-heartedly support, and that the relative strength of each party in the Legislature should correspond as closely as possible with its relative strength in the country. With others practical considerations are dominant. The great thing is to secure a succession of strong and stable Governments, which will in the long run govern approximately in sympathy with that elusive thing called public opinion. The best hope of this lies, it is held, in the maintenance of our present system, especially if there is any hope of a time coming when we shall be content once more with two parties. Shortcomings in respect of mathematical accuracy matter comparatively little.

Each of these views implies an admission that considerations of theory dictate one thing and considerations of practice something quite different. The conspicuous weakness of the position of the theorists is that it is more than doubtful whether their proposals, such as proportional representation, the second ballot, and the alternative vote, would produce anything like that exact correspondence between the strength of parties in the Legislature and in the country which they assume to be desirable. That has already been sufficiently demonstrated in a previous issue of this

* The following articles have recently appeared in the Review on this subject: 'Disfranchised,' by R. M. Montgomery, K.C., in July, and 'A Plea for the Majority Vote,' by Sir E. Hilton Young, in September.—Editor.

Review. But their proposals may also be attacked, not because they fail to give effect to the theory they start from, but on the ground that that theory is mistaken, and gives the elector a false impression as to his only proper and possible function. That second line of attack is adopted here, though in the insidious form of advocacy of a modification of one of the alternatives just rejected.

It may be assumed, if previous form can be taken as a guide, that with the British public it is practical considerations which will weigh most. It would be glad to see existing inconveniences and inconsistencies rectified, and it does not wish that any party should be violently done to death so long as it alone provides adequate expression for a large body of opinion; but it would strenuously oppose any change calculated to hinder a return to the two-party system. For this reason, apart from their failure to achieve the mathematical perfection at which they aim, proportional representation and the second ballot are unlikely to win general support. It is comparatively a minor objection that they make elections a more complicated process. Their chief vice is that they would tend to keep old parties alive even though they had outlived their usefulness, and would positively encourage the emergence of new parties. The case against the alternative vote in this respect is not so strong. If A., B., and C. are candidates at a contested election at which the alternative vote is in force, and the differences between A. and B. are less fundamental than the differences which divide each of them from C., then, unless one of them is confident that he can carry the seat without help, A. will have a motive for securing the tolerance of B.'s supporters so that they will regard him as a second best, and *vice versa*. There will be a movement towards compromise where compromise is least difficult, and forces will tend to marshal themselves into two groups confronting each other across the line of deepest political cleavage. The alternative vote, then, would often tell in favour of a return to, rather than a further divergence from, the two-party system.

If this is so, one strong argument in its favour is that it might abolish the need for itself. If the two-party system were effectively restored, we should have the conditions which, as we have assumed, make for strong and stable government, and the alternative vote would lapse into disuse. But its merits or defects pending that restoration deserve to be considered. We are now concentrating on practical considerations, but we must remember that these are not concerned only with the post-election developments in Parliament which decide whether a strong and steadily supported Government shall be placed in power; it is also in the long run of the highest practical importance that the humble

elector of the rank and file should feel when he performs his quinquennial act of citizenship that he is performing a useful and intelligible function. One of the greatest evils in the present state of affairs is the stultifying uncertainty from which the elector often suffers as to whether the effect of his vote will correspond in any way with his intention in giving it. If there are only two candidates he may like neither, but at least he knows that if he votes for A. he will help him, and not B. On the other hand, if A., B., and C. are candidates and his main and perfectly legitimate concern is to keep out C., he may not be able to tell without the gift of prophecy whether his best chance of doing so is to vote for A. or B. It must be admitted that, if there are only three candidates, and two obviously stand together in comparatively sharp opposition to the third, the alternative vote will in this connexion also do good and clarify rather than obscure the issue for the voter. But if there are more than three candidates, or if much cross-voting is probable, the added complication of the second vote will only make it harder for him to estimate the actual result of any given allocation of his preferences.

Another objection to the alternative vote, though the case against it on these grounds is not so strong as against some other changes proposed, is that it complicates election procedure to some extent since it involves two successive counts.

The system now to be described would, it is suggested, have advantages over the alternative vote in respect of all the three difficulties or *desiderata* touched on above. In the first place, it would set up an even stronger pressure in the direction of a return to the two-party system than now exists or would exist with the alternative vote in force; in the second place it would do something to ensure, pending that return, that the effect of the vote should correspond better than it now does with the intention of the voter; in the third place, it would leave the system of recording and counting votes almost as simple as it is at present.

Roughly speaking, it may be described as the system of the alternative vote so modified that it is the candidates themselves who decide whether any two of them may be coupled together as alternatives, while it is left to their common supporters each of them to indicate which of the two is his first choice. Suppose that, in a contested election where there are more than two candidates, any two of them may declare, at some prescribed interval before nomination day, that they go to the poll as 'combined candidates,' and that the effect of such a declaration is that all the votes recorded in favour of either of them are allotted to that one of the two who receives the greater number. For instance, A., B., and C. are candidates in a certain constituency, and A. and B. have declared that they stand as 'com-

bined candidates.' A. scores 10,000 votes, B. 5000 and C. 13,000. B.'s 5000 votes are allotted to A., who is elected with 15,000 votes against C.'s 13,000.

Without denying the rather strange and violent first appearance of these proposals, let us begin by considering what claim they have to the advantages attributed to them above. In the first place, there is the question of pressure towards a return to the two-party system. At first sight it might seem that it would not be as strong as under the alternative vote, since two candidates must avow their mutual affinity before they can profit by it, and they might be unwilling to do that. But the advantage of 'combining' would be so much greater and more certain than the advantage under the alternative vote of winning the tolerance of another man's supporters that it should overcome that reluctance. Each will continue to aim at an independent majority over any other candidate, but each will declare his readiness, if elected by a 'combined' vote, to work for some sort of greatest common measure of the two separate party programmes. Secondly, and as a result of this, the effect of the vote and the intention of the voter are likely to correspond more closely. He may like A and his policies very much and dislike B and his policies very much, but at any rate if he now votes for A he does so forewarned of contingent unpleasant results. Thirdly, except that there must be a final addition of two of the three totals, the method of voting and counting remains exactly as at present.

It will be said that it is in connexion with the second of these claims that the argument is clearly [illegible]. To pretend that you are adding to the powers and privileges of the elector when you give two candidates the right to decree that whoever votes for one of them shall be treated as [illegible] giving his second preference to the other must be absurd!

As a first step towards answering this objection one may consider what sort of power can, in the nature of things, be exercised by the ordinary elector. If a man is a member of a charabanc party of twenty persons about to select one out of half a dozen of resorts, he does not feel aggrieved if his choice has to be made between two alternatives neither of which appeals to his particular fancy. If he is one of twenty talkers, he does not expect to dictate the topic of conversation. Yet paradoxically, when he is one of twenty million voters, though it is likely to be a very small proportion of what he wants that he is able to persuade millions of others to want, he is liable to regard it as an outrage if he is obliged to choose between two alternatives both of which are distasteful to him. If his grievance is real, the inference is that they are right who say that every voter should be provided with a party for which he can vote with unqualified

enthusiasm. No doubt sometimes a type of thought or aspiration arises so essentially new that no existing party could represent it, and it must create its own medium of expression. This may well have been the justification for the creation of the Labour Party. But this does not signify that it would be sound either theoretically or practically to smooth the path for the formation of new parties. Every new policy on its way towards fruition has to pass through two phases—the phase of persuasion and the phase of political action. It is commonly made a reproach against party leaders that they keep their ears to the ground. Whether it is a foolish reproach or not, it implies that, if the work of persuasion on behalf of some new cause has been successfully accomplished, one of the existing parties will be likely to shoulder the burden of the necessary political action. It is true that by forming a separate group and securing even a handful of representatives in the Legislature the adherents of a new movement may bring it earlier within the range of political action. But their achievement will be premature—unprofitable to themselves unless they aim at coercing the still unpersuaded majority, and highly obstructive to the orderly and logical development of public affairs. Whatever satisfaction the fanatical adherents of fixed ideas might derive from the existence of such a multiplicity of groups, pro this and anti-that, that almost every man would have a chance of voting for his pet enthusiasm, the average elector, mainly interested in orderly progress and good government, would be no better off. His power would cease with his vote. What Government was formed and what laws were passed would depend on post-election bargainings over which he would have no control whatever.

When therefore, in accordance with our suggestions, the candidates are given the power to tell the elector that his vote for A. will, in certain circumstances, help B., they are only warning him before the election of what, whether pleasant or unpleasant, may in any case happen in effect after it. Any system which pretends to offer the voter increased power by giving him the opportunity of voting for a party cut exactly after the pattern of his fancy is a fraud. What can and should be done is to give the elector the maximum pre-election knowledge of post-election probabilities, and to ensure that, though neither of these probabilities may be really pleasant to him, his vote shall tell with all its small weight in favour of the less unpleasant. Moreover, the position of the candidates *vis-à-vis* the electors is obviously no more autocratic in this than in any other matter. They will not seek support as combined candidates on behalf of some formally defined greatest common measure of their separate policies unless they have reason to believe that such action will be pleasing to the

bulk of their supporters. They are not likely so to act, moreover, unless there has been some sort of concordat with a view to provisional co-operation between their party leaders, and it will be to the interest of those leaders also accurately to interpret public feeling in this as in other matters. If they do make a mistake, local organisations will have the same power in this as in other cases of breaking away from the party policy, and will be able to put up independent 'non-combining' candidates.

If, however, it should still seem that the elector is being treated rather violently, it would be possible without introducing any dangerous complication to provide an additional safeguard for his liberties. Below the spaces containing the names of the candidates, when any two of them have combined, might be allotted another space in which would be printed the words: 'If your vote is in no case to be transferred to another candidate place a X here.' The votes in that case, assuming once more that A., B., and C. are candidates, and that A. and B. have combined, would be counted into five instead of into three piles. There would be transferable votes for A., non-transferable votes for A., transferable and non-transferable votes for B., and votes for C. Only one count would still be necessary, and at the end of it a process of addition and comparison only very slightly more complicated than before. Reverting to the figures given above, if of B.'s 5000 votes 1900 were non-transferable A. would still get in; if 2100 of them were non-transferable C. would get in. In other words, if B. had misinterpreted his supporters in combining with A. and imputing to them a readiness to accept A. as second choice, and if a considerable number of them would prefer to risk a victory by C., they would be able to give most effective expression to their preference.

The kind of service popularly expected of the soldier is spectacular heroism at some moment of supreme danger. The kind of service really needed from him is such conscientious performance of a multitude of distressingly trivial duties as will equip him with a knowledge and self-control never in all probability to be fully tested. Similarly the staunch democrat is liable to think the citizen should constantly be in a state of emotional enthusiasm for some noble and moving cause. What is really needed of him is the most honest, sober, and conscientious discharge possible of the very prosaic occasional duty of choosing between two or more alternatives, all of them perhaps unattractive. To render his one act of truly national citizenship more intelligible and significant for every man is to fortify the health of the democracy.

N. W. CLAYTON.

AIR POLLUTION

LONDONERS during the summer months of the present year have had an ocular demonstration of the advantages of a cleaner and purer atmosphere, for the air in June and July was exceptionally free from dust and smoke, and the numerous Colonial and American visitors must have been surprised by the beauty of the views obtained when approaching the Metropolis either by road or rail from the south over the numerous bridges which span the Thames. The wide sweep of the river in the foreground, the towers and spires of the Houses of Parliament, of Westminster Abbey and of the City churches in the middle distance and the great dome of St. Paul's rising against the grey background in the east, made a picture which lacked nothing in artistic value.

Miss Ethel Mannin, the novelist, has stated recently in an article which appeared in one of our widely-circulated daily journals that as a nation we do not take sufficient pride in the attractions and beauties of our own country; and she might have added to the list of these neglected attractions the wonderful views which may be observed from many vantage points of our capital city. The correspondence columns of *The Times* have contained several letters recently on this subject, and I agree with the correspondent who states that one of the finest views in London is that obtained from the footbridge over the lake in St. James's Park, or from the Duke of York's Steps, at the bottom of St. James's Street.

We hear much from Americans and from our countrymen who have visited the States of the striking effects which are produced by the towering buildings of New York, but Londoners rarely boast of the beautiful views, which can be obtained from many vantage points, of the historic buildings and churches of their city on such clear days as we have experienced during the present summer.

The clearness of atmosphere has not been due entirely to the brilliant sunshine, or to the absence of moisture in the air. It has been caused chiefly by the fact that the heat required for cooking the meals of London's 7,500,000 inhabitants and for other purposes, has been provided almost entirely by the use of gas, elec-

tricity, or some smokeless form of solid fuel. The many thousands of inefficient smoke-producing grates which are still in existence in the older houses of the Metropolis have been out of commission during this glorious summer, and the use of bituminous coal consequently has been reduced to a minimum.

Support for the opinion that the domestic grate and chimney are responsible for the greater portion of the contamination of our town and city atmospheres with soot can be found in the fact that the industries and factories located in and around London were at work as usual this summer and were contributing their normal amounts of soot and dust to the atmosphere. Direct tests made in other towns and the figures for air pollution collected during the coal dispute in 1926, have strengthened the view that it is the domestic hearth which contributes the larger portion of carbonaceous impurity to the atmosphere, and not until public opinion has been sufficiently aroused to make the use of smokeless fuel compulsory in all domestic heating appliances can we expect the clearer skies and charming vistas of the summer months in London to be witnessed during the autumn and winter months of the year.

As regards the education of the public, it is interesting to note that the two societies which have been in existence for some years for propaganda work concerning the evil effects of smoke and for promoting greater efficiency in the combustion of solid fuel for domestic and industrial purposes are about to join forces. Before the end of the present year it is probable that this fusion will have been effected, and that the Coal Smoke Abatement Society, which was formed in 1898, will have amalgamated with the Smoke Abatement League of Great Britain, which came into being ten years later, and that a new body, to be known as the National Coal Smoke Abatement Council, will have taken their place. This Council will maintain offices in both London and Manchester, while other towns and cities affiliated to the movement will have representatives upon it; and it is hoped that the pooling of resources and experience on the part of the two existing societies will result in greater efficiency in the educational work relating to smoke abatement in this country.

In connexion with the efforts to extend more widely the use of electricity for heating purposes as a substitute for raw coal, it must be regretted that the proposal to erect a super-power station in the Battersea Park district of London should have been met with such a chorus of disapproval. The opponents of this scheme seem to have lost sight of the fact that the closer a power station can be placed to the consumers of the current it produces the lower will be the losses and costs of transmission, and the lower the price at which the electric units can be sold. The lower overhead

lines which are generally employed for transmitting high-tension electric current in the industrial and country districts cannot be employed in the densely-populated London area, and the cost of transmitting current underground from super-power stations twenty or thirty miles distant from the locality where it is to be used would double or treble the cost of the current to the consumer, since the outlay upon cables and the cost of laying them would be enormous. The plans for the Battersea Power Station, however, have been sanctioned by the Central Electricity Board, and also by the Commissioner of Works, and since the station is now in course of erection, the following examination and estimate of the increase of air pollution which may be expected to follow its completion and operation should prove of interest.

Waste gases from modern power stations employing pulverised fuel for firing the boilers contain always large amounts of fine dust, which is carried into the chimney shafts by the high draught employed. These waste gases contain also sulphur in the form of sulphurous acid gas, but little or no soot or tarry matters, since the temperature of the furnaces is too high and the combustion is too efficient to permit the formation of any smoke under normal conditions of work. Ash in the form of fine dust, grit in the form of half-consumed particles of coke, and sulphur in the form of sulphurous acid gas are, therefore, the chief air-polluting products of these stations.

The removal of the dust and grit can be effected without much difficulty by various types of dry dust and grit catcher, which operate upon the centrifugal principle. Nearly all modern power stations making use of dust firing are equipped with dust and grit catchers, and it is claimed that 90 per cent. of the solid impurity of the waste gases can be removed in this way. The removal of the sulphurous acid is a more difficult problem, since this involves washing the gases before their discharge into the atmosphere. Chemists and engineers are now investigating the possibilities of carrying this out with large volumes of gas economically and efficiently. I believe that these experiments will lead up to some practical result, and that an apparatus will be evolved which will enable the larger portion of the gaseous impurities and acid constituents of the waste gases of power stations to be condensed and removed without enormous expense for plant. The SO_2 gas is formed, it may be explained, from the combustion of the sulphur which is contained in the raw fuel as iron pyrites, or, as the men themselves call it, 'coal brasses.' The amount of this impurity varies greatly in different classes and seams of coal, and in some of the cheaper varieties of bituminous fuel it may rise to as much as 4 per cent., or to one twenty-fifth of the weight of coal as mined. The average for

British coals, however, is 2 per cent. When this fuel is consumed, one-half of the sulphur is converted into sulphurous acid gas and escapes into the atmosphere, while the other half remains in the ash, in combination with lime and magnesia. According to an estimate made by Dr. John S. Owens, the total consumption of coal in London for domestic and industrial purposes amounts to 17,000,000 tons per annum. Assuming that this fuel contains on the average 2 per cent. of sulphur, about 170,000 tons of this element, in the form of sulphurous acid gas, are being turned annually into the atmosphere. This is equivalent to 1,400 tons of sulphuric acid per day.

Comparing this very surprising total with the actual figures obtained from the chemical examination of the contents of the gauges employed for the air pollution observations in the London area, we find that the sulphuric acid which is brought down by the rainfall is only about one-fiftieth of this amount, and that the aggregate fall for the whole of the greater London area amounts to about 10,000 tons of sulphuric acid per annum. *It would seem evident, therefore, from these figures that the larger proportion of the gaseous impurities produced by the combustion of coal are carried by the winds far beyond the metropolitan area, and are not precipitated or carried down with the rainfall within the confines of the city.*

TABLE I

The total amount of sulphur collected in London and Glasgow from 1916 to 1928 expressed as tons of SO_3 per square mile per annum.

Year	London.	Glasgow.
1916	74	92
1917	68	89
1918	60	84
1919	70	77
1920	51	56
1921	47	44
1922	43	34
1923	30	39
1924	33	41
1925	41	52
1926	32	46
1927	40	43
1928	40	50

Table I. contains figures for the whole period of the observations, showing the amount of sulphuric acid collected by the air-pollution gauges in London and Glasgow. These figures have

been compiled by Dr. John S. Owens, the General Superintendent of the Air Pollution Measurements, and are quoted from the *Transactions of the Institution of the Engineers-in-Charge* for March 1929. The variations in the totals for sulphuric acid follow very much the same course as the totals for solid impurities, and a considerable reduction in the amount of sulphuric acid occurred during the years 1916 to 1921, the minimum being reached in the years 1921–22 both in London and Glasgow. Since the latter year there has been an increase which has continued down to the latest return, which covers the twelve-months period up to March 31, 1928.

The general trend of the changes that have occurred in the amounts of solid matter and of sulphuric acid for the two cities is clearly shown in the diagram reproduced on p. 7, which represents the figures for London and Glasgow in the form of curves for the whole period of the observations. In spite of the rise in recent years, it will be noted that the general direction of these curves is downwards.

Considering now the vexed question of the amount of increase of air pollution which is likely to result in London from the erection and operation of a super-power station at Battersea, expert opinion is widely at variance. The writer's personal view is that, since Londoners are burning already over 17,000,000 tons of coal annually for domestic and industrial purposes, the burning of another 750,000 tons is not likely to affect very greatly the air pollution of the Metropolis. At the very worst an addition of 4 per cent. to the existing air pollution can occur; but should it be possible for the waste gases from these huge modern power stations to be submitted to cleaning and washing processes, without undue expense, before they are discharged into the atmosphere, the increase of atmospheric pollution from sulphur might be regarded as negligible.

The erection of the huge power station at Battersea, therefore, may prove to be a blessing in disguise for Londoners, for it has caused much greater attention to be directed to the development of systems of cleaning and washing chimney gases, and these systems, if successful, will no doubt be adopted not only by power stations, but by all works and factories consuming large quantities of bituminous fuel. A further advantage will be that the Battersea Power Station, when in full operation, will lead to the closing down of many smaller and inefficient power plants in the south-west district of London, but this argument needs no further elaboration, since it has been thoroughly justified by experience in this and other countries during the past quarter of a century, and is the chief *raison d'être* for huge super-power stations.

Turning now to consider the latest official figures for the

impurities of our atmosphere, namely, those collected and published in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Advisory Committee on Atmospheric Pollution, it is interesting to note that thirty-five public authorities are now conducting these observations, and that the number of gauges in use during the year ending March 31, 1928, was eighty. This is an increase of only one gauge and of only one authority upon the totals of the previous year; but it must be pointed out that the expansion of the movement for the measurement of air pollution had been exceedingly rapid since the end of the war, and that it was hardly to be expected that the number of authorities making the observations would continue to increase at the same rate indefinitely. The figures for the years 1922–28 are given in tabular form below.

TABLE II

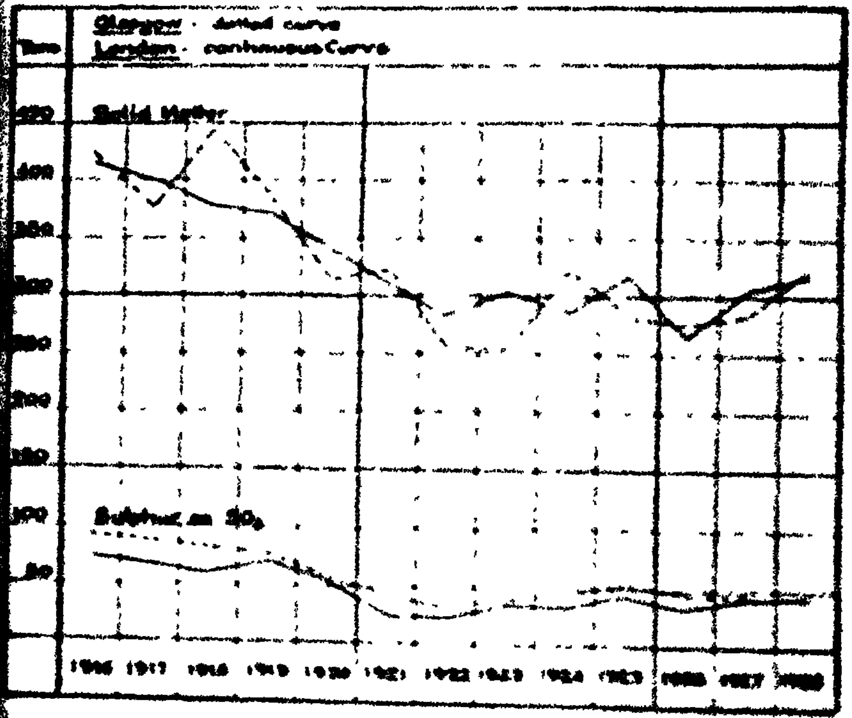
Number of Public Authorities engaged in making Soot and Dust Fall Observations and Number of Gauges in use

Year	Number of Authorities	Number of Gauges
1922	12	32
1923	16	35
1924	19	45
1925	[illegible]	48
1926	[illegible]	61
1927	34	79
1928	35	80

The principle of the method of measurement employed by the Committee is that the amount of dust and impurity (both soluble and insoluble) which is brought down by the rainfall may be regarded as a measure of the amount of the suspended impurity in the air in any locality. The air, it is true, is never washed entirely free from impurities by the rain, and the rainfall varies enormously in different localities; but in the majority of towns and cities in this country the annual rainfall keeps within fairly narrow limits, and the soot and dust gauge method has been adopted therefore since 1913 as the standard method of measurement. The original gauges employed were of enamelled cast iron, and had a collecting area of 4 square feet. Owing to the difficulties of obtaining an enamel that would not crack on exposure, glazed stoneware gauges are now being substituted for the iron ones, and in time all the observing stations will be equipped with this new type of stoneware gauge, which is half the size of the older one. Each gauge is provided with a large glass storage vessel for the collected rainwater, and on the last day of each month all the solid impurities which have adhered to the inner

sides of the gauge are washed down into the bottles with the aid of some of the collected rainwater, and the bottles are then removed to the analyst's laboratory for the examination of their contents.

Diagram of the Total Collection of Solid Matters and of Sulphur collected in the London and Glasgow Gauges for the whole Period of the Soot and Dust Fall Observations expressed as Tons per Square Mile per Annum



The annual reports of the Committee contain the whole of the figures for each year's observations and provide a veritable mine of information on the subject of air pollution, for not only is the total amount of solid matter collected in each gauge recorded month by month, but figures are given for the tar, carbonaceous matter other than tar, soluble ash, insoluble ash, sulphates, chlorides and ammonia.

The Fourteenth Annual Report, which has just appeared, contains full particulars and figures of the observations for the year ending March 31, 1928, and it is of interest to compare these figures for the total fall of solid impurities with those of the previous year, in order to see whether any progress has been made in freeing the atmosphere of London and other towns and cities

from solid impurity. The totals are given in Table III., the towns being grouped in classes according to their cleanliness and the fall of solid matter being expressed as tons per square mile per annum.

TABLE III

Comparative Figures for the Soot and Dust Fall in Twenty-five Cities and Towns of the United Kingdom in 1927–28 expressed as Tons per Square Mile per Annum

Place	Gauges	Tons
Rothamsted	1	126
Southport	2	141
Bournville	2	159
Kingston-on-Thames	1	162
Edinburgh	3	[illegible]
Birmingham	4	208
Stoke-on-Trent	1	223
Marple	1	[illegible]
London	[illegible]	[illegible]
Glasgow	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gloucester	1	[illegible]
Leeds	4	[illegible]
Cardiff	1	[illegible]
Wakefield	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rotherham	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leicester	1	[illegible]
Castleford	1	[illegible]
Rochdale	[illegible]	[illegible]
Huddersfield	2	[illegible]
Hull	1	[illegible]
Salford	[illegible]	[illegible]
Newcastle-on-Tyne	[illegible]	[illegible]
Liverpool	1	[illegible]
St. Helens	1	575
Burnley	1	576

On comparing the totals with those for the year ending March 31, 1927, it will be seen that Rothamsted still occupies the place of honour as the cleanest place in the country, while Burnley, the Lancashire cotton town, has the unenviable distinction of being again at the bottom of the table, with a total deposit of 576 tons per square mile per annum. This is not the highest recorded soot and dust fall, for in 1917–18 the Rochdale gauge collected a solid deposit equivalent to 2069 tons per square mile per annum.

It is noteworthy that the three cities Birmingham, Glasgow and London occupy remarkably good positions in the centre of the Table, while Edinburgh has the unique distinction of being the only large city included in Class 1. This class is confined to towns with a deposit of solid matter below 200 tons per square mile per annum, and at present there are only five places qualified to appear in it, namely, Bournville, Edinburgh, Kingston-on-Thames, Rothamsted and Southport (Lancashire), the Garden City of the North.

Comparing now the figures for 1927–28 with those of the previous year, we find that all over the country, with few exceptions, there has been an increase of solid impurity in the atmosphere. This increase has been specially noticeable since the coal-mining stoppage of 1926, and it seems probable that it is another after-effect of that disastrous halt in industry.

TABLE IV

The Total Fall of Solid Matter in London and Glasgow for the whole Period of the Soot and Dust Fall Observations expressed as Tons per Square Mile per Annum

Year	London[1]	Glasgow[1]
1916	415	422
1917	400	380
1918	379	447
1919	372	386
1920	346	316
1921	307	322
1922	284	255
1923	302	254
1924	288	321
1925	319	284
1926	264	274
1927	303	284
1928	316	320

In the writer's opinion, this increase of atmospheric pollution has been due very largely to the use of inferior coal by both domestic and industrial consumers, in order to counter-effect the burden of high home prices. The reduction in the price of coal which has occurred during the past eighteen months no doubt will have some effect upon the London and provincial soot and dust fall figures. In order to illustrate, however, the striking increase in air pollution which has occurred since the observations were commenced in the two cities which have carried on the

[1] The London averages are those for eight stations and Glasgow averages for [illegible] stations.

observations for a considerable period of time, the totals for London and Glasgow are given in Table IV., and are reproduced also in the diagram.

It will be seen that in each case there has been a steady and continuous diminution in the amount of solid matter collected in the gauges down to 1922 and 1923, but that after the latter year the figures have shown an upward tendency, which has continued up to March 31, 1928. It may be objected that 1926 was a year when manufacturing industry was at a low ebb, and that naturally there would be an increase of the soot and dust fall when the figures for 1927 and 1928 are compared with the totals for 1926. As a matter of fact, however, the 1926 results deal only with the observations up to the end of March of that year, and do not cover the period of the coal mining trouble, when all industrial operations were suspended. A study of the figures in Table IV. shows also that the amount of atmospheric pollution in London and Glasgow had commenced to increase before 1926, and it is now higher in these two cities than any recorded since the years 1916 to 1918, when the manufacturing industries of this country were all working at high pressure under war conditions.

One further contributory cause of the increase of solid impurity in the atmosphere appears to London alone, and this is the very striking expansion of manufacturing activity within the Greater London area since the end of the war. This industrial expansion of the south is due to various causes, and forms one of the most striking of the social changes that have occurred since the end of the war. It is a remarkable testimony to the efficiency with which fuel is being consumed in these new industries that they have not had a greater effect upon the amount of solid impurity in the atmosphere of the Metropolis, for although the amount of impurity in London air is more than double that recorded for Rothamsted or Southport, London has still a considerable advantage in cleanliness over many of the manufacturing towns of the north.

Smoke reformers, therefore, who happen to reside in London, need not be unduly depressed by the increased air pollution indicated by the results for 1927 and 1928, for the total in the latter year is still only half that of the towns in Group 5 of Table III., and when compared with London's own average for the three years 1916–18, the results for 1928 show a great improvement in the cleanliness of the air of the Metropolis.

The writer has given his reasons in the first portion of this article for the belief that the new Battersea Power Station will not add very seriously, if at all, to London's air pollution. The real menace is the domestic hearth and chimney, and the chief problem for London health authorities is how to reduce the smoke produc-

on of the ordinary old-fashioned domestic grate when burning rdinary bituminous coal. The attempts to cultivate a civic conscience with regard to litter and refuse in our streets and public arks have not been very encouraging for those who believe in the ossibilities of reform by educational work alone. In the writer's pinion, it will be necessary to adopt the plan of the health authoities of New York, and to forbid after a certain date (say Decemer 31, 1932) the use of all smoke-producing forms of fuel within he metropolitan area, with severe penalties for offenders against his bye-law.

It is probable that within a few more years coalite and other orms of smokeless fuel will be available at a reasonable price to ouseholders in all parts of the Metropolis, and they will then ave the choice of five different forms of smokeless fuel, namely nthracite, coke, coalite, gas and electricity (if the latter, when sed for heating purposes, can be termed a fuel). There would hen be no hardship involved in the enforcement of a compulsory rdinance such as exists in New York, and the effects, no doubt, within a few months would be equally striking. We might expect he clearness of atmosphere which has charmed all residents and isitors to London this summer to be extended over the winter months of the year, and the greasy yellow fogs which have made London's atmosphere in winter time a byword and reproach would be banished for ever and become to the majority of us a mere memory of one of the most unpleasant characteristics of he London of our earlier days.

John B. C. Kershaw

THE EXTRATERRITORIAL ISSUE IN CHINA

To many it must have seemed that the Note sent by the British to the Chinese Government on the subject of extraterritoriality, the text of which was published on September 5, disposed of the question as a topical issue for some time to come. It was a temperate, lucid and convincing justification of Great Britain's unwillingness to abolish the extraterritorial system at the present time—the system whereby foreigners are entitled to the protection of their own laws and courts instead of being amenable to Chinese laws and courts. However, it is apparent that the question is likely to become one of wider public interest than it was. In these circumstances an article which, while it can scarcely be more lucid than the British Note, seeks to amplify some of the points contained in it and to deal with one or two others, may be helpful.

To begin with, certain misconceptions about the subject as a whole should perhaps be indicated. One is that foreigners control the Treaty Ports. Yet of the [illegible] places where the Chinese Maritime Customs has offices and where foreigners are allowed to live and trade there are only six (Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Chinkiang, Tientsin and Hankow) where extraterritoriality is associated with foreign administration in concessions and settlements. These concessions and settlements comprise about twenty square miles or [illegible] per cent of the total area of China proper and occupy only a small part of the ports in which they are situated. In the most important settlement, the International Settlement of Shanghai, the Chinese population greatly exceeds the foreign population and the same is true of the section of Shanghai called the French Concession. If the affairs of Chinese residents in the foreign districts of Shanghai or the other places named were controlled by foreigners, that in itself might be regarded as constituting an *imperium in imperio* of considerable importance notwithstanding the small amount of territory involved. Foreign administration, however, is limited to municipal and police control; Chinese residents remain under Chinese sovereignty and laws. Two ports are in leased territory; at the remainder there are no foreign-administered concessions

settlements. Accordingly to think of the Treaty Ports as a whole as places in which the writ of the Chinese Government does not run is erroneous.

An associated misconception is that extraterritoriality deprives the Chinese authorities of considerable revenue and so prevents them from undertaking necessary public works. It certainly deprives them of the revenue that might for a time be produced by miscellaneous taxation such as is levied locally in China, for the most part uneconomically and with no application to public works. But it deprives them of little revenue accruing from regular taxes authorised and levied by the central Government. Apart from income and shop and business taxes, which are of recent origin in China, very imperfectly organised and comparatively unproductive, foreigners pay most of the taxes duly authorised and levied by the central Government. They pay the same import and export duties as Chinese subjects pay, and the same land tax. They pay also indirectly, i.e. in the price which they give for Chinese goods, all the internal taxes either indirectly or directly levied on those goods. They pay the same postal, telegraphic and telephone charges as Chinese subjects pay. Thus the freedom from Chinese taxation which extraterritoriality confers is very much smaller than it is sometimes described as being. And here it is important to notice two things: first, that China's claim to levy taxes on foreigners has already been conceded in principle by Great Britain; secondly, that the right to levy such taxes could in practice be exercised just as tariff autonomy is exercised without extraterritoriality being abolished.

A third misconception is that because extraterritoriality confines the right of foreign residence to the Treaty Ports, it is an obstacle to the spread of foreign trade into the interior. At the Peking Tariff Conference of 1925-26 it was estimated that not more than 10 per cent of the foreign import trade goes into the interior and that the rest remains in Treaty Port areas. The Chinese population of these areas is roughly 10,000,000, from which it follows that 90 per cent of China's foreign imports is absorbed by about [illegible] per cent of her population. That, if correct, is a very striking and a very disappointing fact, but before the fact can be attributed to the extraterritorial system we have to ask ourselves these questions: Does extraterritoriality handicap Chinese dealers in sending foreign goods into the interior, or does extraterritoriality prevent Chinese from buying direct from shippers and manufacturers in Europe, America and Japan? Does the fact that some 250,000 foreigners are amenable only to the jurisdiction of their own courts limit the purchasing power either of the 10,000,000 Chinese who live in Treaty Port areas or of the 390,000,000 who live beyond them?

* * *

These questions have only to be asked to be answered quite clearly in the negative. Extraterritoriality is not responsible for the present distribution of China's foreign trade. The factors that result in 50 per cent. of her import trade being done by 5 per cent. of her population are the concentration of the country's purchasing power in the coastal regions, the scarcity and insecurity of means of communication from the coastal regions to the interior, and the diminution of the interior's purchasing power by taxation of goods both in transit and at destination. Certainly, if foreigners were not restricted to residence in Treaty Ports but were free to reside anywhere, the volume of trade going into the interior might be a little larger than at present, because every foreigner living there would have to finance his own requirements and would enable such Chinese as he employed, either in his business or in his home, to finance theirs. But such increase of China's purchasing power as would be brought about in this way would, in existing conditions, be extremely small. Were extraterritoriality abolished to-morrow, the number of foreigners living in the interior would increase very little, if at all, for the simple reason that few traders would be prepared to face the risks which life in the interior at the present time involves. As the British Note stated, any agreement purporting to give them an adequate degree of security would be a mere paper agreement to which it would be impossible to give effect in practice.

There is yet another misconception which should be removed, namely, in regard to the origin of extraterritoriality in China. To this the British Note devoted considerable space, stating in the fairest possible way why and how the system was introduced. After perusing the paragraphs concerned, however, the reader might still suppose that what the Note describes as the amorphous and unregulated extraterritoriality which preceded our early treaties with China was alien and grew up without regard to Chinese conceptions and principles. But that is not the case. As Mr. G. W. Keeton's book *The Development of Extraterritoriality in China* shows, the laws of the T'ang Dynasty in the seventh century contained the precept that 'in respect to disputes amongst themselves foreigners should be governed by their own laws, but in respect to disputes with natives or with other foreigners of a different nationality by those of China.' The persistence of this precept in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and its voluntary extension by China herself are proved by instructions issued to the Viceroy of Canton in 1743—a century before the Treaty of Hoomun Chai, which was supplementary to that of Nanking, was signed. Under these instructions foreigners committing against Chinese offences not capitally punishable were to be punished by their own countrymen, accidental homicides being

amongst such offences. And if the cases which took place between 1837 and 1835 are examined, it will be found that for offences less than homicide surrender of Europeans was not demanded.

These misconceptions disposed of, we may proceed to examine a little more closely than the British Note did what the abolition of extraterritoriality involves. It is not, perhaps, generally appreciated that, as far as Great Britain is concerned, much of what China is asking has already been conceded. The British Government has agreed in principle to British subjects in China being made to pay taxes duly authorised by the Chinese Government, in addition to those which they pay already, provided they are paid by Chinese subjects also. It has also agreed in principle to apply Chinese laws in British courts. It has declared its readiness to give up its concessions, which in practice, though not in theory, are associated with extraterritoriality, and has already given up two of them. It has agreed to mixed cases, in which Chinese are defendants and British subjects plaintiffs, being tried by China's modern courts without the presence of a British assessor, and it has placed valuable British property in the form of trade-marks under the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities. It is prepared to consider further modifications, and has invited China to suggest them. But it is not prepared forthwith to abolish extraterritoriality altogether. It is not, that is to say, prepared to place British subjects and property throughout China under the jurisdiction of Chinese courts. That was the issue with which the British Note had in the main to deal.

In doing so it referred to the report made by the Commission on Extraterritoriality in 1926, a Commission composed of representatives of the United States, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Spain and the British Empire, and appointed under the terms of a resolution adopted at the fourth plenary session of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments on December 10, 1921.

When the Commission began its investigation of China's judicial system, Southern China was in revolt against the Peking Government. The movement now known as the nationalist movement was taking shape, and the southern leaders publicly declared that they would not recognise the Commission. But that attitude cannot possibly affect the truth or falsity of the Commission's findings, which were as follows:—

> That the number of trained judicial officials is far too small for the work that has to be done (p. 90).
>
> That the administration of justice by police tribunals is unsatisfactory (pp. 91 and 93).
>
> That the conditions existing in the courts of district

magistrates, which handle 'by far the larger part of litigation in China' and where 'practically all the complaints of foreigners arise,' are 'admittedly not favourable to satisfactory trials' (pp. 63 and 93).

The report also states :—

(a) That the rights and duties of the citizens of the Republic, the separation of the powers of the legislative, administrative and judicial officials, and those powers themselves, are not founded on a firm constitutional basis (p. 47) ;

(b) That, in consequence of the comparatively short time in which the new laws of China have been in force, the assimilation of these new principles has not kept pace with legislation, and that a number of ancient laws and legal processes dating from former times continue to be in force and applied side by side with the new laws (p. 48).

The proposal to abolish extraterritoriality is, accordingly, a proposal to make foreigners and their property subject to these conditions ; it is a proposal to substitute for the security which they get from their own courts the insecurity of a judicial system which, after full and impartial inquiry, has been pronounced unsatisfactory in the vitally important ways enumerated above.

The commercial significance of this proposal is not, perhaps, as fully realised as it might be, considering that our main interest in China is commercial. Our exports to China are for the most part sold there through foreign middlemen, most of them British, for the reason that until recently the Chinese had little knowledge of the methods of international trade and possessed little of the mechanism necessary to transact it. Accordingly the trade is for the most part financed through British banks in accordance with British law, or if not through British banks then through European or American banks in accordance with their national laws. The forms of finance vary, but they all have this in common that in the last analysis the goods are the security for the money involved. And of the goods exported by the United Kingdom to China last year valued (apart from those sent to Hongkong, but intended for China) at approximately £5,717,000, not less than 60 per cent., probably more, were stored pending delivery to the Chinese purchasers in godowns or warehouses under foreign control. Where no such control exists—and, as we have seen, at most Treaty Ports it does not exist—goods enjoy the protection conferred by legal immunity from any taxes or regulations ordained by Chinese authorities other than those agreed to by the British Government.

The abolition of extraterritoriality would change all this. From the moment goods arrived in China their security would be entirely dependent on the manner in which the Chinese

governmental machine was functioning, while the extent to which they could continue to be financed through foreign institutions would depend on the scope and freedom accorded to such institutions working in competition with Chinese banks.

The fact that Germany trades with China without extraterritorial rights does not diminish the force of these considerations. The bulk of Germany's exports are financed through British and other foreign banks, and enter China through Shanghai and Tientsin, where they share the security conferred by the extraterritorial system.

These various facts illustrate the case against abolishing extraterritoriality at the present time.

But, while this is so, His Majesty's Government is ready to consider in what ways it may be possible to proceed with the process of modification some description of which has already been given. Various modifications have been suggested, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination. One suggestion is the substitution for consular courts of mixed tribunals applying approved Chinese laws; another similar suggestion is the institution of a court or courts to which all foreigners or all foreigners at present enjoying extraterritorial rights would be amenable, presided over by foreign judges selected and paid by China herself, or by some non-Chinese authority. A third suggestion is the abolition of extraterritoriality in the interior but not in Treaty Ports; a similar but bolder suggestion being its abolition not only in the interior, but in all but the most important ports as well, accompanied by the negotiation of an international convention regarding the government of the latter.

It is not proposed to examine any of these suggestions, but to show how some of the facts already dealt with though constituting valid reasons for not abolishing extraterritoriality, indicate that the system is not of equal value all over China.

Thus it was stated on the strength of investigations made during the Peking Tariff Conference of 1925–26 that not more than half China's foreign trade goes into the interior. Of this portion by far the larger part is taken there not by foreigners, but by Chinese, who also bring down to the coast the bulk of the exports shipped abroad. The interior of course is a vague term. Technically it begins where Treaty Ports leave off which, if passport regulations are any indication, is outside a radius of 100 li, or roughly thirty-three miles, from the port. When missionaries and other travellers, however, use the term, they generally mean country lying much further inland than that. But not many foreigners go, as a regular matter, into the interior in the missionary's sense of the term in the conduct of their business, excluding, of course, journeys made by railway and river

steamer. With that reservation, and making allowance also f the important facts that many of China's inland waterways a navigated for commercial purposes by foreign-owned vessels, a that most of the trunk lines were built with foreign money a are to some extent supervised by foreigners, it remains true th the commercial importance of extraterritoriality in the interior smaller than in the coastal regions

Again, it was indicated in describing the mechanism of o trade with China that the bulk of it is done at a few ports. 1927 the proportion of China's foreign import trade done by thirt three ports out of forty-nine was under 20 per cent Clear therefore, extraterritoriality is of less importance at some po than at others

That, too, is illustrated by the facts mentioned in connecti with the storage of goods While furnishing a strong argume for not abolishing extraterritoriality at the present time, t facts referred to are no argument for the maintenance of t system in undiminished form The British Note's invitation China to make suggestions for further modifications and t nature of those already made should satisfy moderate China that Great Britain's attitude towards the extraterritorial iss is far from being a negative one

F M GULL

THE CASE FOR EXPERIMENTS ON ANIMALS

IN the August number of *The Nineteenth Century* Miss Beatrice E. Kidd, honorary secretary of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, gives an account of 'the case for anti-vivisection.' In reply, the case for experiments on animals has been dealt with in general terms by Professor Dodds in the September number.[1] In the present article his argument is extended by discussion of examples chosen with particular reference to Miss Kidd's article.

Taking the moral side of the question first, Miss Kidd says that the object of those who do experiments on animals is not directly the curing of human ills but the advancement of science, which she pictures as an insatiable Moloch demanding endless living sacrifices. Scientific workers freely accept the fact that the immediate object of their experiments is not always medical; they do believe that the advancement of knowledge is a sufficient aim, but they know that from the point of view of utility it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between work applied to specific medical problems and work aimed at increasing biological knowledge on which scientific medicine is based. Experiments on animals are necessary for both, and often prove ultimately most useful to man when done with the sole object of advancing knowledge. But those who work in either applied or pure science preserve their judgment and do not elevate science into a Moloch. Let us hear a man of science (Professor A. V. Hill); he says emphatically:

> I would not make 'Progress' into a false god. Most reasonable people, however, neither believing in magic on the one hand, nor in the inevitability of advance on the other, see in the achievements of mankind, won by patient toil and eager searching, by failure as well as success, by disaster as well as triumph, in sorrow as well as in joy, by courage as well as by skill, something to be treated with respect and reverence, something sacred, as we have come to regard human life itself to be. The advance of knowledge is a real and living thing, something worth working for, worth fighting for. . . . It is true that we are all very stupid and unseeing

[1] A rejoinder to Professor Dodds has been received from Miss Kidd, and her full reply to him and to this article will be published in November.—Editor.

still—some of us perhaps more stupid than others. We are very far yet from any Utopia, moral, mental or material; but that the general progress of knowledge has improved man's lot and character and outlook in the last half-million years, and that it can continue to improve them in the fifty million that lie before him, is a general proposition that not many will dare to deny. After all, it is knowledge which makes civilisation, *knowledge tempered by reasonable sentiment, controlled by decent emotion.* It is knowledge which makes the difference between man and animal. My spaniel Dan is a tangle of emotions, sentimental beyond belief, credulous to the last degree, ready to chase any imaginary cat or squirrel, believing in spooks and probably in ectoplasm, a very pleasant and interesting companion, but utterly incapable of reaching any great height by his own unaided effort. The capacity for knowledge, for understanding himself and his environment, is man's essential characteristic, and his alone; and to deny him the exercise of this fundamental gift would be an unpardonable, an almost unthinkable offence.*

This attitude towards the advancement of knowledge is very far from that of an intolerant worshipper desiring to sacrifice everything else on the one altar. Such was the fanatical religious fervour met with in the Middle Ages; such, perhaps, is sometimes the zeal of the anti-vivisectionists. But scientifically trained minds ought to be, and usually are, undogmatic and sceptical even in their enthusiasms.

Scientific workers share the common human desire to diminish the amount of suffering in the world, but they endeavour to retain a sense of proportion when considering how best to forward this aim. The world is so constituted that we cannot avoid inflicting some pain; we are obliged to kill animals for food and clothing, to destroy pests that threaten ourselves or our crops, to disturb wild life by the advance of cultivation. We go further sometimes, and hunt or shoot animals to gratify our instincts, perform operations on our cattle to give us tenderer meat, or on our dogs to conform to fashion. The anti-vivisectionist who is really consistent—who is a vegetarian, uses no leather or fur or horn, and never kills a wasp or flea—is a person for whom we may feel respect. But he is rare. Most people countenance the exercise by man of the power of life and death over lower animals for his own sustenance and protection, and we may well ask: May we not use this power also for the advancement of knowledge and the alleviation of suffering both in man and animals? The pain caused by laboratory experiments is extremely small beside the pain involved in killing animals for meat or fur, or in the operations (without anaesthesia) of the farmyard, or in the natural deaths of wild animals, or in hunting and shooting. Amid all the animal misery and suffering in the world, much of it inflicted or permitted by man, the mite of pain suffered by animals in laboratory

* *The Fight against Disease*, Summer 1929.

experiments is perhaps the only pain which brings return in lessening other suffering, the only fruitful pain of the whole. These experiments are vehemently attacked by people who accept, ignore, or simply deplore other animal pain.

Laboratory experiments are not confined to animals, but are very often extended to man, in spite of Miss Kidd's statement that 'nobody would think of weighing the future benefit of millions of our fellow creatures against the right to be spared the worst of all wrongs, possessed by the meanest human creature, whatever his crimes may have been.' Many medical discoveries are tested on laboratory volunteers before entering into medical use. Cases of serious illness and death have been caused by such experiments, some because of mistakes, some unavoidable, as for example the tragedies following on early work with X-rays and radium. But since experiments on animals may not give all the information required, experiments on man may be necessary, and are carried out wherever possible.

In their emotional opposition to experiments on animals anti-vivisectionists much exaggerate the pain suffered. In 1928, out of a total of 315,381 experiments, 95.3 per cent were inoculations, feeding experiments, etc. Included in this number are experiments on many animals which underwent no treatment at all, but served as normal controls, e.g. rats receiving a standard diet to compare with others receiving the same diet less one constituent. Many other animals suffered no ill effects; some developed disease, but were killed before suffering ensued; a few became ill in such a way that pain was caused and they were then killed. Another 2.1 per cent were operations done under anaesthesia, the animals not being allowed to recover from the anaesthetic; these experiments differ in no respect from the chloroforming of unwanted pet animals except that the anaesthetic is usually more skilfully administered in the laboratory. The remaining 2.6 per cent were operations done under anaesthesia from which the animals were allowed to recover. Full antiseptic precautions were observed, as in operations on humans. If serious pain or sepsis ensued, the animals had to be killed. Included are a majority of minor operations; even to test an anaesthetic on an animal and allow it to recover involves a record in this group. It must further be remembered that animals suffer none of the mental pain which humans feel at the prospect of an operation, and they are less sensitive to physical pain; they recover with extraordinary rapidity, and dogs which have undergone an abdominal operation will run about and feed almost directly after the effect of the anaesthetic has passed off. Severe pain has definite physiological effects, and for this reason alone, if not for many others, it is always avoided to the utmost possible extent.

The existing laws governing animal experiments are complete and effective, and afford protection against unreasonable, cruel, or thoughtless experiments. Few physiologists would wish the law made less strict, except perhaps in one or two respects, *e.g.*, to make it possible for surgeons to gain dexterity by practising operations on anæsthetised animals, and for laboratories to have a few—say, 1 per cent.—of the stray dogs that are at present uselessly destroyed (to remove the chance that stolen dogs may be sold to laboratories).

Anti-vivisectionists have alleged over and over again that physiologists vivisect from sheer love of cruelty. This accusation is absolutely groundless. Physiologists are not less humane than other men; they are often great animal lovers with pet dogs of their own; they are perhaps more sensitive than other people to the infliction of pain because they understand better what it means. The recital of the facts of an experiment on an animal can be made to sound very gruesome to laymen: for example, emphasis is often laid on the way the animal is tied into position, but this is done after it is unconscious, and is chiefly necessary because most animals cannot lie on their backs. Similar fastenings may have to be used for anæsthetised humans undergoing operations. Again, a catalogue of horrible details is often related, but the fact of deep anæsthesia is glossed over or omitted. The details of any surgical operation could be made to sound equally ghastly, especially if the term 'vivisection' were often repeated. Doctors and nurses do not become hardened to the fact of pain because they can forget the external details of surgical treatment; neither do physiologists.

A suspicion arises that such emphasis on torture and cruelty, such inventing of horrors where none exist, such ransacking of old foreign journals for painful details, are manifestations of abnormal psychology in the anti-vivisectionists, comparable to the spirit which led some of our ancestors to flock to public hangings and witch-burnings. This suspicion is deepened by the readiness of anti-vivisectionists both to impute and to wish evil to physiologists, and to picture their sufferings in a future life. However this may be, the morbid taste for cruelty certainly exists more in the minds of the anti-vivisectionists than in the critical atmosphere of the laboratory. It may be mentioned that readers who follow Miss Kidd's advice to buy the *American Journal of Physiology* will be disappointed if their object is to read about the atrocities she mentions.

Besides exaggerating the pain caused in experiments on animals, anti-vivisectionists minimise or deny the usefulness of such experiments, holding that they lead to medical errors, and that medicine would advance more rapidly by clinical observa-

tion alone. Medicine depended on clinical observation from the dawn of time until the eighteenth century, except for a few isolated experiments. Advances were few and slow. Modern medicine and surgery depend on the basic knowledge of the body obtained by experimental methods. Miss Kidd asks us to return to the principles of Hippocrates and the teachings of Sydenham; these were great doctors, and no one would deny that clinical observation is of the greatest importance and must never be forgotten in our modern zeal for laboratory diagnosis. But, recalling the state of knowledge and of public health in Sydenham's time, we may ask if his teachings are really enough for us to-day.

The knowledge gained by experimental physiology underlies all the clinical advances mentioned by Miss Kidd. For example, she praises Sir James Mackenzie's great achievements made by studying heart disease among his patients. This famous physician would have been helpless except for Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, made by experiments on animals, and for much other fundamental knowledge of the heart similarly acquired and necessary to the clinician.

Again, Miss Kidd quotes Lawson Tait's statement that vivisection had done nothing for surgery. Where was the surgeon before Lister? Often afraid to do the simplest operation because of the horrible mortality from sepsis. Lister, helped by his own animal experiments and by the great discoveries of Pasteur made in the same way, reached the conclusion that sepsis was due to micro-organisms. This discovery made, it was clear that microbes must be prevented from entering wounds, and Lister aimed at achieving this by the use of antiseptics to kill microbes. Miss Kidd calls Lawson Tait "a pioneer before Lister" of the aseptic treatment of wounds. Tait had scarcely obtained his medical qualifications at the time when Lister announced his discovery, but he was among the first to use the later aseptic method—a variant of technique, the aim being not to introduce microbes, while the antiseptic method aimed at destroying any which were present. The all-important discovery was the relation of micro-organisms to sepsis. This has made possible the miraculous successes of modern surgery.

Miss Kidd quotes two eminent surgeons—namely, Sir Henry Morris and Sir Henry Swanzy—as stating that some operations for which they were noted were worked out without any help from experiments on animals, and she uses these phrases to support her thesis that experiments on animals have been and are of no use to the surgeon's art. It is perhaps unfortunate that she did not read the remainder of these statements, in which both surgeons asserted their belief in the value of animal experiments

both to surgery as a whole and to eye and kidney surgery in particular. Such quotation of isolated sentences to give a false impression is far too common a form of misrepresentation.

Miss Kidd also quotes a phrase by Sir Frederick Treves of the same nature as those mentioned above, and she does this in spite of the fact that Sir Frederick Treves himself wrote to *The Times* (April 9, 1902) protesting against a statement dealing with one small branch of practical surgery being used as a testimony to the fallacy of vivisection. He ends the letter: 'No one is more keenly aware than I am of the great benefits conferred upon suffering humanity by certain researches carried out by means of vivisection.'

The use of animals for experiments in serum and vaccine therapy and in drug testing is quickly dismissed by Miss Kidd—testing drugs is 'nothing more than a ritual', and it is flatly denied that any lives are saved by sera or vaccines. To begin with the question of drugs, it is difficult to see how new substances prepared by chemists can be recognised as drugs at all unless they are administered to animals or men. They cannot safely be given to men until their medicinal properties have been partly ascertained. Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of the anaesthetic properties of chloroform, nearly lost his life through acting as his own experimental animal in research on anaesthetics. The true properties even of old well-established drugs are sometimes only recognised after animal experiments.

Again, certain preparations (e.g. pituitrin, pituitrin used in obstetrics), extracts of the thyroid and other glands, and the various sera and vaccines cannot yet be chemically analysed, and must be standardised or assayed for medical use by animal experiments, since there is no other way of determining the strength. Of course, as soon as a substance of this kind can be separated and chemically analysed, it ceases to be necessary to use animals for standardisation, since, as Miss Kidd says, they are apt to give inaccurate results owing to individual differences. But, though chemical analysis is preferable for standardisation, it is of course ridiculous to suppose that isolated experiments on animals would, as Miss Kidd suggests, immediately enable chemists to isolate the active principles of all the complex substances that at present require animal tests.

Passing on to the question of sera and vaccines, it may be useful to note that resistance to a disease-producing micro-organism depends on the production of anti-substances. A vaccine of dead bacteria aids resistance by stimulating production of antibody, a serum by adding antibody formed by some other animal in response to injections of bacterial toxin.

Miss Kidd believes that freedom from typhoid fever during

the war was due to sanitation, and not to vaccine. The enormous drop in the death rate from epidemic diseases of various kinds since the eighteenth century may undoubtedly be partly ascribed to advances in sanitation. It is impossible to disentangle the relative shares of several factors in these conquests of disease. The sewage- and water-borne diseases, such as typhoid, cholera, and dysentery, naturally diminished as water supplies and drains were improved, and malaria gradually vanished from England as marshy country was drained for agricultural purposes and the breeding-places of the malaria-carrying mosquito thereby removed. But the driving out of malaria and yellow fever (another mosquito-borne disease) from tropical countries was nowhere achieved until experiments on animals and men had proved the mode of infection and it had become apparent that only by actively preventing the mosquitoes from breeding could the disease be conquered. Many other such sanitary improvements depend, as Professor Dodds has pointed out, on experimentally obtained knowledge of infection. Sanitation has made typhoid a rare disease in England now, but many people going to countries where it is endemic avail themselves of the protection of typhoid vaccine in the full confidence that thereby they will escape the disease or any serious attack of it. Troops massed together under defective sanitary conditions are similarly given vaccine so that sporadic cases of typhoid may not start epidemics. The confidence with which these steps are taken is based on medical experience and statistics from many countries and under many conditions. Miss Kidd says that anti-typhoid inoculations, besides being of doubtful utility, often cause illness and sometimes death; a few fatalities have been recorded, but they are indeed few beside the thousands which have been averted by inoculation, and most people would rather have a swollen arm than an attack of typhoid fever. No one need be inoculated against his will, but those who desire such protection may reflect that anti-vivisectionists would have made it unobtainable.

A disease on which sanitation can have no influence is tetanus or lockjaw. Once contracted it is rapidly and horribly fatal in at least three-quarters of uninoculated cases. By experiments on animals the disease was proved to be due to the introduction into wounds of a specific bacillus present in soil, and an antitoxin was prepared. If given when the disease has declared itself, the mortality is reduced to a certain extent, but if given as soon as possible after the wound is inflicted, the incidence of tetanus is markedly lowered—*e.g.*, from 16 cases per 1000 wounded men in 1914, before antitoxin was available, down to 1 or 2 per 1000 during the rest of the war when antitoxin was given as a routine measure. Inoculated men who develop tetanus have it in a

milder form. Antitoxin is also used with excellent results in veterinary practice to protect horses in heavily-infected districts.

Two dangers which do not trouble us in this country are snake-bite and plague, but to inhabitants of India, for example, these are ever-present perils. Antitoxic sera effective against various kinds of snake venom have been produced by work involving animal experiments, and are the best remedies available, usually saving life if given soon after the bite is inflicted. A plague vaccine has been employed with good results as a preventive in plague-stricken districts, and may be added to the other measures useful against plague. It seems a selfish action on the part of anti-vivisectionists in this country to attempt to prevent discoveries, partly made by Englishmen, which are so vitally important to other lands.

Hydrophobia and smallpox are treated not by sera or vaccines, but by very mild attacks of disease conferring immunity. A man bitten by a rabid dog is given injections of increasing amounts of a very weak virus of rabies obtained from rabbits. In response to the earlier small doses his body manufactures more and more antitoxin, and by the time the virus from the bite could do harm he is able to resist it. The mortality from bites of animals undoubtedly rabid used to be at least 10 per cent., and is now well under 1 per cent. These figures mean that there are now many fewer examples of a particularly frightful form of death. Rabies was banished from England by a temporary muzzling order—violently opposed by some people—and by quarantine of all incoming dogs, steps taken after Pasteur's work on animals had shown the cause and mode of transmission of the disease. In India, where rabies is common, Pasteur institutes for treating it have been established in the face of anti-vivisectionist propaganda.

Immunity from smallpox is obtained by vaccination—a mild attack of a different disease called vaccinia or cowpox, derived from calves specially inoculated. To forbid experiments on animals would make vaccination impossible, unless we returned to the original practice of inoculating the vaccine virus from arm to arm, whereby other diseases may also be transmitted. This danger is avoided by the present use for each vaccination of fresh lymph from a healthy calf. Recently there have been deaths from encephalitis occurring after vaccination, and also after attacks of various other infectious diseases (see Sir George Newman's Report on the State of the Public Health for 1929). It is to be hoped that a means of preventing this may soon be worked out, with the aid of animal experiments if necessary, so that it may no longer interfere even very occasionally with the valuable prophylactic measure of vaccination.

[illegible] a variety of arguments being adduced against it. Let us examine them:

(1) The death rate from diphtheria per 1,000,000 inhabitants of England and Wales increased 25 per cent. in the fifteen years after the introduction of antitoxin as compared with the fifteen years before.

(2) The statistics of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which show a fall in the case mortality of diphtheria after the introduction of antitoxin, are specially prepared by advocates of antitoxin.

(3) More deaths from diphtheria occurred in London hospitals during the five years after antitoxin than during the five years before.

(4) Diphtheria occurs in waves, and is now increasing in malignancy despite antitoxin; the fall in case mortality attributed to antitoxin was due to a natural decrease in the severity of the disease.

(5) Antitoxin achieved its reputation when it was given at a period of the illness and in doses now recognised as affording it no chance at all.

(6) Medical opinion about the details of antitoxin administration, diphtheria diagnosis, etc., has changed.

(7) Antitoxin has been known to cause sudden death.

A formidable list indeed! I will deal with each point in turn.

(1) Antitoxin is chiefly used to assist patients who have developed diphtheria, and only rarely as a preventive for contacts, since the immunity conferred does not last long. It can therefore scarcely be expected to affect the total number of cases of diphtheria that occur, any more than an umbrella can affect the amount of rain that falls, to use an often-quoted illustration. The fifteen years after antitoxin were years when diphtheria was very prevalent; the death rate was about 220 per 1,000,000 living persons as compared with about [illegible] per 1,000,000 for the fifteen years before antitoxin. For the fifteen years up to 1927 the rate was about 116 per 1,000,000, and it averaged 71 for the five years 1922–7.

(2) Miss Kidd objects to the statistics of the Metropolitan Asylums Board because from 1894 to 1911 they gave a separate table of the case mortality among patients with laryngeal diphtheria, which is a serious form of the disease. This table was begun, as she herself points out, to counter the accusation that the fall in case mortality after antitoxin was due to a (non-existent) practice of including mild sore throats to swell the number of cases. The table was no longer compiled after 1911 because "the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria has been

for some years so well established that further examination of details concerning it is unnecessary.' (Metropolitan Asylums Board Report, 1912.) Miss Kidd connects the cessation of this table with an 'ominous' rise in the death rate for 1927. She does not say if she means the death rate per 1,000,000 living persons returned by the Registrar-General, or the case mortality in the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board; we may quote figures from both to show, as she might equally well have done, that the rise was not of importance or long duration

Year	Deaths per 1,000,000 living persons, England and Wales, Registrar-General	Deaths per [illegible] cases admitted to hospitals of Metropolitan Asylums Board
1910	[illegible]	[illegible]
1911	[illegible]	[illegible]
1912	[illegible]	[illegible]
1913	[illegible]	[illegible]
1927	[illegible]	[illegible]

The curves of death rates for laryngeal cases and for all cases, given by the Metropolitan Asylums Board both show the same extraordinary fall after antitoxin was introduced. The laryngeal curve falls more steeply because the pre-antitoxin mortality was so high ([illegible] per cent). Many other sets of statistics of case mortality are available from other countries, and show the same effect of antitoxin.

(3) In 1890-4, before antitoxin, there were [illegible] deaths from diphtheria in the London hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and in 1925-9, after antitoxin, there were [illegible]. The cases admitted were [illegible] in 1890-4 and [illegible] in 1925-9. The case mortality thus fell from [illegible] per cent. to [illegible] per cent. The rise in the number of deaths shows increased prevalence of the disease, and bears no relation to antitoxin treatment.

(4) That some of the benefits which have been ascribed to antitoxin are due to a reduction in the natural malignancy of diphtheria cannot be definitely proved or disproved. But the value of diphtheria antitoxin happens to be attested by an experiment complete with scientific controls, a rare thing in clinical medicine. During 1898 the Danish physician Fibiger treated all diphtheria cases entering his hospital on one day with antitoxin, and all diphtheria cases entering on the next day

without antitoxin, and so on for one year. Other conditions were exactly the same for all cases. The cases treated without antitoxin thus constitute a proper scientific control for those treated with antitoxin, since only one factor was altered. A definite two-daily rhythm in the severity of the disease is inconceivable. The results were as follows, including only those cases bacteriologically demonstrated to have been diphtheria:

	Cases	Deaths	Death rate.
Treated with antitoxin	239	8	3⅓%
Treated without antitoxin	245	30	12¼%

The only legitimate scientific objection to this experiment is that the number of cases treated was comparatively small. Several people decided at various times to repeat the work, but the usual outcome was that it had to be hurriedly abandoned owing to the serious mortality among patients from whom antitoxin was withheld.

Many sets of statistics less rigorously controlled than Fibiger's are available, and most of them point to antitoxin having been at least a contributory cause in the reduction of diphtheria mortality. We may add the personal experience of thousands of doctors that antitoxin has a profound effect in saving life and warding off the severer symptoms and the crippling consequences of diphtheria. This evidence contributes but little to scientific proof of the question, but doubtless has been the most potent factor in establishing antitoxin treatment as an accepted routine.

(5) It is not correct to say that antitoxin achieved its reputation when given so late and in such small doses that it was of no use. Any antitoxin however late is better than none; the case mortality of the early and later years shows this, and shows also the improvement following on larger and earlier doses. Doses reached their present size about 1905, since when the case mortality recorded by the Metropolitan Asylums Board has never been above 10 per cent., to compare with a pre-antitoxin value of 29 per cent.

(6) Medical opinion does change; that is something of which medicine may be proud, not ashamed. Thanks largely to scientific research, including experiments on animals, medicine is a living and expanding subject. Theories and practices alike are outgrown. No scientifically-minded person should allow theories to become dogmas; they are put forward to explain facts, but many have to be discarded or altered when new facts

are discovered. Neither should he allow practices to become rituals and continue them when they have lost their theoretical basis; an example is Lister's antiseptic spray, which he abandoned when the theory of germ infection from the air was proved erroneous.

But although medical theories and practices change and develop, there is a body of solid and well-founded knowledge behind them, and we may doubt whether the germ theory of disease and the practice of serum and vaccine therapy will be as evanescent as Miss Kidd suggests. Moreover, research on the susceptibility of the host as a factor in infection will assuredly co-operate and blend with the older knowledge embodied in bacteriology.

(7) A few deaths have occurred which were probably due to antitoxin. An [illegible] have certainly been prevented by antitoxin. If the preparation of antitoxin were forbidden by [illegible] and the case mortality of diphtheria returned to [illegible] about 40 per cent., we may calculate that there would be at least [illegible] more deaths from diphtheria [illegible] if the number of cases remained at its present [illegible]. What gain would there be to weigh against this [illegible] mostly among small children? [illegible] ordinary work instead of living [illegible] occasionally to the [illegible] injecting toxin or withdrawing blood [illegible] no effect on their normal health [illegible] determining the strength of the [illegible].

I have as yet [illegible] of the benefits obtained for mankind and for the domestic animals by physiological research. Many more examples might be cited, and who shall say what further discoveries await us? These achievements involve a vast amount of patient toil by scientific workers, and a small amount of unavoidable pain among well-cared-for animals mainly bred for the purpose. Anti-vivisectionists see [illegible] Miss Kidd's article a scramble for academic [illegible] where others see a manifestation of that spirit which has enabled man to rise by slow and painful degrees from his original [illegible]. The non-scientific public ought to understand what anti-vivisectionists attack and what they wish to destroy. The man in the street as taxpayer is responsible for much of the scientific research done in this country to-day; it is important that he should realise how much he gains by this, and that he is taking a share in the world-wide struggle to push back the boundaries of ignorance. He will then perhaps respond less readily to the unscrupulous appeal made by anti-vivisectionists

to the emotions of the kind-hearted. It is always easier to appeal to the heart than to the head, but we are more likely to reach wise decisions in life if we weigh evidence and exert judgment than if we condemn by hasty prejudice. This article does not ask for an uncritical admiration for the results of scientific research, but for an attempt to understand the methods of science and the spirit which informs it

MARGARET D. ANDERSON.

THE STARLING: A PROBLEM

The ardent bird protector, encouraged by the writings of the older naturalists and perhaps by the pamphlet issued by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in [illegible] and revised [illegible] that is, qualified—in [illegible] the starling as a valuable ally of the agriculturist, and [illegible] that its [illegible] represents a useful economic [illegible]. This pamphlet, whilst [illegible] that the birds are troublesome [illegible] that they are from the forest standpoint [illegible] and gardening [illegible] the [illegible] harm done.' Nature [illegible] but the starling [illegible] an accomplished [illegible] whose stage is gable end or tree-top [illegible] corrective when pests [illegible] its right numbers, those [illegible] creatures which it influences [illegible] indeed, it fills the place allotted [illegible] in the [illegible] whole, and [illegible] the starling has challenged natural laws [illegible] the dislocated balance [illegible] it has increased so enormously [illegible] naturalist and indeed [illegible].

The glossy, metallic plumage [illegible] starling, its bustling [illegible] invitation to the bird [illegible] and squabbles with [illegible] of the bird lover. In spring it [illegible] shivering its wings and raising the feathers [illegible] neck as it chatters, whistles, and [illegible]. Into its song it introduces snatches picked up [illegible] and indeed does not confine its mimicry to avian notes, but with wonderful accuracy, copies mammalian sounds and even a mechanical noise, such as a creaking barrow wheel or an unoiled pump. I have heard phrases in imitation of the blackbird, skylark, thrush, yellow-hammer, and daw. I have heard it try, though without perfect success, to copy the willow-wren, but the whistling calls of waders it can

reproduces with as great accuracy as a wildfowler. Lapwing, golden plover, curlew and ringed plover, these are easily learnt, faithfully reproduced. Twice a bird which nested near a hen run caused me to look up when I heard an old fowl clucking on the roof; imagination converted its next phrase into a derisive chuckle; another could whinny like a horse, and a third misled some children by imitating their father's cycle bell. Tame starlings can be taught to whistle tunes and imitate the human voice. Willughby knew this as long ago as 1678, when he wrote:

Stares are not eaten in England by reason of the bitterness of their flesh. The Italians and other Outlandish people are not so squeamish, but they can away with them, and take a list of them for all that. It is a notable bird at imitating man's voice and speaking articulately.

In selecting a nesting site the starling is catholic and adaptive. Any crack, chink or hollow will serve, be it in tree, rock, ruin, or occupied house. It will build amongst rockery stones or in a rabbit burrow; it will ruthlessly enlarge the tunnel of the sand-martin to stuff it full with its untidy litter; it will build inside a chimney or beneath the eaves, and ivy and creeper stems often support a mass of straw and other rubbish, far larger than it needs. The farmer objects to its excavations in the thatch of his cornstack, a situation it favours. Ornithologists and foresters agree that its habit of occupying woodpecker holes is not beneficial; the old tenants are ousted and deterred by the starlings before the woodpeckers' eggs are laid, and occasionally the rightful owners are evicted. The woodpeckers nest only in decayed and useless wood, and are valuable as destroyers of all wood-boring larvae of moth, beetle or sawfly.

Whether or not the Board of Agriculture was right in calling the bird useful from the farmer's standpoint, the argument as to its value as a pest destroyer is sound. There is abundant evidence of its raids on the hated wireworm and leather-jacket, the popular name of tipulid larvae, and, from *post-mortem* examination, of its destruction of weevils, the larvae of grass-devouring moths and phytophagous insects of many kinds. Snails and slugs it also devours, but naturally it does not fail to consume many useful insects and other animals, for it cannot be expected to refuse anything edible. We are so apt to forget that the bird eats what it likes, not what we should like it to eat. Thus we find that a considerable number of useful coprophagous beetles are picked up, especially of the family *Aphodiidae*, but against this must be remembered that it is quite as assiduous in its attention to the troublesome June-bug or 'coch-a-bon-ddu' when this evidently tasty insect is swarming. The numbers of earthworms devoured, though considerable, probably make little difference, though

worms are valuable animals on farm land, and on the lawn the bird digs for and obtains many small white worms, whose very existence is unknown to most gardeners.

Perhaps the time when we most warmly appreciate the efforts of the starling is when the oaks are being defoliated by the caterpillars of the mottled umber, spring usher, winter moth, and the green oak tortrix. In May and June the birds, young and old, fill the tree tops with wheezy clamour as they fill themselves with the swarming caterpillars. In 1917, when the moorlands of the Peak, Pennines, and some of the Cumbrian hills were devastated by millions of larvae of the antler moth, no bird worked with greater energy on the 'tops'; the starlings flocked early, and young and old gorged themselves on the unexpected feast.

In summer and autumn, when fruit is ripening, we see quite a different picture, for in the orchard the bird is not merely destructive, it is shockingly wasteful, tasting and damaging far more than it devours, eating the ripe pears near the stalk until they drop with their own weight, to be finished on the ground by slugs and wasps. Pears, apples, cherries, plums, all suffer, and in the field wheat is eaten. For long the champions of the starling strove to assure us that this was a recently acquired habit; if it was, it was directly due to the abnormal increase of the species. If fruit was eaten when and because insects were scarce, the robbery might be forgiven, but when the fruit is ripe insects are perhaps as abundant as at any other time of the year. The birds waste their opportunity and turn from an insect to a fruit diet; they actually compete with the insects for the fruit.

Whether the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries repented of their earlier advocacy, or whether their investigation of many complaints altered their opinion, they published a very different pamphlet in 1920 pointing out that through the increase the bird had turned its attention so markedly to grain and fruit that repressive measures were desirable. In 1922 the Government of Algeria pleaded through the International Agricultural Institute at Rome that the bird should be black-listed and destroyed in 'the countries where it originates,' for the visiting migratory starlings were seriously threatening the olive crop. The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds issued and circulated a questionnaire, with on the whole a result in favour of the bird; neither full protection nor wholesale destruction was recommended, but a continuation of the partial protection which the bird then enjoyed under most county orders.

Dr E. A. Lewis, about this time, was engaged upon a different line of research, and in 1923 published in the *Journal of Helminthology* a paper on 'Starlings as Distributors of Gapes,' in which he warned poultry and pheasant rearers that there were

gave indications that migratory and nomadic starlings were carrying the troublesome gape-worm and spreading the disease. He examined 412 starlings, taken at different times, and 15 per cent. were infected with gape-worm. A paper in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* for 1926 from Professor R. T. Leiper emphasised the warning. Early in 1929 Mr. Walmesley White, struck by the continued alarming increase of the bird, revived the matter by a letter to *The Times*, and Mr. E. C. Stuart-Baker 'agreed entirely with his criticisms,' and supported his contention that the increase of the starling is bound to react unfavourably on other species.

Unless we realise one or two ecological facts, it is perhaps difficult to believe that the increase of a beneficial—or mainly beneficial—species may produce unfavourable results on other useful, as well as useless or destructive, creatures. Species are interdependent to a much greater extent than many people will admit, and natural laws provide enough food, but not too much, for each species when in the correct proportion to maintain its relative position. Man, however, comes in as a competitor, and a very powerful one, and disorganises natural balances for his own ends. Man, partly through spread of population and increase of agriculture, partly through game preservation, and partly through enthusiastic but unbalanced bird protection, has materially lessened the numbers of the enemies of the starling, the natural checks upon undue increase. He has given the starling its opportunity, and the go-ahead bird has not been slow to respond.

It is extraordinarily difficult to say when a bird has increased or decreased, whether these changes in an avifauna are permanent or are merely fluctuations, and whether the change noted is purely local or widespread. Scares are all too frequent, and some of us are as yet unconvinced that the often asserted decrease of the swallow and martin has any more permanence than the extraordinary fluctuations in abundance of the migratory herring. The destruction rather than decimation of the gold-crests and long-tailed titmice during the severe winter and spring of 1916–17 seemed to threaten extinction of two resident species, but, at any rate in many areas, the birds have recovered their former position. But there are, on the other hand, birds which have steadily declined in numbers over the greater part of our islands, and the reason of the decline in some, the corncrake, for example, is a matter for conjecture.

Every ornithologist who has studied the avifauna of an area—country, county, even parish—agrees that the starling has increased within recent years and still is increasing. The following terse paragraph in Witherby's *Practical Handbook of*

British Birds sums up our knowledge of its present-day distribution:

Generally distributed. Increased greatly during last fifty years or so, and has spread northwards on Scottish mainland (has long been common Shetlands and Orkneys) and westward on mainland Great Britain and Ireland and in I. Hebrides, though has long been common (but lately greatly increased) in O. Hebrides and some western isles of Ireland. In Ireland now nests every county, but still scarce some districts, especially in parts of Cork and Kerry.

These remarks, however, only refer to the resident birds, those which nest in our islands; for although some of our home-bred birds leave in autumn and return in spring, those which remain have for winter companions vast hordes which migrate to Britain in autumn from central and northern Europe, great numbers reaching Ireland. Apparently these invading immigrants are also far more numerous than they were, if the statement made by Thompson in his *Natural History of Ireland*, dated 1849, is correct. In the north of Ireland he obtained information from shore-shooters of an autumnal immigration estimated at [illegible] birds in the whole autumnal season, and in [illegible] a flock of 200 winterers was considered large near Belfast. [illegible] according to an article by Ball, the roosts which it regularly [illegible] in Phoenix Park, Dublin, estimated as then varying from [illegible] to [illegible] about 1842, but increased [illegible] in three years, and by 1845 were estimated [illegible]. Most of the earlier writers describe the starling as a rare [illegible] northern and western parts of the British Isles [illegible] statements by referring to the [illegible]. [illegible] did not know the bird as a [illegible] and the date of the first Cornish nest [illegible]. [illegible] and Mathews thought that [illegible] the increase was noticeable about 1860, but at [illegible] the dense reed-beds were famous for [illegible] starlings. Macpherson gives [illegible] as about the date for increase in Lake Land, but there are [illegible] that estimates of numbers and knowledge of the status of the bird early in the nineteenth century cannot be considered as reliable. Though at that time the bird was rare [illegible] in some parts of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Gilbert White, [illegible] casually mentioning the bird, indicates that it was [illegible] in his days at Selborne. Sir Walter Scott says that in [illegible] the bird was seldom seen in Roxburghshire, but when he was a child of four or five years old (1774-6) it was common, but doubtless this is due to confusing residents and migrants.

Harvie-Brown and Buckley carefully investigated all Scottish records, and say that at Forres in 1805 the bird was 'increasing at

a fearful rate.' Further, they state that it is 'a question whether his good qualities may not be found wanting in the balance of good and evil, a result following upon the force of his numbers and degree of his assertiveness.' This is true; the starling is nothing if not assertive. The position of the bird, long established and common, in the Outer Hebrides and in Shetland is especially interesting, for within recent years it has been discovered that the Shetland bird is a distinct insular form or sub-species. Possibly those in the Orkneys and Western Hebrides may also be the resident descendants of ancient colonists which established themselves in these islands long before the species had invaded the more remote parts of the mainland. Even now in western Wales—Pembroke and Cardigan—the starling is not abundant.

The habit of the sociable starling of gathering, from October to March, at common roosts, often in very large numbers, has long been known and has often been commented upon. The bird is, however, changeable, and the same roost is seldom occupied for many years together, although there are certain places which have been annually used as winter roosts ever since man has troubled to make observations. In these roosts to-day we cannot separate resident from migratory birds, for though the numbers may fluctuate with migration, we do know that our residents, increased by the young of the year, begin to use the autumnal roosts before the immigrants arrive to swell the numbers.

Many of these late summer and early spring roosts, as they are known, some of very large size, have come under my notice, but never have I seen so large a congregation as one which I had under observation in Cheshire during last autumn, winter and spring. On many an autumn afternoon before the daylight showed any signs of decline I watched the starlings pass from east to west; they came in ones and twos, in little groups, in dense crowds; they hurried across the whole extent of sky visible from my window, their line of passage thickening as the light waned. They speeded when belated, as dusk crept on. Putting work aside, I sat and counted; scores rose to hundreds, hundreds mounted into thousands. I knew that at no great distance away a large roost must have been established, and decided to follow the stream. Wind-drift, an important factor to consider when studying a fly-line, at first led me astray; the direction one day was west by north-west, another north north-west, and even north was confusing, but half a mile away a road ran roughly at right angles to the line of flight, and thither I repaired for further observation. Before I reached the road, however, I noticed flocks changing direction, wheeling south, and the combined chatter of a vast multitude of birds led me to a group of half a dozen tall beeches whose upper branches were roped with starlings, wing to

wing. On the grass below were thousands more, restlessly hurrying to and fro, snatching a hasty supper or vainly searching for edible morsels, which surely were few and far between after so great a raid. Still they came, flock after flock, stooping steeply to crowd into the branches, only finding perching space by bustling earlier arrivals from their holds. Was this the roost? Surely all the starlings from miles around had gathered here. But as party after party rose and still winged westward I realised that this was no more than a halting place, a rendezvous, where evensong and vesper dance could satisfy their sociable cravings. And still they came, filling the gaps left by the departing hordes; the numbers seemed as dense as ever.

> They rustle in
> As starlings [illegible] in their evening tree
> Some [illegible] oak full in the [illegible]
> And over all the crowd the vibrating
> Hum of their chatter deepens.

When at last, with a mighty rush of whirring wings, the massed birds left tree and field it was too dark to see more than that the westward moving birds [illegible] the trees in a neighbouring park. My next effort to trace them took me to this last park, where I found the flocks gathering in the trees and traced the roost without difficulty: a [illegible] plantation not of any great size, but with its young conifers already over-crowded, although every large beech or other forest tree near was full of chattering, whistling, hissing starlings. Fresh flocks brought fresh arrivals, not only from the east, but from every point of the compass. Flocks hurtled past, making for the trees or plunging to the rough park grass, passing, as Mary Webb so well describes them, 'with a rip of the air like the tearing of strong silk.'

Rituals had to be performed before sleep could be indulged in, and, as if by command, dense [illegible] the whole gathering at once rose from the branches with a roar recalling that of an express rushing through a station. The birds wheeled and circled above the plantation, now heading away for a quarter of a mile in one direction, swinging round and travelling as far in the opposite direction. Then bunched into dense masses, thick as swarming bees, they [illegible] or thinned into undulating lines; they always acted in unison, a multitude guided by mob psychology. Sometimes a pack would break up into companies which advanced in echelon or deployed into line like well-drilled troops; sometimes the vanguard wheeled about, and each bird threaded its way through the still advancing horde behind like performers in a country dance. Indeed, there is much that suggests an intentional and enjoyed dance in their evening

manoeuvres. After these dances the parties rained into the roosting trees, checking their descent with uplifting, flapping wings.

What numbers gathered nightly from miles around I dare not even guess. My first observations had been of many thousands coming in from further east, but here were birds in like numbers which had travelled in from north, south, and west—a mighty army indeed. Here were countless thousands, each individual a food consumer, whether that food was insect, grain, or fruit. Here was visible demonstration of the starling as a great economic force. Like many another, I had known that the starling was increasing, but never before had the grave significance of this increase struck me so forcibly. If this increase continues, what will be the end?

Long have game preservers and foresters been up in arms against the starling, solely on account of the damage to trees and annoyance of these winter roosts. The ground is soured, the branches are broken, disease may be spread. One gamekeeper assured me that the pheasants could not sleep in the coverts, for all night long there is an undercurrent of disturbance from the overcrowded branches; another was sure that the foxes were driven away, the smell from the roost being even more than they could stand. Such complaints are rather amusing, but the futility of many efforts to drive the birds away from their chosen nocturnal haunt is interesting. Shooting the birds on the perches has little effect, and attempts to keep them from settling merely delay their roosting hour. At one roost, however, some clever gamekeepers were more successful. Obtaining a kite representing a large raptorial bird, they flew it over the covert when the birds were coming in. This was more than the starlings could stand, and they moved in a body to annoy someone in another locality.

Not only in the British Isles is the starling problem acute. In 1890 and 1891 some European starlings were released in New York State, 'released in order that a useful pest destroyer might help American agriculture.' The starling found the new land flowing with milk and honey, and without many of its natural enemies, so it settled down and advanced, spreading north, south, and west, until by 1928 it had populated most eastern States, the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains alone checking its advance. Some American ornithologists consider it still beneficial, but others complain of the great damage done to fruit, special complaints coming from owners of cherry orchards. 'Its roosting habits make it objectionable in cities,' is another plaint, but these habits are also objectionable well away from towns.

New Zealanders, either from mistaken economic desires or as pleasant reminders of home, introduced the bird, and too late

found that it was a fruit-eater. The fruit-grower who had been watching them in his orchard wrote in [illegible]:

> They picked large numbers of the fruit (loquats, Eriobotrya), as the sweeter the flavour the more it suited their taste best, and when they found a bunch that met their requirements, they cleaned it up in a few minutes. My figs also are suffering from starlings. . . . Like some other immigrants, they have developed fresh habits and tastes, and have become an additional burden on orchardists.

Will this condition of affairs continue? Shall we see other species shouldered out, become extinct, because the pushful starling has monopolised the food supply? Shall we see an alarming spread of gapes, killing off poultry, and destroying game? Would withdrawal of all protection, and concerted action, especially at the roosts, appreciably lessen the numbers or merely cause wider distribution? It is hard to say. All efforts to check the spread of the rat plague have met with but indifferent success. Combined attacks on the immigrant wood-pigeon have not stopped destruction of crops by these foes of the farmer. But we need not be very pessimistic, for where man fails Nature sometimes steps in with a much firmer hand and tackles the evil. Dr P. R. Lowe argued, reasonably, that man was not the main factor in destroying the hordes of passenger pigeons which annually swarmed through the United States, and some at present obscure epidemic may sweep away the far too numerous starlings. It may even be gapes which will reduce their numbers. In Granger's *Wonderful Museum* are brief accounts of 'aerial' combats, of an engagement between rival starlings at Cork in 1621, and of a similar battle between Gravesend and Woolwich, when the dead and wounded fell upon the houses into the streets and river. A worse battle, we learn from a pamphlet printed at Oxford in 1676, was fought in February that year in Burgundy, when 'bushes as high as men were hidden, and the earth covered with heaps of them for about 500 paces in length and the screams of the wounded and dying terrified the inhabitants.' It will not be by any such calamity that the remedy will come, though these accounts are merely the exaggerated misinterpretations by superstitious and ignorant people of the destruction wrought on stormy and foggy nights when great migratory flocks meet with obstacles or are lured by lights from their course.

No, if we see a change it will probably come from the spread of a wasteful habit which is plainly showing itself amongst the over-abundant starlings. This is the habit of egg-dropping—that is laying an egg where no nest has been made and leaving it to its fate. Egg-dropping—and no British bird is more prone to this habit than the starling—may be the beginning of a change from normal nesting and rearing young to the parasitical behaviour of

[illegible]

it has failed to [illegible]. It may be objected that this is mere theory without evidence; but there is evidence from South America which is founded on the observations of Darwin and W. H. Hudson, though neither seems to have noticed the application to the starling problem, which in Darwin's days, at any rate, was not acute.

I have seen many, very many, eggs dropped by starlings; I have numerous notes on the subject from correspondents. March and April are the months when most eggs are deposited in this way, not dropped in flight, but left, unbroken, on lawns and pathways; but one was picked up in December, another in January. One bird which fell down a chimney left an egg on the floor. A correspondent found three eggs on his lawn within a few days.

The South American cow-birds belong to the family *Icteridæ*, which is closely allied to the *Sturnidæ*; the cow-birds get their name from a habit which we see in starlings of perching on the backs of cattle and sheep when searching for ticks, keds, or other parasites. The cow-birds are largely, though not entirely, parasitical, placing their eggs in the nests of other birds and leaving them there in exactly the same manner as many of the cuckoos. And, as Hudson shows, the birds not only leave their eggs in other nests, but wastefully and carelessly leave them anywhere; they are confirmed egg-droppers. They frequently do more than leave the egg in a borrowed nest but, without apparent cause or reason, peck holes in the eggs of the rightful owner, so destroying them, and at the same time peck their own freshly deposited egg. Darwin, quoting Hudson, says that one species, *Molothrus badius*, is variable in its habits, for sometimes the flocks live promiscuously—that is, without permanent or even temporary mating—and sometimes remain normally in pairs. And he believed that egg-dropping, egg-pecking, and the occasional parasitic habit indicated a partially developed mode of life similar to that of the cuckoo; it was the parasitical habit in the course of being evolved.

The curious wasteful habit of egg-pecking I noticed amongst Sandwich terns at Blakeney, and at first thought that it was caused by the rivalry of common terns in a congested ternery; but Professor Oliver tells me that it occurred again this year, but only when the Sandwich terns were disturbed by numerous visitors. No such excuse can be made for the cow-birds, though in both cases the action may be the result of abnormal excitement. So far there is no evidence of egg destruction by starlings beyond the fact that unwanted eggs are left to their fate. Monogamy is the normal habit of the starling, though every year there seem more and more birds remaining in flocks after the mated birds

have found sites and acquired territory. Mr. H. Eliot Howard, the best exponent of the now widely accepted theory of territory amongst birds, argues that it is the extent of territory in which sufficient food can be obtained for the broods which regulates the numbers of nesting sites occupied; there may be, certainly seem to be, numerous hollows suitable for the adaptive starling which are not tenanted in spite of the fact that there are mature and seemingly fertile non-breeders each year. It is then reasonable to believe that these, if used, would interfere with territories acquired and defended by the birds already in possession. This inability to fulfil the domestic duties, obey the natural instincts to pair, nest and rear young, when the sexual functions are active, may explain promiscuous relations and the desertion of eggs, and mean degeneration in the habits of the bird. Degeneration must in time lead to a decline in numbers. Egg-dropping and unseasonable flocking, both on the increase, indicate, I believe, the growth of habits which cannot be for the ultimate good of the species, unless they bring considerable reduction in numbers, which certainly would seem an advantage.

Until this happens, however, we may have to suffer loss of fruit and other disadvantages, and may have to take action to hasten the desired end. At any rate, the starling, more than any other bird, needs careful watching and the thoughtful consideration of every economic zoologist.

T. A. COWARD.

THE SENSE OF SMELL IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The sense of smell has never received much attention from the physiologists, for it is not one of man's directive senses, and the loss of it is no very serious handicap in the ordinary business of life. The very simple apparatus that serves it has none of the engaging complexity that invites and baffles research in the mechanism of the eye and ear, while the function itself is difficult to investigate and does not lend itself to measurement by the ordinary physical standards. It is therefore not surprising that the study of it has been left, for the most part, to a few, sometimes eccentric, explorers of the byways of science, and that the more academical physiologists are inclined to put it on the shelf as an archaic and probably degenerating sense, perhaps in the hope that, by the time the more urgent problems of sight and hearing have been solved, the sense of smell, so unsatisfactory from a laboratory point of view, will have faded unobserved out of the human economy. This attitude, though natural, is not quite justified, even in the laboratory, where the sense of smell shows itself under investigation to be remarkably acute for a function that is sometimes supposed to be obsolescent, for it will detect some odorous substances when the amount present is calculable only as a fraction of a grain with an impressive astronomical figure in the denominator.

The ordinary man is not much more interested, and is even less respectful, than the physiologist. The nose is an organ not only without dignity, but invested with a slight jocosity, for which the Viennese school of psychology has provided a ready, if not generally acceptable, explanation. A man may prick up his ears without giving offence, but to sniff is to risk the implication of impertinent curiosity or assumed superiority, and if the sense of smell is not degenerating, it has at least received a hint that its services are no longer required. Yet it plays a far larger part in our daily life than we generally acknowledge, for we owe to it all that we call flavour in food, and without it the world would lose something of its interest, even for the least epicurean. When it is temporarily put out of action by a bad cold, we say that we have lost our sense of taste; but, in actual fact, the

sense remains unaffected, and it is still possible to gauge, wi unimpaired accuracy though languid interest, the amount o salt and sugar in the dishes that have otherwise lost their savou and become so dull and colourless. It is rather remarkable, an it might seem impossible, that we should thus mistake the natu of flavour, but its origin can be demonstrated easily by anyon who cares to make the experiment of eating an onion while holdin his nose: it will be found to be quite flavourless, with a sweeti taste and a pleasant, crisp texture, until the nose is released and w realise, dramatically, that the thing is indeed an onion.

The alertness of our sense of smell to any impressions th arise from food and drink, and our comparative blindness to a but the strongest and most persistent smells of the ambient ai is due partly to an anatomical arrangement: for the main stream of air entering the nose normally passes below the olfactory are whose delicate nerve endings are thus protected from dust an dryness, while the moist and filtered air that is breathed out flow directly and automatically over the olfactory cells, carryin with it any odorous particles that may be given off by the foo that is being swallowed. The deliberate use that we make of th arrangement is evident if we consider what takes place when w taste and test a fine wine. It will be found that the proce consists of two actions: the tongue is flattened against the pala and sharply withdrawn, thereby bathing the taste cells, th lie in furrows in the tongue, and coating it with the wine an giving a measure of its sweetness, sharpness and astringency while at the same time we breathe out gently through the nos so as to drift the fragrance of the wine slowly over the olfactor area. This relative seclusion of the olfactory apparatus in ma enables us to screen it from smells that do not interest us and focus it on the selected flavours and fragrances that we assemb in our food. It has therefore been easy for us to make our sens of smell purely hedonistic. It retains, it is true, a slight practic value in making us aware of defective sanitation and renderin the more civilised races intolerant of dirt. There is a tendenc to overrate this value by the assumption that smells that ar aesthetically repugnant must emanate from something noxiou but this is by no means true, and there is no reason to suppo that decayed food, for example, is in general more harmful than well-hung pheasant. The [illegible] not always smell of sulphu and it is particularly unfortunate that the bacteria which a responsible for the deadliest forms of food poisoning produce warning taint.

The development of olfactory aestheticism is roughly measur able, in the majority of people, by the delicacy and variety of th food they choose; and it would be tempting to correlate it with

certain fairly high degree of civilization and refinement were it not that such a criterion of civilization might seem scarcely applicable to this country. It must be conceded, however, that an aesthetic interest in food has conferred upon man an adaptability in which most animals are deficient, and it has been noticed that those who are accustomed to a diet that is limited in variety are not only incurious, but actually intolerant of unfamiliar food, a limitation that has sometimes caused difficulty in scientific expeditions and elsewhere. It has been hinted that something of the prehistoric difference between the free, nomadic hunters and the settled tribes, whom they so often raided and not infrequently conquered, has persisted in the appropriation of hunting and shooting by the ruling classes, and if we care to follow up this supposition we may trace it, perhaps, in the fate of the parcels of game that were sent to the Navy during the war and were thrown overboard by the untempted lower ratings.

The introversion of our sense of smell has brought it into a close association with the sense of taste, which seems to reveal certain harmonies between these diverse impressions. There appears to be a fundamental harmony, for example, between the flavour of those essential oils that contain sulphur, which occur in onion, garlic, mustard, radish and other vegetables, and the taste of saltness; and another harmony between vanilla and sweetness. These, like the harmonies of musical notes, may rest upon a physical basis, but if they do it is not apparent; and it may be suggested as a pure speculation that since onion and garlic, which are native to the grasslands of south-west Asia, were probably among the first seasonings that our primitive ancestors added to their meat and salt dietary, an age-long habit of association was established before sweet foods became at all common. Such late comers as vanilla, to which we might add bitter almonds, ginger and peppermint, whose smell is very different from that of the onion-mustard group, would fall naturally into association with the newly-acquired sweet dishes.

Both smell and taste are for us almost purely hedonistic senses, and they are biologically alike in that they respond only to a chemical stimulus; but they are highly specialised in their sensitivity, and substances which we can taste (such as salt, sugar, saccharin, the bitter alkaloids, etc.) are scarcely ever odorous, although there is at least one exception in chloroform, which has a sweet taste as well as a characteristic smell. The great difference between the two senses lies in their range, for whereas taste can give us only four sensations—salt, sweet, bitter and sour—the variety of smells is so immense that it seems unlimited. We have not yet smelt all the smells that our nose is capable of perceiving, and the chemical laboratory is still adding to the world new smells.

* * *

both fragrant and mephitic; yet there must be a limit even to the shades of difference that we can distinguish, and it is possible that the number of primary smell sensations may be quite small and that many of the smells which seem distinct and individual to us are the result of the fusion of several of these basic sensations, though we cannot analyse the compound impression in the way in which we are able to 'see' red and yellow in the pure spectrum colour orange.

We know disappointingly little of the nature and origin of smell, and the discovery that substances of quite different chemical constitution sometimes have the same smell is rather characteristic of the subject and has sometimes discouraged orderly-minded investigators from proceeding any further. We know for certain that odorous substances throw out no ether waves or emanations, and though we can detect them in imponderable traces, their molecules must reach the nerve endings in the nose before they can produce a sensation of smell. These nerve endings are connected directly with the brain, and the messages they carry steal into consciousness by an ancient, isolated path. The sensory mechanism, which is as simple and primitive as that of the sea anemone, consists of cells from which project minute rods of a waxy material, and it is probable that any substance that is soluble, however slightly, in both wax and water is odoriferous. Beyond that point what facts of the science of osmics begin to grow scarce, for the human nose is the only instrument that is sensitive to smell. In that there is one partial exception, for odoriferous substances impart, more strongly than any others, a positive charge of electricity to a cloud of water droplets; but this property is as yet largely unexplained and unexplored, and although it is possible to make an apparatus which will roughly indicate odorous substances, it cannot distinguish between them, and there seems at present no possibility of obtaining anything like a camera or gramophone for the sense of smell.

The human sense of smell seems on the whole to be attuned to scented substances with rather large and heavy molecules whose scent diffuses slowly and hangs for a long time, as though it had developed among the beasts of the forest in following a trail of scent clinging to the ground or drifting down wind like a cloud of smoke. Such a physiological adaptation is found in most animals that live on the ground, and it persists, with perhaps a trace of its primitive function, in the faithfulness of women's fashions to the heavy, clinging perfumes, of which Mary Magdalene's ointment of spikenard, with its scent of patchouli and musk, may be taken as an archetype. But, although we are particularly sensitive to these heavy and sometimes disturbing perfumes, the wide compass of our sense of smell includes a vast

number of light and transient scents, and many of these are used by the perfumer to build up, with an artistry that is not generally appreciated, intricate, dissolving patterns round the basic design of deeper and more solid fragrances. This is a field of aesthetics in which the artist—or perhaps the perfumer should be called a craftsman—usually limits himself to the composition of variations upon the already subtle themes elaborated by the plants, adding a few new notes that from time to time are excitingly discovered by the research chemist. It is a modest little art, unintellectual and impersonal, and it is not likely to engage the serious attention of many of those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, though it may be recommended to the less fortunate.

On the other hand, there is a good deal to be gained by using our nose in the pursuit of interest rather than new beauty, for extending our sphere of experience and linking up the present with the past. We are blind to most of the smells that surround us, and yet we are probably influenced by them more than we realise; for, though the actual sensory impression of a smell is vague and difficult to describe or recall to memory, it evokes a strong feeling tone. Sights and sounds are full of instant meaning for us: they belong to our directive mechanism and set us thinking. Smells, on the other hand, set us feeling; they stir dim recollections or wake an immediate, uncomprehended response of pleasure, dreariness or disgust; but their meaning comes as an afterthought, if it comes at all. Almost anyone can illustrate this kind of reaction from his personal experience. I remember that part of a certain street in London, that I used to pass on my way to work, came to be associated for me with a vaguely pleasant feeling, as though it were leading somewhere interesting; and the discovery, after a while, that the presence which it made and broke was due to an almost imperceptible tang of wood smoke that came from one of the houses there did nothing to diminish the unexpected amenity of that rather drab neighbourhood, but brought it into the line of a long series of pleasant memories.

This power of smells to set an emotional attitude, even when they are not consciously perceived, might possibly repay consideration. There are shops whose smell alone induces an affable, uncalculating mood; while others, inviting to the eye, smell gloomy and repellent. A theatre or concert-hall that is redolent of naphthalene lays an unnecessary handicap upon the performers, and, without imitating the ritual use of incense, which is probably more efficacious in banishing evil spirits than is commonly supposed, something might be done to create a genial atmosphere by the use of pleasant-smelling wood, and even a careful choice of floor polish is not altogether beneath consideration. The bunches of sweet herbs at the Old Bailey may or may not have been an

effective protection against gaol fever (they might have kept carriers of that lice-borne disease at a distance), but they may do something occasionally to modify an acrimonious atmosph And the custom of presenting the judge on circuit, in some tow with a nosegay may, perhaps, have something more than a quai traditional courtesy to recommend it.

For nearly everyone there are smells that recall, often w hallucinatory vividness, some isolated scene from the past, and will be found, as we might expect, that such scenes are alw associated with some emotionally significant experience (for o person, at least, the wet smell of hops recalls the first introducti as a medical student to a hospital surrounded with hop wa houses). If we examine the mental process set going by the sm we shall find that the emotion usually comes back first, and followed, as a rule almost immediately, by the memory pictu Occasionally it may take some time to recollect the experien with which the smell was originally associated; sometim especially if the experience was in any way painful, it eludes altogether, and we are aware only that certain smells a unaccountably distasteful.

The smell of our surroundings makes up a large part of th character and individuality: we should always miss something fr the sea, a pine forest and almost any town or city, if we suddenl became anosmic; and the German villages would have been le German during the war without their peculiar smell, vague suggesting a cheaper soap-shop with a certain fatty mustiness. The are outstanding, assertive smells that force themselves upon o attention, but there is an infinite number of others which a equally characteristic and significant, though they usually pa unnoticed. Count Keyserling has said: 'I can imagine tha through the organs of the nose and mouth a perfect outlook o the world could be obtained which in its own language convey the same as the revelation of Master Eckehart'; to which it mig be objected that even if such a new version of reality were wor having, it could be acquired only by those naturally endowed, afflicted, with an abnormally keen sense of smell, and that even extension of olfactory awareness is beyond the capacity of mo people. Yet, in actual fact, what we call a keen sense of smell not necessarily associated with unusual acuity, but is invariab the result of interest and attention. Helen Keller, blind and de since infancy, seemed to have an exceptionally keen sense of tou and smell; and Dr Tilney describes how, when he was drivi with her one winter day in an open car, she recognised tre hedgerows, open fields and the approach to a printing works b their smell. Yet her sense of smell, like her sense of touc proved, on careful investigation, to be of about average acuity.

The actual keenness of smell does not show quite such wide ariations in different individuals as one might expect. It is mpaired by heavy smoking, but the chief effect of smoking is vident, not so much in damage to the nerve endings, as in the emporary result of saturating the mucous membranes, hair, nd clothes with the smell of tobacco smoke, which blots out all ther olfactory impressions and completely obscures, not only the ouquet of wine, but also the delicate flavour of food. And it may e suggested here that a rather surprisingly effective compensation or easing the difficult business of giving up smoking may be found n attention to the smells and scents that the abstinence discloses.

A 'good nose' is quickly and readily acquired, and as soon as e begin to take an interest in smells they seem to increase in number and complexity and our surroundings reveal new eatures and take on fresh colour and individuality. The scents f flowers do not lose in beauty when we come to recognize omething of their design and its component parts, any more than piece of music loses by a similar analysis; while, on the other and, unpleasant smells often become less disagreeable, partly ecause they acquire a certain interest and partly because we ecome less at the mercy of unconscious associations. The npleasantness of the smell of pigs, for example, is probably due o association, for if it is considered with complete detachment t will be found to be very like the smell of celery, more especially hat of celery leaves; and M. Boulestin is perhaps striking a undamental harmony when he recommends celery stuffed with he frankly animal flavoured Roquefort cheese. Then the smell f pigs occurs again quite perceptibly, but to most people not npleasantly, in that curious autumnal scent that lurks behind he fragrance of the border phloxes.

When we try to discover why some smells are invariably leasant and others in all circumstances disagreeable, we are rought up against a problem of pure aesthetics, and if the riddle s no more easily solved here than elsewhere, the material has t least the advantage of simplicity: it has never been used to xpress ideas or emotions, and it has never been intellectualised. here is one clue that seems slightly promising. The scents that e instinctively call sweet all approximate, wherever they occur, o the flower scents, and the sweetest of them (which are sometimes oo sweet to be altogether pleasant) belong to those flowers, such s jasmine, honeysuckle, tobacco plant, and stephanotis, which are ertilised by moths. Now, many of the moths themselves produce lower-like scents which play a part in their courtship, and it is ust possible that the flower scents may set some chord of our wn physiological organism faintly vibrating, and that this might e-echo in consciousness as a vague feeling of complacence and

well-being without stirring any instinct to activity. And yet it is difficult to understand why these scents, which are so remote from the chemistry of our own physiology, should affect us so distinctly and be so definitely pleasurable, and it is a far cry from our appreciation of the rose to the ecstasy of a moth wooed by the filmy scent plumes of her mate.

Whatever attraction of unsolved problems this delicate, archaic sense may hold for the scientist with time to spare for the unsentimental, it offers another kind of opportunity to anyone who cares to use and develop it. It is natural to be mistrustful of scents and smells, which can stir the emotions in a way that is strongly felt but is not always immediately within comprehension or control; but the fault lies really with ourselves, for the response to them remains primitive and vaguely emotional only so long as we withhold a share of that intellectual interest that we are compelled to give to the impressions of sight and hearing. The Cinderella of the senses has more attraction than the slightly suspect *beauté du diable* which is all that is generally credited to it.

F. A. HAMPTON.

THE EMPRESS FREDERICK

II

THE last act of the tragedy centres round the illness and death of the Emperor Frederick, 1887–88. Details of the first stage of the treatment of the fatal disease are important, because on the supposed action of the Crown Princess were founded the most cruel attacks of the official German Press as well as the popular view which held her 'largely responsible,' to use Herr Ludwig's phrase, 'for her husband's tragic and untimely end.' For the rest, the lapse of forty years allows us to recognize that no other aim actuated the doctors, English as well as German, than that of prolonging the patient's life, and that the German people were naturally indignant when the case passed into the hands of a foreigner. Had the parts been reversed and had the English heir apparent been treated by a German specialist, there would have been in this country an outburst of national feeling, especially if, as here, the native doctors proved to be right in their diagnosis of the disease.

In January 1887 the Crown Prince began to suffer from hoarseness. A small growth appeared on his left vocal cord, which resisted the treatment of Professor von Gerhardt, who had been introduced into the case by Dr. Wegner, physician-in-ordinary to the Prince. Early in May Gerhardt diagnosed its malignant tendency. He called in a distinguished surgeon, Professor von Bergmann, and the two doctors proposed the immediate extirpation of the growth by an external operation known as thyrotomy or *laryngo-fissure*. The decision was communicated to the Crown Princess. Her letter of May 17 shows that, though sick with horror and distress, she accepted it, and that her husband was 'as yet to know nothing about this.' The next day, May 18, she went into Berlin from Potsdam to hear the result of a further consultation, at which Gerhardt, Bergmann, and Wegner had been reinforced by three other eminent doctors. Their report, confirming the previous opinion, approved the immediate operation. At this stage Bismarck, aware of the extreme gravity of the proposal intervened. At his instance the Emperor forbade the operation without his son's consent, and

before any radical steps were taken it was decided that the most distinguished specialist in throat diseases, whatever his nationality, should be consulted. The unanimous choice of the German doctors fell on Morell Mackenzie, who on the same evening received their telegram inviting his assistance. Leaving London next morning, he reached Berlin on the afternoon of May 20. So ignorant was he of the nature of the case on which he was asked to advise that he left his instruments behind.

Mackenzie was a man of European reputation as a specialist in throat diseases. His *Manual on Diseases of the Throat and Nose*, translated into German, was a text book in the medical schools of the country, and at the recent International Medical Congress at Copenhagen (1884) he had presided over the Laryngological Section. Personally he was unknown either to the Crown Prince or to his wife. The former, writing to him on April 20, 1888, says: 'You were called to me by the unanimous wish of my German attendants. Not knowing you myself I had confidence in you in consequence of their recommendation.' The Crown Princess heard of him for the first time May 2[illegible], 1887, from Wegner, himself one of the German consultants. Nor did Mackenzie hold any communication with the Crown Prince until he had given the opinion which led to the postponement of the external operation. In the afternoon of the day, May 20, on which he reached Charlottenburg, after a formal presentation to the Crown Prince, he held two consultations with his German colleagues. After the first he made his own examination of the patient; at the second he reported that as there was no definite indication in the appearance of the growth whether it was innocent or malignant, a portion should be detached and submitted for microscopic analysis. This course was assented to by the German doctors, and it was agreed that the analyst should be Professor Virchow of the Pathological Institute of Berlin, the greatest living authority on matters of morbid anatomy. On the following day, May 21, Mackenzie, working with borrowed instruments, detached a fragment, which was forwarded by Wegner to Virchow. If the report proved unfavourable, it might be necessary to consider an external operation; if it was favourable the growth might be treated through the natural passage.

During this period, I suppose, the Crown Princess had her first interview with Mackenzie. What he told her about the case is recorded by herself in her important letter, printed in the *Daily News* for October 14, 1888. 'We understand,' said the *Daily News* in a head-note, 'that the letter is not printed in Sir Morell's forthcoming book and has never before been published.' It was sent to me by the Empress in the first week of October, with th

request that I would get it published in the English Press, without any indication that it was sent by her or by Mackenzie. She dared not risk identifying herself with any statement which might be construed as favourable to the English specialist—a striking proof of the effect produced on a high-spirited, courageous woman by months of continuous abuse in the official German Press. The request was difficult. I hoped, however, that through the local Press the letter might filter back into a London newspaper, and the hope was realised. In her correspondence with the Queen for October 1888 (*Letters*, p. 35[illegible]) the Empress thus refers to this letter:

> You will see a letter from me to Sir Morell Mackenzie in the newspapers. He has not published it nor has he anything to do with it. I am glad it found its way into print as it will clear up the one point on which he is so much attacked here—that he purposely [illegible] out of stupidity failed to recognise the nature of his illness.

The letter itself is as follows. The italics were in the original:

> I took care to tell all eminent German medical men with whom I came casually in contact that you had said to me the first time I saw you that though what you saw was [illegible] you could not be sure until it was examined by [illegible] that a malignant disease might be present somewhere out of sight [illegible] the most unfavourable element of the case being [illegible] at the time. You told me that benign growths and malignant ones were often found together, and that you thought the growth then seen on the vocal cord was a benign one. You also said that [illegible] could [illegible] what a malignant growth might [illegible]. You said that the operation proposed was [illegible] and that it was exceedingly [illegible], and that, should it [illegible] would be so terrible that [illegible]. I have since heard that different German medical men think this a reasonable and a sensible view, and say that under the circumstances we could have done nothing better. You also said, I think, if I remember rightly, that you would not have laryngotomy or having your larynx [illegible] performed on your own throat, on the surmise or suspicion of a [illegible] affection of the larynx without very positive proof, and even then as the tendency of malignant disease was to reappear in other places when once [illegible]. Consequently there would be a probability of having gone through the operation and yet losing one's life after all by the reappearance of the disease. Furthermore you said, I think, that you did not know whether the Crown Prince's constitution could withstand so serious a shock as that inflicted on the whole system by so important an operation.

The *Daily News* omitted the last two sentences of the original letter:

> I should (continues the Empress) have repeated all this at the time much oftener, had not the prevailing feeling been one of joy and gratitude

at having escaped the horrible operation. You can show this letter to whomsoever you please.

This letter clearly states the true issue, which in public discussions at the time was evaded by underrating the risk and exaggerating the efficacy of the proposed operation. Admittedly, the conditions in May 1887 were more favourable than they ever were again. The operation offered a chance of life. But did the conditions attached to the offer make the chance worth taking? Mackenzie thought they did not. From my conversations with him I gathered that he would never have advised, or himself undergone, the proposed operation. He not only regarded it as extremely hazardous, but considered that, even if it succeeded and there were no recurrence, it prolonged existence in conditions which made life intolerable. Given the choice, he would himself have preferred *euthanasia*. Thus at least he assured me his patient. I understood that, in the case of the Crown Prince, Hahn, of Berlin, the most famous laryngeal surgeon of the day, held a similar opinion.

Virchow's report was received on May 21. He found no proof of malignancy, but the particle submitted was too small for satisfactory examination. Two days later the doctors decided at consultation that a further attempt should be made to detach a larger portion of the growth. On June 8 Mackenzie, using his own forceps, got away more than half of the growth. The fragment was submitted by Wegner to Virchow, whose report dated June 9, was read to all the consultant doctors. 'No symptom of malignancy was detected in the submitted portions, and there is nothing present in them which would be likely to excite the suspicion of wider and graver disease.' On this statement from the great pathologist, negative though it was, the immediate operation was postponed to give a trial to Mackenzie's treatment. Gerhardt, however, while assenting to this course, adhered strongly to his previous opinion. In order to allay the alarm of the German public, the full text of the report was published in the *Reichs-Anzeiger* [illegible] for June 1887. It may be added that on June 28 Mackenzie removed practically all that remained of the growth on the surface of the vocal cord; that the substance was submitted by Wegner to Virchow; and that his report dated July 1, in the same negative sense, was satisfactory. Not the least support was found for the idea of a new formation penetrating inwards. Even as late as January 1888 (report dated January 29) the microscopic analysis of Virchow revealed no proof of cancerous symptoms.

Virchow's reports made the postponement of the external operation inevitable. It was approved of by the Emperor, the

Emperor and Bismarck. It was acquiesced in by the German doctors; all remained in the case; none withdrew. The facts prove, I think conclusively, that the Crown Princess neither withdrew the case from the German doctors nor controlled their own selection of their consultant. Her consistent attitude is illustrated by a passage from her letter of May 20, 1887 (*Letters*, p. 232):

Prince Bismarck came to see me this afternoon and was really very nice! He said his wife sent me word I was not to allow such an operation. I said I had nothing to allow—what the responsible authorities decided on as the best, we should have to submit to, and we were bound to follow their advice.

Even on the question whether Mackenzie himself should carry out the treatment in England, or whether it should be carried out in Germany under his directions, the Crown Princess expressed no opinion.

It would be better (she writes May [illegible] (*Letters*, pp. [illegible]) for Fritz to go to Brighton . . . and to have the treatment carried out by Dr. M. M. himself, but I dare not suggest that part, as it would annoy the people here and make them angry with me. If they should propose it them it would be another thing, but I [illegible]

Gerhardt says that the treatment must be very slow and not hurried in any way, and he might wish that M. M. should carry it out himself. I now leave it to them to settle these points amongst themselves, and shall not interfere with them.

Eventually it was decided that the Crown Prince should go to England—partly to attend the Jubilee, partly to place himself under Mackenzie. He left Berlin on June 12, 1887. He returned in a snowstorm on March 11, 1888, as the Emperor, but a dying man.

When the Crown Prince left England in the early autumn of 1887 his voice had almost recovered its natural tone. If a complete cure was to be effected it could only be by rest in a warm climate. Neither condition was offered at Berlin, where, however, his presence was urgently needed to carry on the public business, which became more and more beyond the failing strength of his father. To the Crown Princess the life of her husband was, above all, precious as that of the man she loved, and, knowing how much would be demanded of him as the Emperor's representative, she fought against the return to Berlin, to use her own expression, 'tooth and nail.' Her influence prevailed. But the prolonged absence of the heir apparent, at such a crisis, provoked strong criticism, occasioned alarming rumours, and strengthened the demand among official circles in Berlin that the

Crown Prince should renounce his succession to the throne in favour of his son.

In November 1887 the Prince was at San Remo. Unfavourable symptoms appeared which caused Mackenzie, though pathological proof was still wanting, to diagnose the disease as cancerous. His opinion was confirmed by two distinguished throat specialists who had been called in to consult, Professor von Schrötter, of Vienna, and Dr Krause, of Berlin. On behalf of his colleagues Schrötter explained to the Crown Prince their unanimous view, and placed before him a written statement, setting out for his decision the advantages and disadvantages of the excision of the larynx, partial or complete. The Crown Prince refused in writing to undergo the operation, though he was willing, if the occasion arose, to submit to tracheotomy. The official report of the doctors was forwarded to the Emperor and published in the *Reichs-Anzeiger*. It was not till the following March that the microscope yielded proof of the cancerous nature of the disease. Meanwhile, with occasional fluctuations, the malady ran its fatal course; but until the end the patient suffered little or no pain, and was able to transact public business for several hours a day. The manifesto which he issued on his accession to the throne was throughout written in his own hand. He died June 15, 1888.

Barely a week after the funeral an article was sent from the German Foreign Office, then under Count Herbert Bismarck, for publication in the Norddeutsche Zeitung. The article, which appeared June 26, 1888, renewed the former campaign against English interference. For months past the public mind had been saturated by repeated assertions in the Press that the Crown Princess had forced the English physician on the German doctors. Now a further attack was developed. The article shaped the popular [illegible] of the legend that the widowed Empress, by the advice of her English doctor, had sacrificed the life of Emperor Frederick to her political ambitions. The tone of the article suggests that it must have had the general approval of Bismarck. Herr Ludwig goes further. From the unmistakable style he concludes that it was written by Bismarck himself. He therefore accepts it as authoritative and incorporates its statements in his *Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II*. The article attacked Mackenzie as 'ostensibly a specialist [illegible], but really a 'political agent' — an undistinguished English physician (*ein unbedeutender Englischer Arzt*), of Radical political views who joined in a plot to interfere with the destiny of the German nation.' In this description the Radical views were a not unreasonable inference from Mackenzie's characteristic want of judgment. As a retaliation for the attacks of the Conservative

[illegible] he had restricted his interviews and communications exclusively to Liberal journals. The success of the alleged plot, the article explains, depended on the concealment of the true nature of the disease from the patient and the public. With all the emphasis of italics, it states that, *if the Crown Prince was proved to be suffering from an incurable malady, he had pledged himself to renounce his succession and would have been, in fact, incapable of reigning.*

Bismarck was so robust a controversialist that Herr Ludwig may be right in his conclusion that the Chancellor himself was the author of the article. On November 14, 1887, the British Ambassador[1] had protested against the statement of the *North German Gazette* that the Crown Princess and her mother had committed the case to the care of the English specialist. He appealed to the 'chivalry' of Count Bismarck to contradict a mischievous report on the ground that 'as a matter of fact, of which I am sure that you are aware, the Crown Princess had nothing to do with calling in Sir Morell Mackenzie, still less the Queen.' Neither his appeal nor his protest was heeded. It was owing to the intervention of Bismarck that a specialist had been originally consulted, and when Mackenzie's European distinction singled him out for selection, he tacitly approved the choice of the German doctors. Finally, in his *Reflections* (1898), he deals specifically with the Crown Prince's personal pledge and his legal incapacity to reign, which are alleged in the article as the motives of the plot to conceal the incurable nature of the disease. In the story that the Crown Prince was pledged to renounce his succession to the throne, there is, he says, 'not a shadow of truth.' 'It is also,' he continued, 'a fable' that 'an heir to the throne who suffers from an incurable physical complaint is excluded from the succession,' either 'by the family laws of the Hohenzollerns' or by 'the text of the Prussian constitution.' As, therefore, on Bismarck's own evidence, the Crown Prince's succession was secure whether his malady was proved to be cancer or not, the motives which the article alleges for the plot disappear, and with them the plot itself.

The campaign was pushed on with extraordinary violence. It is difficult to explain its object, since the correctness of the diagnosis of the German doctors had been established. Primarily aimed at Mackenzie, against whose professional reputation the gravest charges were made, the attacks struck with scarcely less directness at the Empress. But she was already a political cypher, and forced to feel it at every turn, though her position made her powerless to defend herself. Optimistic in temperament, she

[1] The letter of Sir E. Malet is quoted by Sir Rennell Rodd in *The Times* of January 18, 1928.

contributed an article on the Franco-Russian Alliance. How, or from whom, Geffcken obtained the extracts has never been known. The German Press, almost as a matter of course, attributed the publication to the Empress. From such a charge she is, I think, vindicated by her letters to the Queen. She saw the extracts for the first time in the German Press. A devoted supporter of the Emperor Frederick, Geffcken published the extracts in the hope that they would help to put the dead man's services to the German Empire in a truer light. But the publication, however well-intentioned, was disastrously ill-timed.

The passages quoted from the diary related to the late Emperor's share in the assumption of the imperial dignity by his father, and to the share which he himself had taken in that great historical event. Nothing was further from the diarist's intention than to claim more than that he had conceived this form of expressing German unity and pressed the idea on King William and Bismarck. But the publication irritated the Chancellor beyond all the bounds of self-control. His *Memorial* in reply (September 1888) is a document which few can defend. Geffcken himself was arrested and imprisoned on a charge of high treason, and the houses and desks of his more prominent political friends were broken into and searched for papers. That the Emperor Frederick was the originator of the policy of uniting the German people under the imperial crown is strikingly confirmed by Sybel in his history of the foundations of the empire. As early as 1867 the Prince had proposed to his father that he should accept or assume this dignity. He knew, probably better than almost any other person, that Germany was ripe for a change which translated into fact popular legends and superstitions, gathered up the broken threads of past history and invested a new institution with the glamour of antiquity. To him had been entrusted the task of drawing closer the national bond of race after the war of 1866, and his success is evidenced in the enthusiasm with which the Third German Army, composed of troops speaking twelve different dialects, followed his lead in 1870.

The Crown Prince, who had as far as possible guarded against the premature publication of his diary, would certainly never have dreamed of disputing that the present German Empire was the life-work of the great Chancellor. Bismarck, however, saw in the extracts a detraction from his own incomparably valuable services. He retaliated by a detailed attack on the Emperor Frederick, in which he accused him of dangerously cosmopolitan sympathies, weakness of character, and complete submission to the will of his English wife. These and other charges the well-drilled unanimity of the German Press reiterated in every variety

of Jena. The persistent depreciation of her husband's character and services wounded the Empress more deeply than the repetition of the familiar attacks upon herself. She was especially hurt when Gustav Freytag, foremost among German writers of the day as a novelist, poet, and dramatist, joined the orchestra of journalists who obeyed the Chancellor's *Leitartikel*. From him she had expected some literary independence, and was the more disappointed when he revealed himself as a docile pupil of Bismarck and the mouthpiece of his *Memorial*. Freytag had been well known both to the Emperor and to his wife. His novel *Soll und Haben* was the first novel which they read together after their marriage. The ideal which it represented was their own, for it vindicated the value of those independent citizen families who alone could control absolutism, check democracy, and support constitutional government. They warmly sympathised with his advocacy of the fusion of the educated classes, the abolition of caste feeling and the removal of social barriers which divided the aristocracy of birth from the aristocracy of talent or industrial wealth. It was the national character of his genius which led the Crown Prince to invite him to join his headquarters at Spire at the outbreak of the war of 1870. From 1871 onwards, however, they had seen little or nothing of Freytag, who had become a blind admirer of Bismarck.

Freytag's portrait of the late Emperor Frederick (*Der Kronprinz und die deutsche Kaiserkrone*, Leipzig, 1889) had been awaited with eager curiosity. The genius of the writer, himself an eye-witness of some of the events which he promised to record, his assured literary position, and the confidence to which the Crown Prince had at one period admitted him, all promised that the material would be valuable and the treatment sympathetic. The book rapidly passed through twenty-five editions; but the success cannot reasonably be attributed to its historical value. The Empress, however, dreaded lest, on the faith of Freytag's name, it should create misleading impressions in this country, and she asked me if I would undertake to review it, anonymously, either in the *Quarterly* or *Edinburgh Review*, promising to supply me with material which might be useful. I obeyed, and the review, in which she actively interested herself, appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1890. I need not reproduce here any passages from the article; but one illustration of the biassed inaccuracies of the book may be mentioned.

Without disputing the Crown Prince's conception of the idea of German unity under the imperial crown, Freytag throughout attributes it to the Prince's love of court millinery, pomp and ceremonial. In confirmation of this view he paints a picture of

him in camp on August 11, 1870. Freytag had suggested a Federation of North and South Germany under the military leadership of Prussia. The Crown Prince cut him short with the words: 'No, the King of Prussia must be Emperor.' 'I looked at him,' continues Freytag, 'in astonishment. He had put on his general's cloak, so that it hung from his tall figure like a royal mantle. He had thrown round his neck the golden chain of the Hohenzollern Order, which he did not generally wear in camp. Thus attired, he paced proudly over the grass path.' That this picture was a pure hallucination—a dream of the poet-novelist—is proved by a letter from the Crown Prince's personal aide-de-camp, who was present and clearly remembered the dress of the Prince. He wore, not a royal mantle, but his service mackintosh, high riding boots, and a regulation cap. Round his neck hung, not a gold chain, but the Order of Merit suspended by its black and silver ribbon which he always wore. I will allow myself the quotation of a passage from one of the Empress's letters at this time, which bears on Freytag's charge that the late Emperor was absorbed in Court foppery:

> Freytag (she wrote (May 10, 1890)), an uncouth man of rather uncivilised ways, misunderstood the feelings of an artistic nature and refined gentleman which the Emperor was, and took his fastidious taste for childish littleness of mind. No one was more simple or less vain than the Emperor Frederick; but he detested seeing confusion, disorder, or imperfect arrangements on occasions when external impressions ought to be of the best kind. He had in his composition a poetic and artistic vein, though it was not strongly accentuated. Court life, with its constant monotony and etiquette, was a great bore to him. Loving hard work, conscientious, laborious, painstaking, he disliked empty forms and ceremonies. But he strove to infuse an element of poetry and artistic grace into the habits of the Court, and to give a kind of natural beauty, dignity and meaning to the arrangements of what would otherwise have been dull and fatiguing Court functions.

The article on Freytag was the last literary request that the Empress ever made of me. I do not, of course, claim that I shared her confidence to such an extent as her most intimate friends; but I think that she would have permitted herself to say to me as much as she would have allowed herself to say to others among her ordinary acquaintances. I had many interviews with her, and, although she spoke of personages and events in Germany and of the Press persecution and espionage to which she was subjected, she did so calmly and without bitterness. Her most poignant and suggestive comment on her recent life in Germany had that accidental origin which is at once revealing and convincing. At my first interview with her after her husband's death I saw her for the first time in the peaked cap worn by German

idows, which she never afterwards laid aside. The cap had two ng black streamers behind. In sitting down, she sat on one of hese streamers and pulled the cap on one side. Standing up to traighten the cap in a glass, she said, with a wry little smile: I am glad I did not do that in Berlin. The Press would have eported that I had insulted the national mourning!'

ERNLE.

CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH POETRY

ANOTHER VIEW

MR. LEWIS SPENCE, in his article on 'Scots Poetry To-day' in the August issue of *The Nineteenth Century*, performs the old trick of setting up a straw man for the purpose of knocking it down again when he suggests that the term 'Scottish Renaissance' implies a claim instead of merely advocating an effort, and writes as though the movement was wholly or mainly concerned with the resuscitation of Scots and must stand or fall by its success or failure in that connexion. He considers that it has failed, but comes to that conclusion mainly, it would seem, on the ground that it has not succeeded in doing precisely what it never attempted to do. In order to condemn it in this way he has to write as if there were no instances in literary history of 'arrogance and exclusiveness' producing results quite as good as, or at all events scarcely less important than, their opposites; he has to accuse its protagonists of lack of scholarship, of consistency and decency in controversy, and even of personal integrity, without producing any evidence to justify his charges; he condemns work which has been widely praised and quoted as 'unquotable,' and finally he strings together a few names, mainly of very young poets with little or no work to their credit, and asserts on that basis that Scots poetry is to-day making great strides. The quality—or lack of quality—of the poems he quotes is the *reductio ad absurdum* of his article.

The Scottish Renaissance movement—a title not arrogated to it by any of its protagonists, but bestowed on it by a French critic, Professor Denis Saurat—is a complex movement, affecting every aspect of Scottish arts and affairs, and its relation to Scots poetry—that is to say, poetry in the Scots vernacular, and not the work of Scottish poets in other languages—cannot be properly appreciated unless this is clearly understood. It is essential to know the governing ideas or spirit of the movement as a whole before its special application in any particular direction can be followed.

The Anglicising of all our artistic experience is fatal to us [said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald recently]. Here, again, one comes back upon the educational system. There is too much English influence in it for me. We have the Celtic tradition, the Lowland Scottish tradition, and what I might call the tradition of a philosophic theology, mingled with the spirit of robust democracy, and from these sources a characteristic and copious Scottish spiritual life can be brought forth.

Without agreeing that Mr MacDonald has catalogued the essential elements of Scottish culture, or any of them, in these remarks, it was, roughly, that point of view which led to the beginning in 1920 of this so-called Scottish Renaissance movement, under the influence, no doubt, of the general post-war intensification of nationalism all over the world. Young Scots came home and began a national stock-taking. Space does not permit of any reference here to Scottish national affairs, into which, as into Scottish arts, a searching investigation was instituted. It will serve to say that all those who have concerned themselves with this process of revaluation have been, in greater or less measure, driven back upon the political and economic situation of Scotland and the nature of its relationships with England and the Empire on the one hand and Europe on the other. Mr Robert Boothby, M.P., and many other defenders of the Union of the two kingdoms have stressed the value of 'spiritual nationalism,' but deprecated any separatist, or even devolutionary, tendencies in practical affairs. On the other hand, almost without exception those who, as poets, artists, composers, novelists, and so forth, can perhaps claim more concern with 'spiritual nationalism' than Anglo-Scottish politicians are members of, or sympathetic to, the National Party of Scotland, whose aim and object is the achievement of Scottish independence in the fullest sense of the term. They are unable to see how Scotland can acquire a 'spiritual nationalism' so long as its connexion with England cuts it off from the ways and means of encouraging, financially and otherwise, those distinctively Scottish traditions, tendencies, and potentialities which naturally run counter to the increasing assimilation of Scotland to England, inevitable under the present system. It is important to point out that the great majority of these younger Scottish intellectuals, who have come, with such unanimity, to precisely the opposite conclusions on Anglo-Scottish relationships to those held by their elders, and by the overwhelming majority of representative Scots right back to shortly after the Union of the Parliaments, did not begin as political nationalists. All manner of considerations, such as the stinting of the Scottish National Library in respect of grants as compared with the English and Welsh copyright libraries; the paucity of attention given in Scottish schools to Scottish

history, literature, and other national subjects; the centralisation of literary journalism and book publishing in London, and the like, drove them into the camps of the Home Rulers or the Separatists. Most of them could say, as Mr. William Power, one of the ablest of contemporary Scottish essayists and journalists, has said: 'My interest in Scots literature does not arise from my desire to see Scotland a nation once again. It is the other way about. I wish all Scots to recognise the fact of nationality, which is vitally implicit in Scots literature.'

Confining ourselves to the purely cultural aspect, the indictment framed by these younger Scots as a result of their stock-taking was roughly as follows:

(1) Scottish education has been almost wholly Anglicised. Scottish history and literature and the Gaelic and Scots languages are completely neglected.

(2) What is regarded as distinctively Scottish literature is mainly 'kailyaird' stuff (psychologically a mere 'compensation' for what should be our proper preoccupation), qualitatively not better than dialect products in Dorsetshire or Northumberland and in no sense truly national, or worthy of the ancient traditions of the great Gaelic poets, or, in Scots, the 'auld makars.'

(3) The rest of Scottish literary effort is tributary to English literature, but practically irrelevant to it. It is impossible to contend that if the entire Scottish contribution were excised, English literature would be materially affected.

(4) We are the only European nation which has wholly failed to develop a distinctive national drama.

(5) Although we possess one of the finest folk-song heritages in the world, we are the only country in Europe which has failed, on that basis, to evolve any art-music—any school of composers working in a distinctively national idiom.

(6) In regard to art, our position is little, if any, better than in regard to music or drama.

(7) English influences are everywhere amongst us far too prominent. We ought to select appropriate influences from all over Europe—not mainly from or through England.

(8) No Scots writer or artist as such (and few, if any, even of those generally regarded as English rather than Scottish) is to be found mentioned in any modern survey—*e.g.*, Landormy's *History of Music*, where, amongst hundreds of names, not one Scot is deemed worthy of mention.

(9) Every other country in Europe has essays constantly being written about its intellectual and artistic tendencies—the multitude of schools and groups it is exhibiting—but Scotland is never mentioned: nothing is happening there; it is a blank.

(10) None of the spiritual and intellectual movements of

modern times are originating in Scotland. Our composers, our artists, can study on the Continent and acquire various techniques there; but they never seem able to acquire the knowledge of how to invent new techniques themselves; they initiate nothing.

(11) To an unparalleled degree the rough cast of democracy is over us. We are 'a' Jock Tamson's bairns.' We are appallingly overdominated by 'the Burns type.' It is disastrous when a whole national culture is circumscribed by one figure—one type of thought and feeling—in this way. The result in Scotland has been an almost unanimous deprecation of 'mere intellectuality.'

The list is by no means complete, or adequately detailed; and to document it from the enormous mass of writing (mainly in short-lived periodicals, or local papers) to which the movement has already given rise (I have a collection of over 300 columns of newspaper articles on the Revival of Scots alone) is impossible here. But it will be obvious that it represents a wholesale revaluation for the results of which—in creative, rather than critical, output—it is still rather too early to look. It cannot, therefore, be said to have failed; it implies a call for a tremendous reorientation of the Scottish spirit, which must, in the nature of things, be slow. For the justification of the indictment recourse must be had to other sources—to such books as George Malcolm Thomson's *Caledonia, or the Future of Scotland*, and *The Re-discovery of Scotland*; to Edwin Muir's *John Knox*; to the essays in the *Scots Observer* and elsewhere of William Power; to the files of such periodicals as the *Scottish Nation*, *The Scottish Chapbook*, the *Northern Review*, the *Scots Independent*, the *Pictish Review*; to the Scottish P.E.N. Centre's pamphlet *The Present Condition of Scottish Arts and Affairs*. So far as Scots poetry is concerned, the testimony of older critics, such as Sir George Douglas and Mr. John Buchan, agrees in deploring its general and comparative condition, its decline from the great standards of its past, and its increasing circumscription to a mere 'dialect verse' level. In such circumstances any and every species of experimentation was obviously commendable.

(It may be interpolated that what Professor G. Gregory Smith says in his *Scottish Literature* became a key passage for those in the Renaissance movement specially concerned with the Scots vernacular, namely: 'It should be unnecessary to say that there cannot be any quarrel with the patriots about the richness of the Scottish vocabulary, its frequent superiority to English in both spiritual and technical matters of poetic diction, its musical movement and suggestion, and, generally, what have been called the "grand accommodations" of the art of writing as well.' That is a remarkable tribute from an adverse pro-English critic.

Slated as it is by almost all competent authorities on the Scots language, it naturally prompted the question, If Scots is all this, why has it produced so little and inferior a literature? It seemed absurd to acquiesce in the relinquishment of such potentialities without taking all possible pains in trying to fathom the psychological, political, or technical reasons necessitating or justifying that abandonment.)

Having framed their indictment, what were the remedial proposals of *les jeunes Ecossais*? They may be tabulated, very roughly, as follows.

(1) We must cease to be all John Thompson's children. Aristocratic standards must be erected. We must develop an intelligentsia.

(2) We must recover our lost Gaelic and Scots traditions in their entirety, and realise and take up the potentialities they had when English influences submerged them.

(3) The emphasis has been for far too long on the potentialities of our resemblances to, our affinities with, the English; it is high time to shift it to our differences from the English.

(4) We must refecundate Scottish arts and letters with international ideas and tendencies congenial to our national genius—importing them direct, not *via* England, and without let or hindrance from England or the automatic filter-screen of the English language.

(5) We have been singularly destitute of those conflicts and successions of groups and movements which have done so much to diversify and enrich the art traditions of most European countries. Can these not be artificially created, to start with? Can tendencious criticism not precede, and engender, creative developments? There were plenty of precedents in European literary and artistic history where that *had* happened.

It may be pointed out in passing that an exceedingly small percentage of what Mr Spence calls the 'riper manhood of Scotland' (to whom he says the Renaissance movement has failed to appeal) have any or, at all events, much knowledge of either Scots vernacular or Gaelic literature, and a still smaller percentage have any knowledge of both. Mr Power, for example, says: 'The impression I got from my parents and teachers was that Scots literature consisted mostly of Burns and Scott and the songs of Lady Nairne, and had come to an end long before I was born. Barbour, Dunbar, Henryson, Ramsay, Fergusson, were hardly known to me even by name.' He describes how he has now come by the Scots tradition in its entirety (but not yet by the Gaelic), and concludes: 'Even to me, who neither spoke nor read it in youth, the Scots vernacular has become the language of the soul.' Mr. Power has no doubt as to the reality of the

Scots Renaissance.' Elsewhere he tells how the new school has 'vindicated the right of Scots poets to rise above the Kailyard and use the vernacular as a medium for metaphysical or any other ideas,' and of its 'astounding revelations of the subtlety and power of the Scots tongue.' Is Mr. Power or Mr. Spence right? Other critics of note agree with Mr. Power. Mr. Edwin Muir declares that the new school has produced 'the only important Scots poetry since Burns'. Senator Oliver St. John Gogarty has said that it is the 'most vivid and most vital poetry produced in English or any dialect thereof for many a long day.' Such testimonies could be multiplied.

A great deal of confusion has arisen in consequence of the term 'synthetic Scots.' Of the small percentage of Scots who have any vital interest in poetry (Mr. Spence himself has said that not more than ten Scots understand the nature of poetry, and claims to be one of these himself by virtue of 'second sight'), and the still smaller number who are interested in Scots poetry, the majority are timid souls whom the term 'synthetic Scots' frightens away. They will not give the horrible thing a trial. As a matter of fact, though much has been made in controversy of the need for synthetising Scots and fashioning a medium similar to the Norwegian *landsmaal*, the new Scots poets realised that they could do little towards this as individuals—it must be, if at all, as in Norway, a co-operative effort of a representative body of scholars and creative writers—and there is actually very little experimentation of this kind in their work. They have scarcely gone further than Burns himself did, for Burns used a species of 'synthetic Scots.' 'Burns is by universal admission one of the most natural of poets,' says Mr. Buchan in the preface to his anthology *The Northern Muse*, 'but he used a language which was, even in his own day, largely exotic. His Scots was not the living speech of his countrymen, like the English of Shelley and—in the main—the Scots of Dunbar; it was a literary language subtly blended from the old "makars," and the refrains of folk poetry, much tinctured with the special dialect of Ayrshire, and with a solid foundation of English, accented more *Borealis*.' Mr. Spence takes a great deal upon himself when he ventures to assert that the use of such an eclectic vocabulary cannot become second nature to a poet and accommodate him as freely and 'naturally,' once he masters it, as any more easily acquired literary language; and to suggest that great poetry cannot be written in such a medium simply because the 'riper manhood' of a nation will not, in turn, take the trouble to learn it is on all fours with suggesting that French is an impossible literary medium because the majority of the Scots people do not understand it. Poetry has been, and can be,

created in all manner of ways, sometimes [illegible] spontaneously to the past, sometimes being pieced together with endless ingenuity and difficulty; and 'dictionary-dredging' is by no means an impossible or unlikely method. Just as Mr. Spence has leapt at a suggestion and condemned as 'synthetic' to the point of unintelligibility work that is, as a matter of fact, very little synthetised at all, and has been found perfectly comprehensible by Irish, English, and American readers, so most Scottish opposition to the new poetry is not due to any difficulty of language or form, but to the fact that it expresses kinds of feelings and ideas at variance with post-Reformation and post-Union Scottish traditions. It is condemned as bad poetry because it runs counter to established prejudices. Mr. Spence suggests that the 'exclusiveness' of the new school is an *arrière-pensée*, but surely these young poets would have been optimists indeed if, knowing, as they must have known, that poetry of quality has a very limited public in any country, they started writing in Scots, and occasionally in a Scots which still further restricted its small public by being experimental, and beyond that, in technique, temper, allusion, and to some extent in vocabulary, borrowed, on the one hand, from Gaelic (which is a closed door to all but a handful of the specifically vernacular public) and from 'ultra-modern' European poetry on the other, and still had no foreknowledge that they must have curtailed their public almost to vanishing point. But that has obviously nothing whatever to do with the quality, as poetry, of the work they have produced.

It is not my present purpose to contend that the quality of this work has justified the experiments made. I am content to refer readers to what such Scottish critics as Mr. Edwin Muir, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. Compton Mackenzie, Mr. William Power, Mr. Neil Gunn, Mr. Lewis Spence (in all his previous writings on the subject), and many others have written about it, and to such outside testimony as that of 'A.E.' (George Russell), Professor Denis Saurat, and Gordon Bottomley—all diametrically opposed to Mr. Spence's view—but to point out what precisely the nature of the effort has been, and to show that, although Mr. Spence writes as if his efforts and mine were all that had been made, that is not the case. The effort has by no means ceased, and is, indeed, steadily making headway. Associated with the purely linguistic side of it is an increasing repudiation of the 'Burns sentimentality' and an endeavour to relate Scots to modern ideas and modern life, instead of to the past. 'There is a naiveté,' Burns wrote in a letter to George Thomson (January 26, 1793), 'a pastoral simplicity, in a slight admixture of Scots words and phraseology, which is more in unison—at least to my taste, and,

I would add, to any genuine Caledonian taste—with the simple pathos or rustic sprightliness of our native music, than any English verse whatever.' Giving these words a wider application—Burns was speaking only of songs to be set to old airs—Mr. Buchan says:

It is to be noted that in some of the greatest masterpieces of our tongue, in the Ballads, in Burns' *Ae Fond Kiss*, in Scott throughout—in *Proud Maisie*, in *Wandering Willie's Tale*, in the talk of Jeanie Deans—the dialect is never emphasised; only a word here and there provides a Northern tone. I can imagine a Scottish literature of both verse and prose based on this 'slight admixture,' a literature which should be, in Mr. Gregory Smith's admirable phrase, 'a delicate colouring of standard English with Northern traits.' In such work, the drawbacks of the patois would disappear; because of its Northern colouring it would provide the means for an expression of the racial temperament; and because it was also English, and one of the great world-speeches, no limits would be set to its range and appeal.

But it is not necessary to have 'one of the great world-speeches' in order to write literature; and while from the Renaissance point of view Scottish life and letters are to be stimulated at every point and any developments along the lines Mr. Buchan suggests would be welcome, it must be pointed out, first, that these are not occurring; and, secondly, even if they were, the results would be less Scottish than those accruing from the methods actually finding favour. Although it has an enormous vocabulary of words for which there are no equivalents, or no precise equivalents, in English, and many writers have drawn up long lists of words which the latter language might very well have taken over, and which, in view of its wholesale borrowing propensities, it is rather surprising it has not taken over, Scots has in actual practice proved almost wholly unassimilable to English. The psychologies behind the two languages are vastly different and quite incompatible. The profitable affiliations of Scots lie, not with English, but with Gaelic. In any case, as Mr William Grant, the secretary of the Scottish Dialects Committee, and other experts have recently shown, the tenacity of Scots, in all the circumstances, is remarkable. The present writer had proof of that not long ago, when he read several poems, written in Scots of such a density that Mr Spence would undoubtedly have declared them unintelligible to all but specialists, to a class of elementary school children. These children knew over 80 per cent. of these supposedly obsolete words. Teachers all over Scotland tell of the difficulties they have to face owing to the linguistic atmosphere of most of the homes being very different from that of the schools—Scots in the one case and English in the other—and admit that to force English on these Scots children in the way that is done is a psychological outrage, which must be-

largely responsible for the paucity and low level of creative literary work in Scotland. My main point here, however, is that it were surely better, in view of the continued wide currency of Scots, and the fact that it really presents few or no difficulties not only to Scottish people themselves, but to English readers in general, to practise such a 'slight admixture' of lapsed or unusual terms upon it rather than upon English. In the latter case the context is adverse from the introduction of such terms and phrases, which would stick up out of it like stones in a stream, or, at best, currants in a pudding, whereas in the former the practice would be in harmony with the way in which a literary language naturally develops in any tongue.

This, in fact, is what the 'synthetic Scots' school do advocate, and the extent to which it is commending itself to younger Scots writers, and the reasonableness of the proposal, may be gauged from what one of the most interesting of the younger poets, Mr Albert David Mackie, says in the introduction to his *Poems in Two Tongues*, namely

> The poet was born in Edinburgh. Scots was not his mother tongue, but neither, for that matter, was English. What he spoke from earliest infancy was a bastard lingo compounded of rudimentary Scots on the one hand, and mispronounced English on the other, and developing, with the aid of the Scottish educational system, into a nameless language English in vocabulary and Doric in idiom. ... But for the purposes of poetry he early realised he must find a language—as he proceeded to teach himself English, as Scott and his contemporaries had attempted to do, by purging his tongue of the national elements called in England 'Scotticisms.' But this process only left him with a greater regard for the discarded national elements, which he now realised to form at least the rudimentary frame of another language which came, if anything, nearer to his tongue. The kind of English in which he had learned to write was not spoken by any but the rarest, most casual, acquaintances, whereas he could find in the hinterland and indeed in the streets of his own town, a whole world of people who spoke their Scots with remarkable purity. Two living tongues. One spoken, in its entirety, some three hundred miles from where he lives, the other a matter of no miles worth considering. He acquired a greater facility in Scots, and not only because of this propinquity, but also because of its suitability for the expression of his own un-English moods and instincts. [Let readers compare this statement with Mr Spence's opinion that composition in Scots must needs be more difficult.] He learned the language, it is true, dialectally,—he still speaks, and tries to write, with a Lothian pronunciation—but there have accreted round this main dialect terms originally outside it, though never incompatible with the spirit of it. This is how a dialect may become a full-sized language, and how a standard Scots may naturally come into being. We seem to be at the beginning of a unified literature ...

The experiments suggested by Mr Spence, myself, and others have not failed, then. It would be truer to say that they have

scarcely been tried yet. The younger men are taking them up. The hope and purpose expressed by Mr. Mackie are widely shared. The drift away from the literary use of Scots during the last two or three centuries cannot be reversed in a day, but the process has been inaugurated and is gaining ground. If a few poets, at variance with the general characteristics of contemporary Scotland, and intent upon endowing Scots poetry with kinds of poems in which it is especially deficient, and which in the nature of things cannot have more than the most restricted public in any language, have failed to appeal to the 'riper manhood' of their country, they will perhaps have more influence with their fellow-poets, and their divergence from normal practice may be fertile in unexpected directions. All along they have clearly recognised, and stated, that they might serve to stimulate creative activity in antagonism to, rather than in imitation of, their own, and this is undoubtedly happening, and accounts in large measure for the increased output and heightened quality in all departments of Scottish poetry to-day. This Renaissance propaganda has, at least, succeeded in one of its aims—it has created a multiplicity of schools and cross-currents in a literature long characterised by a flat uniformity. And it must be remembered that not only have its protagonists regarded themselves as mere pioneers, but they have realised that, apart from its purely literary bearings altogether, their insistence upon Scots was a species of useful anti-English propaganda, tending to foster the feeling of opposition and to create a heightened sense of difference. They have, also, themselves questioned the value of Scots in the last analysis.

The latest development of this many-sided and widespread national movement (says the P.E.N. pamphlet already referred to) is an effort at synthesis and the establishment of a united front amongst the various political and cultural organisations, so that these may be brought into a definite and progressive relationship to each other, and effectively related to the Gaelic background into which, it is felt, a return must be made before a foundation can be secured for the creation of major forms either in arts or affairs.

The present writer, in a pamphlet entitled *Scotland in 1980*, puts the matter thus:

Writing in Scots has, of course, become quite a minor element in the literary output of Scotland—80 per cent. of all the creative literature of any value published in Scotland last year was in the new standard Gaelic, approved by the Scottish Academy of Letters in 1969; but, nevertheless, in its refined form it has distinctive qualities of its own, and Scots literature would be the poorer if this subsidiary element were to disappear altogether, just as the beauty of the risen moon is enhanced by a star at its nether horn.

Even the most extreme experimenters in 'synthetic S
may console themselves with (and Mr. Lewis Spence ough
to have forgotten) what Laurie Magnus, in his *Diction
European Literature*, says of such Gongorism.

> Gongora's most contagious vice [he says] was to play with the
> themselves, to introduce strange words, to invent new ones, to u
> old ones in new surroundings, to invert the order of words; to use
> constructions, somehow, and, ultimately, anyhow, to cause surpr
> unexpectedness and thus to attain to a style so obscure, so allusiv
> so much involved as to perplex even the learned audience of culti
> linguists to whom his poems were addressed. What was the object
> in the first place? Plainly no poet of genius would practise Gongoris
> of sheer malice, and Gongora's purpose was clearly enough to suppl
> diversify the resources of the literary language of Spain. Every
> writer who is dissatisfied with the powers of the language which he
> who finds some words worn by use and others inadequate for emp
> and who tries to supply such shortcomings by new formations or
> combinations, is doing work which will bear future fruit, however
> ridicule it may arouse in the present by its more or less violent breach
> current usage.

Perhaps no language in which great literature had
produced had been so hopelessly degraded as Braid Scots b
the synthetic method began to recondition it a few years
and if contemporary English poets feel a need to annul '
regressive flight towards a cosy home-made art which for m
two decades has debilitated both theory and practice in Engl
Scots poets may be condoned their inability to put right a
once the more than century-old debasement Scots poetry
undergone from the time Burns himself had sufficient occa
to cry: 'My success has encouraged such a shoal of ill-spaw
monsters to crawl into public notice, under the title of Sco
poets, that the very term Scottish poetry borders on
burlesque.'

That, in brief, is the case for 'synthetic Scots.' The hop
poverty and ineptitude of the sort of thing it is belatedly rais
against (admirably illustrated in the majority of Mr. Spe
pièces justificatives) are ample warrant for a period of far
violent, ingenious, and intensive experimentation than has
been tried.

C. M. Grieve.
(*Hugh M'Diarmid*

A CENTURY OF MARRYAT

When *Japhet in Search of a Father* was appearing serially in the *Metropolitan Magazine* an outward-bound English ship sighted an American vessel in the Atlantic. The American ran up a frantic signal, which proved, however, to be neither a demand for assistance nor a request for water, but only the burning question, "Has Japhet found his father yet?" This authentic anecdote indicates the degree of popularity which Captain Marryat enjoyed in two continents during his own lifetime. This contemporary adulation was naturally followed by a reactionary neglect, and although Marryat has always remained, in Conrad's phrase, "the enslaver of youth," it has seemed in latter years that his vogue was declining considerably. At present, however, precisely a century after the publication of his first book, there is a considerable revival of interest in his work, and the time seems ripe for an attempt to reassess this one of the few nineteenth century literary reputations which have not been completely punctured by neo-Georgian pen-nibs.

Some of Marryat's novels have always been easily accessible, but latterly it has often proved difficult for the enthusiast to secure a complete set of his works. This uniform edition,[1] therefore, to adopt a hackneyed phrase, does actually fill a long-felt want. In these two first volumes[2] we have Marryat at his earliest and at his ripest, and in them, perhaps more than in any other two of his tales, are to be found both those enduring qualities and those curious weaknesses which are so characteristic of their author.

Joseph Marryat, the novelist's father, was a wealthy London merchant and banker, and was in turn M.P. for Horsham and for Sandwich. While on a visit to America he married Charlotte von Geyer, a German lady whose family had settled in Boston. Frederick Marryat, the second son of this marriage, was born on July 10, 1792, in Catherine Court, in the parish of All Hallows

[1] *The Novels of Captain Marryat*, edited, with introductions, by R. Brimley Johnson. [illegible] volumes, illustrated. Issued at two volumes per month. (J. M. Dent, 3s. 6d. net each.)

[2] *Frank Mildmay* and *Peter Simple*.

Barking, over against the Tower of London. Here, and at New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, Marryat spent his early boyhood, constantly within sight of that river into which Jacob Faithful was hurled by Fleming and upon which Poor Jack was swept seaward, clinging to his capsized wherry.

His schooldays were passed at a small private school at Ponders End. Largely on the evidence of the admittedly autobiographical incidents in *Frank Mildmay*, Hannay suggested that neither Marryat's home life nor school life was particularly happy. It is certain that he ran away from school on several occasions with the intention of going to sea, but each time he was captured and brought back to school, where his enterprise was no doubt recognised and appropriately rewarded. In the end his father had him nominated as a midshipman, and at fourteen years of age Marryat sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate *Impérieuse*, Captain Lord Cochrane.

This was in 1806. Trafalgar, but a year old, had virtually broken the sea-power of France and Spain. Thereafter the French fleet made little attempt to keep the sea, and the blockading English ships all had a comparatively dull time—all, that is, but the frigates. These full-rigged, fast-sailing, and by that date heavily-armed craft, acted as decoys, sailing into the very harbour mouths and tempting the enemy ships to occasional action. To them fell also the pursuit of convoys, the overhauling of privateersmen and other suspicious craft, the cutting out of vessels, the silencing of shore batteries, and the greater part of the land actions which took place after the alliance with Spain. During his time under Cochrane young Marryat witnessed above fifty engagements, one of the most memorable of which was the action off Corsica with the Maltese privateer commanded by the notorious Pasquil Giliano, in which Giliano and fifteen of his freebooters were killed and fifteen of the crew of the *Impérieuse* killed or wounded. Marryat also took part in the defence of Rosas, described so effectively in *Frank Mildmay*, in which he received a bayonet wound. The tenor of the daily round under Cochrane is best understood by this entry in Marryat's private log:

> The cruises of the *Impérieuse* were periods of continued excitement, from the hour in which she hove up her anchor till she dropped it again in port; the day that passed without a shot being fired in anger was with us a blank day; the boats were hardly secured on the booms than they were cast loose and out again; the yards and stay tackles were for ever hoisting up and lowering down. The expedition with which parties were formed for service; the rapidity of the frigate's movements, night and day; the hasty sleep snatched at all hours; the waking up at the report of the guns, which seemed the only key-note to the hearts of those on board; the beautiful precision of our fire, obtained by constant practice; the coolness and courage of our captain, inoculating the whole of the ship's company;

the excitement of our attacks; the gathering after the contest, the killed lamented, the wounded almost envied; the powder so burnt into our faces that years could not remove it; the proved character of every man and officer on board; the implicit trust and adoration we felt for our commander; the ludicrous situations which would occur even in the extremest danger and create mirth when death was staring you in the face, the hair-breadth escapes, and the indifference to life shown by all—when memory sweeps along those years of excitement even now my pulse beats more quickly with the reminiscence.

After serving in the Walcheren expedition, Marryat joined the *Centaur*, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood's flagship in the Mediterranean. Here he remained for a year. He then cruised on the West Indies and North American stations in the *Æolus* and *Spartan* frigates. In 1812 he was appointed lieutenant, and at the peace of 1815 was promoted to commander. In 1821, when in command of the *Beaver* sloop, the last British ship to be employed cruising off St Helena to prevent the escape of Napoleon, Marryat witnessed the Emperor's death, and he made the profile sketch of Napoleon on his death-bed which was afterwards engraved both in France and in England. He then exchanged into the *Rosario* and brought to England the despatches announcing the Emperor's death. Shortly after his arrival at Harwich he notes in his private log:

> Weighed and made sail with the squadron for Cuxhaven: the *Glasgow* having on board the body of Her late Majesty Caroline, Queen of England.

The following year he was engaged in revenue duty, attempting to suppress the free trade in the Channel, and incidentally in collecting material for some of the most vivid episodes in *The King's Own*, *Snarleyyow*, and *The Three Cutters*. In 1823 he went to India in the *Larne* and acted as senior naval officer in the Burmese War. For his services here he was made a Companion of the Bath and given the command of the *Ariadne* (28). This was his last command. In 1830 he became equerry to the Duke of Sussex and resigned his ship.

Although Marryat had twenty-four years' service, he was only thirty-eight when he retired from the Navy in November 1830. He then took up his residence at Sussex House, Hammersmith, which stood on what is now the Fulham Palace Road. Here he kept open house and blossomed out as a gentleman of fashion. He himself admitted that he ran through three fortunes at this period, fortunes inherited from his father, his brother, and his uncle, the last a prominent K.C., who left 300,000. One evening, when the cup that cheers had circled rather freely at his table, Marryat foolishly 'swapped' Sussex House for a farm of 1000 acres at Langham, Norfolk. He had now realised the ideal of all sailors in all ages: he had exchanged the sea for a farm.

* * *

True to the nautical tradition, he proceeded to show the untried farmer how a farm ought properly to be conducted. The success of his demonstration may be gauged from the following extracts taken at random from his farm accounts:

		£	s.	d.
1842.	Total receipts	154	2	9
"	Expenditure	1637	0	6
1846.	Total receipts	898	11	6
"	Expenditure	2023	10	8

He did not, however, settle permanently at Langham until 1843. Between 1830 and his departure for America in 1837 he was successively at Sussex House, at Langham, then back to London, then to Brighton, then off to Brussels, and thence to Lausanne. The cause of this flitting life is not far to seek. Marryat was no exception to the generalisation that sea life, at least at that period, tended to create spendthrifts rather than misers. He had naturally extravagant tastes, and he appears also to have had the not unusual weakness of literary men for speculations which enriched anybody but themselves. His expenditure was considerable. In addition to Langham, which was a financial drain on him all his life, he had in 1833 unsuccessfully contested a parliamentary election—a notable method of dissipating money. Entrenchment was obviously necessary, and to relieve the financial pressure he turned seriously to literature.

Although he did not definitely adopt a literary career until 1830, his first book, *Frank Mildmay*, was published in 1829, before he left the Navy. His last, *Valerie*, which was finished by another hand, appeared in 1849. During these twenty years he wrote in all twenty-four books. Of these, *Olla Podrida* and the *Diary in America* are collected travel papers, dealing respectively with his journey on the Continent and the two years which he spent in the United States and Canada. Six others are juvenile books. The remaining sixteen are novels, twelve of which are nautical. Excluding *Japhet*—the solitary good novel of Marryat's which is neither nautical nor juvenile—these dozen tales include all that is permanent in his work. It would be idle and tedious to criticise them individually; it is more convenient to group them together and to note in them those characteristics which are common to all.

The author's procedure is essentially that of the 'best seller.' With at least *Snarleyyow* and *Japhet* as evidence to the contrary, we are scarcely justified in saying that Marryat, once he had mastered his craft, could not construct a very tolerable plot; but, generally speaking, we find very little plot in any of them

What we do find is ample evidence that Marryat, for all
of careless genius, gave much more labour to plot con-
n than he cared to admit. However, these stories are
series of episodes strung on a thin thread of narrative;
ugh plot may be weak, we have all the other ingredients
to make the light pastry of the best seller: breathless
a love interest (admittedly painfully conscious that it has
agged in to fulfil the requirements of the receipt), and the
ending—a beautiful, if slightly unsubstantial, wife and a
tisfactorily substantial bag of dollars. There are in these
novels only two endings, I think, which are not definitely
but in *The Phantom Ship* the catastrophe is the only
outcome of such an excursion into the supernatural.
itary ending which is avoidably unhappy is in *The King's*
e climax of which is, as Harrison Ainsworth said, 'forced,
ral and revolting.' However, this book was an early effort
ryat's part, and it is always a curious illusion of the
enced writer that an ending has merely to be unhappy to
rthwith into the realm of sublime tragedy.
ing from outward form we immediately come into
with a curious trait of Marryat's which perhaps marks a
on of character rather than of intellect. It is noticeable
first book *Frank Mildmay* is partly autobiography
rading as fiction, and had it been written as autobiography
we might have possessed in it one of the finest of naval
s. As it was, the book, for all its amateurish faults, held
romise, and its success was far from being entirely due to
tility which it aroused in naval circles. The hero, how-
rank Mildmay, is noteworthy as the first of Marryat's
heroes. We can, without priggishness, definitely class
y as objectionable, and the curious part of it is not that
should have created an antipathetic hero, but that he
have been unaware of any flaw in his literary child's
r. He was warned by contemporary criticism and sought
rward to avoid the pitfall. It is noteworthy that he did
ays succeed. Frank Mildmay, Percival Keene, and the
The Privateersman are three at least who belong definitely
yat's rogues' gallery, and, though it may be heresy to say
t are moments in the career of Jacob Faithful when that
man betrays a close kinship with the same order. Vandyk-
is probably the only instance in which Marryat con-
drew an objectionable character for a central figure.
y, Japhet is the only one of his heroes who is an unprin-
oung rascal (for Japhet is certainly that) and at the same
an extremely attractive character. A similar tendency is
ble in Marryat's treatment of his heroines. Give him one

of the frail and not always fair ladies of Portsmouth Hard, and he will with a few strokes create a portrait almost worthy to rank with the best in the pages of Dickens—indeed, even less of a caricature than are so many of Dickens' immortals; but compel him to portray a heroine at once virtuous, beautiful and charming in the best three-decker tradition, and he is immediately ill at ease, declining to be left alone in the lady's company for a moment.

The truth is that Marryat's natural literary vein was the picaresque, and had he flourished a generation or so earlier his Japhet might have lived perpetually as the English Gil Blas. Marryat's lineage is one of the oldest in literary genealogy, going back through Smollett, Le Sage, and Mateo Aleman to Apuleius and Petronius Arbiter. The kinship is quite as much one of spirit as of literary structure, and is apparent not only in the plan and texture of his work, but also in his temperamental weakness for the unscrupulous and in a certain vein of ruthlessness which he did not always manage to conceal. Hannay remarks:

> Neither do incidents of the wilder and more horrific kind appear in Marryat's books. There is nothing in him, for instance, like that scene of the '*Midge* in the Hornets' nest,' which may, by the way, be commended to the attention of critics who think that blood and horror have been recently imported into romance by a generation which is supposed to have been corrupted by the French taste of the decadence.

Hannay was a splendid biographer, struggling with a difficult subject and a lack of material, but anyone who believes that Marryat was invariably 'restrained by a natural taste' from recording scenes of blood and horror should re-read that episode in *The Phantom Ship*, unparalleled for horrible realism by anything in *Dracula* or Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, in which the werewolf makes her awful meal from the corpse of the child newly unearthed from its grave, or that description of the torture scene in the Indian encampment in *The Privateersman*, perhaps the most revoltingly detailed episode of its kind in English fiction. Marryat was not restrained by any 'natural taste' from exploiting a realism foreign to his nature; he was restrained by convention from giving rein to a vein of ruthlessness which was partly natural to him and partly the outcome of a life of warfare. No doubt it was this that Conrad had in mind when he spoke of the 'unthinking fearlessness and pitiless exuberance of vitality which only years of war and victory can give.' However, it is but just to say that these incidents are extremely rare in Marryat's tales.

Of course, this sort of generalisation, notoriously dangerous, is particularly dangerous with Marryat. It is easy to say that some of his heroes show an objectionable streak—and we promptly remember Jack Easy and Peter Simple, two of the most engaging youngsters who ever trod a plank; or that he had difficulty in

creating a heroine both virtuous and charming—and we promptly recall that pretty little Quaker, Susannah; or that he was at home only when writing of deep water—and we immediately remember that many enthusiasts claim *Japhet*, not without some justification, as his finest book, and it is a book that never comes within sight of the sea; or that his imaginative power is inventiveness rather than a true imaginative faculty—and we are promptly reminded of the various apparitions of Vanderdecken's doomed ship; or the encounter between Jacob and Fleming aboard the *Polly* barge, or that fine description of the prairie fire and the stampede in the little known *Monsieur Violet*, or any of many other similar scenes, presumably fictitious, which are so convincing that they appear to be the narratives of an eye-witness.

In such scenes the effect is, of course, obtained by a masterly blending of fact and fiction, rendered with that convincing simplicity of narrative style which is Marryat's finest quality. Here we have two attributes concerning which there is not likely to be much difference of opinion. As a creative artist and a psychological interpreter Marryat may be inferior to Melville and Conrad, but as a descriptive journalist he has never been approached. He is the original 'Eye-Witness,' and were he alive to-day he would certainly be acting as 'Our Special Correspondent with the Fleet.' He has all the qualities of the journalist—a quick eye for salient points, a nose for a story, the flair for 'writing up' information, and a facile pen for quick copy. Is not this passage from *The King's Own* good journalism of the period, written with a subconscious awareness of the hovering blue pencil? (The ship, in action with an enemy vessel during a terrific thunderstorm, has been struck by lightning which has killed a number of her company):

> The most awful effects were at the guns. The captains of the two carronades, and several men that were near them, were dead—but had not the equipoise of their bodies been lost by the violent motion of the ship, their dreadful fate would not have been immediately perceived. Not an injury appeared—every muscle was fixed in the same position as when the 'electric' fluid entered—the same expression of countenance, the eye, like life, as it watched the sight on the gun, the body bent forward, the arm extended, the fingers still holding the lanyard attached to the lock. The boy attending with his powder box, upon which he had sat by the directions of the captain of the gun, was desired by Captain M—— to jump up and assist the men in carrying down the wounded. He sat still on his box, supported between the capstan and the stanchions of the companion hatchway, his eyes apparently fixed upon the captain, but not moving in obedience to the order, although repeated in an angry tone. He was dead.

This flair for descriptive reporting, as it were, is strikingly apparent, even in his first book. The accounts which he gives in *Frank Mildmay* of the defence of Rosas and the launching of the

fire-ships, for example—events which are known to have occurred—are unrivalled for spirited description, and they definitely place Marryat as the first and best of that school of war correspondents of which W. H. Russell is usually held to be the founder.

Marryat's next most conspicuous attribute is his literary style. Matthew Arnold once said: 'People think I can teach them style. What stuff it all is! Have something to say, and say it as clearly as you can. That is the only secret of style.' It may not be the only secret, but it is assuredly the first essential. If we accept Arnold's criterion, Marryat's style is certainly the most admirable with which a best seller was ever endowed. He has plenty to say, and the simplicity, directness and brevity with which he says it is wholly delightful. This enviable quality is demonstrated in the opening sentences of most of his tales: in *Frank Mildmay*, for instance, which begins 'My father was a gentleman, and a man of considerable property'; or in *Midshipman Easy*—'Mr. Nicodemus Easy was a gentleman who lived down in Hampshire.' Marryat does not in the first few lines hurl the reader into the thick of things in the staccato manner which is so often mistaken for directness. His pen begins to glide easily and naturally, and it continues in the same manner, for these openings are typical of his style throughout. When his faculty of vivid description is translated in terms of such a style, particularly when he deals with some episode obviously drawn from life, the result is some of the finest descriptions of battle, tempest and wreck which we have in English literature. The hurricane in *Frank Mildmay*, the 'club-hauling' of the frigate in *Peter Simple*, the engagement with the Frenchman in *The King's Own*; the fight between Surcouf and the East Indiaman in *Newton Forster*; and that between the *Aurora* and the Russian frigate in *Midshipman Easy*—all these are notable examples of Marryat's descriptive power in detailing actual events. Who can doubt that an eye-witness with a faculty of vivid description has penned this description of a hurricane? (A boat's crew, bound on a cutting-out expedition, has been caught by the storm half-way between ship and shore.)

> Dark as it was, it appeared as if a sort of black wall was sweeping along the water right towards us. The moaning gradually increased to a stunning roar, and then at once it broke upon us with a noise to which no thunder can bear a comparison. The sea was perfectly level, but boiling, and covered with a white foam, so that we appeared in the night to be floating on milk. The oars were caught by the wind with such force that the men were dashed forward under the thwarts, many of them severely hurt. Fortunately, we pulled with thole and pins, or the gunwales and planks of the boat would have been wrenched off, and we should have foundered. The wind next caught the boat on her broadside, and, had there been the least sea, would inevitably have thrown her over; but fortunately

put the helm down, and she fell off before the hurricane, darting through the boiling water at the rate of ten miles an hour. All hands were aghast; they had recovered their seats, but were obliged to relinquish them, and sit down at the bottom, holding on by the thwarts. The terrific roaring of the hurricane prevented any communication except by gesture. The other boats had disappeared; lighter than ours, they had flown away faster before the sweeping element; but we had not been a minute before the wind, before the sea rose in a most unaccountable manner—it appeared to be by magic.

Of all the horrors that ever I witnessed, nothing could be compared to the scene of this night. We could see nothing, and heard only the wind, before which we were darting like an arrow, to where we knew not, unless it were to certain death. Swinburne steered the boat, every now and then looking back as the waves increased. In a few minutes we were in a heavy swell, that at one minute bore us all aloft, and at the next almost sheltered us from the hurricane; and now the atmosphere was charged with showers of spray, the wind cutting off the summits of the waves, as if with a knife, and carrying it along with it, as it were, in its arms.

The boat was filling with water, and appeared to settle down fast. The men baled with their hats in silence, when a large wave culminated over the stern, filling us up to our thwarts. The next moment we all received a shock so violent that we were pitched from our seats. Swinburne was thrown over my head. Every timber of the boat separated at once, and she appeared to crumble from under us, leaving us floating on the raging waters.

The literary style of that passage has been equalled—and then but rarely—only by R. H. Dana; probably it has been excelled only by Dampier. Considered as a description pure and simple of 'dirty weather,' there is nothing to approach it until we come to the storm in Conrad's *Nigger of the Narcissus* and the cyclone in Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's *Gallions Reach*.

This faculty of vivid description and this admirable narrative style Marryat retained to the end. His humour, though plentiful, is not so unfailing. In *Frank Mildmay*, *The King's Own*, and *Newton Forster*, it trickles out only here and there, but in the books which mark the tremendously prolific period from 1834–7 the humour and the 'figures of fun' are rich and plentiful. This humour is generally more concerned with the vicissitudes of the bo'sun's trousers than with the highest flights of comedy. Here, as elsewhere, Marryat is closer (but never too close) to Smollett than to Sterne. He inclines more to the horse-laugh than to the playful smile. His comedians are apt to redden their noses and to slip into broad farce, and many of them are the stock types of the theatre and of fiction. If the dashing Terence O'Brien is not precisely the stage Irishman, certainly Father M'Grath is the Irish priest of contemporary fiction. Easthupp, the purser's steward, is the typical Cockney blackguard, the swell mobsman of the theatre. The two Toms in *Jacob Faithful* belong properly to burlesque, and Mesty has stepped straight out

of pantomime. In *Japhet* we have the stage lawyer (Mastertown), the stage quack (Melchior), the stage moneylender (Emmanuel), and the retired Anglo-Indian colonel of the theatre in Japhet's father. Even the immortal Cophagus, for all his delightful mannerisms, is a stock type. Admitting, however, that these all wear the fustian, they remain among the finest of their order. However obvious their lineage, they become in Marryat's hands delightfully familiar yet charmingly fresh; and, after all, if among the wealth of characters Marryat has bequeathed to us we find many of the puppets of low comedy, we also find such immortals as Mr. Chucks, Jack Easy, Peter Simple in his raw days, and Timothy Oldmixon, to go no farther.

Similarly, in the situations themselves the fun is not always confined to such 'wildly hilarious' episodes as that in which Mr. Briggs returns trouserless to his ship. Sometimes, indeed, it is something worse than farce, as in the death ravings of Peter Simple's father and the last illusions of Mr. Nicodemus Easy, where we again encounter that curious streak in Marryat. More generally it is ripe farce, echoing with loud laughter. To this order belong the fight between the rival shopboys in *Japhet*, the blowing up of the schoolmaster in *Percival Keene*, the capture of Peter Simple by the Amazons of Gosport, and many another incident. If the triangular duel between Easy, Briggs, and Easthupp is merely farce, it is farce of a high order, while the mastheading of Easy and the 'business' with the articles of war approach the level of pure comedy. There is a flavour of Grammont about Mrs. Trotter's coy display of a shapely leg on the 'tween-decks ladder of the *Diomede* for the delectation of young Peter Simple, and in the little matter of the stockings, but I am not sure that this and the subsequent history of the Trotters is not very pretty satirical comedy. In any event there remain in the best vein of pure comedy at least the Barbadian 'dignity ball' and the moving story of Mr. Chucks, the bo'sun who yearned to be a gentleman and who had once been a lord. These alone put Marryat among the immortal mirth providers, and perhaps it is his love of fun, more than any other quality, which has ensured his immortality.

Marryat's reputation is twofold. He is certainly one of the best, perhaps the best, of all writers of boys' tales. That, if it is not a great distinction, is nevertheless a distinction of merit. Secondly, though it would be exaggeration to describe him as the greatest sea writer, he remains the greatest novelist of English naval life. By virtue of his first hand knowledge of one of the most heroic periods in English naval history, by his love of fun, his delightful style and his descriptive power, he has given us a series of pictures which for accuracy, colour and vividness remain

unequalled, and a collection of portraits which deserves a national gallery of its own. In his pages we see again the tall ships of Collingwood and Nelson sailing in line of battle and the lovely frigates under their press of sail gliding down the seaways. We hear the ring of cutlasses and the clatter of feet as the press-gang hurries along the cobbled alleys of old Portsmouth; the rent canvas slatting in the gale; the whizzing of round-shot; the splintering crash of the mainmast going by the board; and the clamour of the hand-to-hand fight that follows upon the hoarse shout of 'Boarders away!' Marryat is one of the very few writers who can rejoice the heart of youth and can renew the conquest with equal ease half a century later. He is, to repeat Conrad's phrase, the 'enslaver of youth'; but it is not alone the youth that belongs to boyhood, but also that youth which, if we are fortunate, remains with us to the end that he so profoundly enslaves. He has always been the best recruiting officer the Navy has ever possessed; but at the close of a century of his work it is possible to assess the value of it as something higher than this—as a permanent addition to our literature and as a possession for all time. On more grounds than one Marryat deserves a memorial even more splendid than a collected edition.

M. McGRATH.

TROUBADOURS AND GYPSIES IN PROVENCE

The wanderer who approaches Provence does so with the feeling that he is entering a land of mystery and romance—a land peopled by queer gods and demi-gods over which there have passed countless races with their traditions. For me Provence is the land of the troubadours and the 'jongleurs,' and as I stood on the hill at Avignon looking out over the White Papal Palace I thought of the proud Giraud Riquier protesting to King Alfonso of Aragon that the troubadour from Provence should belong to an honoured class in the community, and not be confused with the 'jongleurs'—those mountebanks who manipulated their puppets and played their fiddles to street crowds. The sensation of mystery deepens as we roam through the country with its fertile olive groves and vine-covered plains. At one moment we are in a garden where every plant blooms as though touched by some beneficent deity; at another we trudge for miles over sandy wastes here and there white with salt deposits; over our head there fly droves of flamingoes, and in the distance we see herds of wild bulls. The climate, too, strengthens our conviction that the gods are close to Provence—at one moment the land is still and sunk in silence and the wan moonlight makes the cypresses in the distance stand in gaunt relief like spectres. Then suddenly all is convulsed in agony; a violent storm breaks out and spreads havoc far and wide over fields and gardens. At first we have the impression that Provence is a smiling land full of song and gaiety, but as we drive deeper down into its soul we find it melancholy with its unending series of grey olive woods and white limestone hills. Probably this feeling of melancholy descends upon us owing to weeks of wandering in the plains, for the people who live in plains are never merry. I have found that their folk-music is always sad in its monotony, as though the singer in his song resigned himself to the immense solitude of Nature. Some of the peasants who used to sing for me in the waste of La Camargue reminded me of the Argentine 'gauchos' or cowboys, so plaintive was their singing. The language of the Provençal poet also shows this antithesis: it has not the softness of French and it lacks the hard austerity of Spanish.

For the antiquarian traveller the chief fascination of Provence will be to study the development of the Gallic race from the days when the Phoenicians and the Greeks moored in its roadsteads, through the era of Roman conquest, through the Middle Ages when the Saracens harassed the coast, to the day when Provence was incorporated with the kingdom of France. Every field has its history, and we find hidden away in out-of-the-way spots relics of the past. One day when I was staying at Tarascon I walked out through the fields up towards the rugged, broken hills through the romantic town of Saint Rémy, and suddenly I came on to a plateau where there were two magnificent Roman monuments—an arch commemorating the defeat of the most valiant Gaul Vercingetorix by Julius Cæsar and a monument to the victory of Marius over the hordes of barbarians. Provence always seems to be able to stage the scene in accordance with historic tradition. There is no tenderness, no softness in this scene of the defeat and death of a great hero. The mountains are harsh and threatening in the background, as though they had been churned up by the spirit of War, and the sterile plateau shows in strongest relief the majestic arch with its sculptured scenes of fights.

FOLK TALES

No part of Europe is richer in folk-tales than Provence, and the traveller is amazed at the numbers of stories he hears from the mouths of the peasants in the more remote parts. Many of these tales and songs go back hundreds of years to the days of the Saracens, and not a few have Spanish grandees for heroes. One very beautiful story was told me by a peasant poet at Montmajour, that mighty abbey set on what was once an island in the lake of the Rhône. 'Fluranço,' a beautiful maiden, called 'La flour d'aquest païs,' was married off when she was very young to a noble warrior. Alas, at once after their marriage he was called away to fight against the Saracens; seven long years he was away, and 'Fluranço' wept out her poor little heart for him. But at last he returned to his native place and demanded where was his young wife. 'Alas, she is no longer here,' said his mother, 'one day I sent her down to the spring to fetch water and the Moors carried her off.' Then the knight searches far and wide, but with no success; at last he comes to a big castle, and he sees some women washing fine linen, and he asks them, 'Who is the lord of your castle?' And they answer, 'It belongs to the Moorish lord.' 'But how shall I get admittance to it?' 'Disguise yourself as a pilgrim and beg for alms.' So the knight gains admittance to the castle and 'Fluranço' is there. The servants come and set the table for the pilgrim, but suddenly 'Fluranço'

laughs and says that she knows who he is. Then they get together, and after collecting gold and jewels they mount a horse in the stable and gallop off over the bridge before the Moorish lord notices their departure.[3] Such a story is interesting as showing how living still are the memories of the Saracens and Moors and how the fragrance of those old legends seems to hover over those shores that once resounded with the havoc of war. With its memories of the Moors Provence reminds me of Sicily, where the folk poet cannot tell any story without describing the Saracen chief who carried the girls from Castrogiovanni to Bagdad. Another point of interest in the story of 'Fluranço' is the wicked stepmother. Even in England we make our mother-in-law a butt for ridicule in our pantomimes and revues, but in Provence it is no matter for laughter. In all the stories that the peasant will tell you there is sure to be a foul mother-in-law somewhere who blights the happiness of the bride or the bridegroom: I wonder how the lads and lasses ever marry in that country, with such a menace hanging like a sword of Damocles over their heads. In some tales the husband's mother insists on his killing the young bride to satisfy her jealous lust for vengeance. Many of the stories that the peasants tell you are full of deeds of violence that seem to belie the frank, open nature of the Provençal. For in the old days when I only read Alphonse Daudet and roared with laughter at the exploits of Tartarin de Tarascon, whether he was hunting lions in Africa, shooting at caps in his town, or cutting the rope on Mont Blanc, I had formed an entirely erroneous impression of the Provençal. Tartarin is a caricature and does an injustice to the descendants of a noble race. Tartarin is a florid, ruddy faced gentleman who carries a paunch; he perspires violently in his efforts to deliver himself of his rhetoric; he beats the drum from morning until evening to attract your attention, and the fumes of his garlic-puffing nearly asphyxiate you; he will shout for danger, but when it approaches he silently packs up his tent and departs like a thief in the night, as though his city monster the 'Tarasque' was at his heels. The real Provençal may be fond of bombast and exaggeration, but he does not go as far as Tartarin. He is warm-hearted and impulsive, and he passes suddenly from violent passion to soft tenderness with a rapidity that suggests the vagaries of his own climate. He loves to describe the virtues of his own region, its greatness in the past, its beauty in the present, but he always has a twinkle in his eye as he tells a story against himself or his people. For instance, one day some fishermen were boasting of the wonderful fish that they took in their part of the

[3] I find that this story is told in *The Study of Folk-Songs*, by Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, p. [illegible]

coast, when a man from Marseilles who heard them said that the entrance to the harbour at Marseilles had been lately blocked by a sardine, so enormous were the fish off the coast in that region. The story, we are told, was a jest, but it is said that in reality a ship called the *Sardine* was sunk in the entrance of the harbour.

To appreciate for ourselves all the beauty of the Provençal soul we must let the poets, with Mistral at their head, guide us. Between Arles and the sea there is not a field that does not make us think of 'Mirèio,' the fairest daughter of Provence, who died at Les Saintes Maries, at the mouth of the Rhône. From Mistral, Roumanille and Aubanel sprang a host of younger poets who have enriched the Provençal tongue. A young poet called Sully André Peyre, who edits a poetic journal, *Marsyas*, in Provençal and French, read me the other day a little poem which I transcribe as it resembles a folk-poem:

Aguest pas crento de canta
[illegible] que te tafuro
[illegible]
[illegible]

Aguest pas crento de [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Aguest pas crento de [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] *

Many poems in Provence are written about the 1st of November, which is a day of great tradition, for families meet together and dine amid scenes of jollification. It is the season which corresponds to our Hallowe'en Eve: there is plenty on the table, for the harvest has been garnered and the granaries are full. In the evening the bells begin to toll for the vigil of All Souls' Day. Then a feeling of sadness comes over the guests, for the time for grief is at hand: the children are sent up to bed and allowed to take to bed what is left of the dessert—nuts, grapes, or figs. The child puts a portion of his spoils at the end of his bed for what are known as the 'armettes.' They are the spirits of the dead, who are still in a state of relation with the living as they have not yet been finally translated into their everlasting abode. If the children are good the 'armettes' will kiss them this night, but if

* 'Be not afraid to sing the deep desire that stirs thee: by song thou mayest enchant it even to the height of purest beauty. Be not ashamed to dream, and dream in silence without ceasing; thy sweet dream can already reach the heart of immensities. Be not ashamed to hold in thy hands simplicity and to gaze on her nakedness, for hers is wisdom's nakedness.'

they are naughty they will [illegible] of many folk-songs is the Tarasque, the queer [illegible] beast which has become identified with Tarascon. The peasants told me it was a terrible monster that created havoc all round the country, for it used to eat up all the young children. Luckily holy Martha when she came to Provence went out and attacked the monster. All its snorting of fire was of no avail, for she threw a piece of red ribbon over its neck and led it back to captivity in Tarascon as quiet as a lamb.

The Women of Provence

In very few places in the world may one see so many beautiful types of feminine beauty as in the district around Avignon, Arles and Nîmes. I have seen girls working in the fields whose features placed them in the category of Greek beauty. They are small and pale-faced with brilliant black eyes, and they recalled to me the women I had seen in Magna Graecia. At Arles one may expect to see all the women in the characteristic coif and the long dresses, but instead one finds them all dressed in short dresses and flesh-coloured stockings, for all the world as if they had been in Paris. The Provençal woman is not tall and small as she is often described: she is strongly built below medium height. When she walks she has a grace and dignity that we are more accustomed to associate with the Spanish woman. Like the Spanish, the Provençal woman has a beautiful complexion that approaches close to that 'golden pallor' mentioned by Gautier. There is no false modesty about the girl from Arles: she is spontaneous and friendly, she smiles easily, and she has none of those nervous facial movements that are so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon women. When she sits in the presence of men she adopts a natural, unself-conscious pose: there is no overflow of meaningless irritable energy, as Havelock Ellis would have said. I have seen young women in England when a man is present: they were awkward, shy and self-conscious as if subconsciously in their minds there was always present the phantom of sex. The Provençal girl has none of those inhibitions: she is candid and spontaneous, though full of what we call temperament. The folk-poetry, with its stories of elopements, 'crimes de passion,' violent sacrifices, is sufficient testimony to the passionate character of the girls of Provence. Such poetry indeed resembles the "canti" of Sicily for ardour, and it is interesting to note that the influence of the Moors is to be found here in the use which the lovers and their beloved make of the flower language. Thyme accompanies a declaration; violet means doubt or uncertainty.

* *Cf.* Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, *The Study of Folk-Songs*, pp. [illegible]

rosemary signifies complaint; the nettle announces a quarrel.* Sometimes in the evening when I used to go to some peasant's cottage in the Crau I would meet the mistress of the house—a matron whose classic features betokened her a daughter of ancient Rome. In the farmhouse she was the commander and directed the economic life of the whole family. For the stranger she will bring out the national dishes of the country—the *aïoli*, made up of olive and garlic, and served with codfish—or else the *bouillabaisse*, a fish broth seasoned with garlic and pepper. Then when the flavour of garlic has invaded one's whole system, and when life has become one perpetual odour, wine is served to wash away the mephitic fumes.

THE HOME OF THE TROUBADOURS

Starting from Arles one day I walked along the upward road leading to the impregnable town of Les Baux, the most hallowed spot in Provence, the centre of over a thousand years of poetry and romance. It was for the walls of this town that Mistral wrote: 'I should make it our capital.' From afar one may see the ruins of the castle of Les Baux perched on lofty crags and clustered round its feet the town, all cut out of the white limestone. The first impression is one of eagle battlements and impregnable towers, the centre of the power of Raymond des Baux, the strongest lord of Provence, who allied his family with some of the greatest princes in Europe. As I wended my way up by cumbering crags to the town gates I imagined myself engulfed in a sea of stone—white ghostly stone without a trace of vegetation. There is no view in Europe that compares with the scene from the gates of the city, unless it be the ocean of stone that stretches on all sides from the top of the Lovćhen down to Cettinje. But whereas the stone in Montenegro is dark and sinister, the whiteness of the limestone in Les Baux gives a fantastic impression, for the Mistral, which has been blowing over it for centuries, has shaped the crumbling rock into the queerest shapes and contortions. Many of the houses have been cut out of the rock, and peasants live there in as primitive a way as the gypsies of Granada in the caves of the Sacro Monte. The narrow winding streets are as silent as though the hand of Death had touched the city. In the little church not a person to relieve this queer sensation. The candles lit before the principal altar splutter and the shadows on the pavement grow longer. In a corner in the door leading down to the sacristy I heard voices of children and silver laughter. A young priest is telling them the story of our Lord, and these little children of three and four laugh as he speaks in measured tones.

* Cf. Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, op. cit.

It is a sad city to-day, and we meet but few people about this moonlight night and few voices echo in those rocky passages. And yet what dreams 'Les Baux' calls up in our minds: visions of Blanchefleur, Huguette, Jeanne, and other queens of the tournaments of song. We remember such a troubadour as Guilhem de Cabestan, who sang the charms of Tricline de Carbonnelle and aroused the jealousy of her husband, Raymond de Seillans. Raymond, after killing Guilhem, tore out his heart and served it up as a dainty for Tricline's banquet. It was in Les Baux that the 'Courts of Love' were instituted, presided over by princesses who awarded the kiss and the crown of peacock feathers to the poet who excelled the rest. To this ideal of courtly love, artificial as it may have been, literature owes an immense debt. The knight on his long crusades always had before his mind the vision of a fair lady to whom he devoted all his thoughts, all his exploits: she was always a remote lady rare and beautiful, and her beauty was generally in contrast to that of the other ladies of his land. Thus when the majority of ladies were black-haired and dark-eyed we find the knights writing verses to a fair maiden with blue eyes. Very often we can discern a certain religious sense in these forms, as if unconsciously the figure of our Lady appeared to the knight as the symbol of an unearthly beauty. It is with such an idea in his mind that Dante, who was profoundly influenced by the Provençal troubadours, wrote his sonnet

> Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore,
> io vo' con voi della mia donna dire.

The troubadours travelled far from this rocky fortress, carrying their thrones of poetry and their 'Courts of Love' into Italy they wandered, even to Florence and remote Palermo, and into Spain, where in Western Galicia we find them just before their extinction.

The Fountain of Vaucluse and Petrarch

After dreaming in Les Baux it was only natural that I should visit the valley of Vaucluse where Petrarch worked and dreamt of his Laura in a land that was ahead of all the rest of Europe in civilisation. It is a big jump from the castle of Les Baux to the peaceful valley of Vaucluse where stands Petrarch's little house and garden. When Petrarch's father brought his young son on a picnic to this valley of Vaucluse the poet exclaimed: 'Here is the retreat which suits my character. I prefer it to any grand city.' And when his father died he soon bought a house and two gardens in the closed valley: one of them surrounded by rocks and inaccessible woods, where only birds may go: the other nearer the house, less wild, set on an island in the middle of a rapid river. Some of the garden still remains and urges us to dream of

Petrarch's serene poetry. For that is the quality which impresses us in his love sonnets and canzoni—a serene quality, as though he was always able to dominate his sentiment. We may find an echo of this spirit in the scenery of this valley. Closed in on the three sides by lofty mountains that in some places overhang menacingly, with huge boulders ready to crash down, the valley below bears a tranquil, meditative aspect, as though the fountain with its murmuring had hypnotised it into a feeling of security. Here in this "Transalpine Parnassus," as he calls it, Petrarch established himself and here were created the immortal poems to Laura—poems that seem to us to be the more glorious offshoot of those artificial songs of the troubadours of "Les Baux" to their ladies. In the first period Petrarch's poetry does occasionally rise to a certain degree of passion, as in the odes

> Piovonmi amare lagrime dal viso
> con un vento angoscioso di sospiri

and

> Non al suo amante più Diana piacque
> quando per tal ventura, tutta ignuda
> la vide in mezzo de le gelide acque

But then came the period of literary fame when he started his triumphal journey through Italy and was crowned at Rome in 1341. Then he thought of posterity more than of his lady, and his love became more reflective and restrained. In the last period the poetry becomes more ethereal, for Laura had died and left the poet to mourn by the river in that deserted garden where they had so often walked together. Vaucluse was no longer for him the smiling valley in the sunlight with its birds and the merry babbling of the waters; it became now a consolation on account of its solitude, for he was becoming ascetic, and the idea of Death haunted him like a passion. People who came to see him found him hidden away in the rocks deep in meditation. "Alas, how sad and gloomy are these scenes since the light that illumined them is quenched," he said. On this day the valley was smiling in the sunshine; the birds were singing and the fountain was humming merrily as though Laura was not dead, as if she and the poet were still walking together amidst the laurel trees.

La Camargue and the Wild Bulls

From Vaucluse the wanderer desires to escape to yet another phase of the life of Provence, and this time he descends to the mouth of the Rhône, to the desolate plain of La Camargue, the most primitive part of the whole country. First of all he goes to Aigues Mortes, on the border of the salty desert. Aigues Mortes, the city from which St. Louis embarked in 1248 for the crusades.

* * *

Those who have read Maurice Barrès' beautiful book *Le Jardin de Bérénice* will not need an initiation into the beauties of this majestic, walled city, which seems to have been set down in these marshes untouched from the Middle Ages. From outside the city seems to be dead, but when you enter the narrow streets you find a hum of activity, for to-day modern science and sanitation (though there is not much of the latter at Aigues Mortes) has diminished the evils of malaria. From Aigues Mortes we advance across the plain and enter La Camargue. On all sides stretches this desolate expanse of sand and vegetation; here and there are white patches of salt deposit; on all sides rise huge tufts of reeds that are collected into bundles by the peasants. Here and there I came across big herds—or 'manades' as they are called here—of bulls browsing quietly. Occasionally a 'gardian' (or horseback) drives them along mounted on his white horse. These white horses are a particular feature of La Camargue, and it is said that they are descended from the Arab steeds left behind when the Moors were driven out of Provence. The shepherds in this part of the country are full of queer old tales and superstitions. Joseph D'Arbaud, the brilliant Provençal poet, has written a very striking book about the life of the herds of bulls and their shepherds called *La bête du Vaccarès* (the Vaccarès is part of La Camargue), wherein he treats the subject in a fantastic manner. A shepherd one night follows strange tracks and finds himself in the presence of a queer monster half man and half bull; he is the last of the old Pan-like demi-gods of La Camargue. In the moonlight he sees this queer monster marshal thousands of bulls from all over the plain. They circled around him in perfect order, and then as he played the flute they started to move quicker and quicker in rhythm to the music, becoming more excited each instant and following every order of their master. As I walked along the torrid desert I began to visualise all that D'Arbaud's book had told me. I saw the head of Mithras in the distance and the monstrous deities of the beasts, whilst over the plain there seemed to be an effect of mirage. It was with these thoughts that I visited the 'mas,' or farmhouse, of the Marquis de Baroncelli, the celebrated poet, horseman and bull-tamer. The marquis is the exact type of the old feudal nobleman, and has spent his whole life living in the heart of this land, devoting himself to his horses and his bulls, with the hope in his heart that one day when civilisation has advanced men may seek the country once more and become as heroic as their ancestors were. Then the peoples who have always played the noble game will have their day, and we may say with the bull in his poem:

> Race d'Or, tant que tes jeunes hommes
> garderont leur croyance au Taureau
> je te le promets, je serai ton talisman et ton bouclier.

In the farmhouse of the marquis there were many interesting souvenirs of travels and trophies from the chase, but one picture fascinated me: it was the photograph of Philip Blue Shield, a Red Indian chief who came here years ago to stay with Baroncelli, and who rode with him over the Camargue. Towards the evening I met him again, but he was riding a white horse after a herd of his bulls he was taking to a town on the outskirts of the plain, where on the following day there was to be a bull-fight. Do not, however, think that the bull fight in Provence resembles the 'corrida' in Spain. The horsemen in the Camargue ride up on their white horses and drive one of the black bulls towards a group of young men who catch him by the horns and wrestle with him until he is forced to bend the knee and sink to the ground. The great endeavour is to seize the cockade which is hanging on the bull's brow, and a prize is given to the successful bather. There is no brutality or bloodspilling, for the bull escapes unhurt, and so do the horses. It is said that this is another survival of Greek times, for in Thessaly the same sport was called [illegible], and the bull in submission is shown on Greek coins from [illegible].

Les Saintes Maries and the Gypsies

The approach from the Camargue to the little sea town of Les Saintes Maries is one of the most imposing sights in Provence. From afar, as I left the mas of Baroncelli, I could see on the horizon what looked like a huge yellow ship with a turret in the middle. This was the town with its church in the centre to commemorate the miraculous journey to Provence from the Holy Land of Mary Jacoby, Mary Salome, Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, and their servant Sarah the Egyptian. Soon after the Crucifixion, the party were put by the Jews on a ship without rudder, sails or food and launched on the sea. But the angels blew the ship into its right course and directed it to the coast of Provence. The whole of Provence according to the picturesque tradition, owes its evangelisation to this sacred shipload. In the little church of the town it is said that Mary Jacoby and Mary Salome are buried, and their relics are said to be preserved there. Every year there are two pilgrimages, one in May and the other in October. The pilgrimage on May 25 has great additional interest for the folk-lore enthusiast because it is also connected with Sarah the Egyptian. Sarah, who was the servant of the saints, became the patron saint of the gypsies, and on that day in May hundreds of the wandering folk come in their carts with their wives and children and camp round the town. On the night of the 24th the gypsies spend all the time in the church before the crypt where are enclosed the relics of their

saint. It is said that the strangest rites take place in that crypt, and some hold that it is there that the king of the gypsies is crowned. The majority of the gypsies that come to the shrine are horsedealers, or 'maquignons,' and according to Baroncelli they are of the same race as the 'gitanos' of Spain, and have little in common with the copper-worker or bear-taming gypsies that we meet in the east of Europe. One night during my stay at 'Les Saintes' I met a gypsy from the Spanish border and obtained from him many details about the life of the wandering folk of the south of France, but when I questioned him closely about the religious significance for gypsies he was silent, and I was unable to draw anything from him. For the gypsies have two ways of dealing with the gentile: either they feed him with lies and he goes away satisfied, or else they preserve a contemptuous silence. In the evening he brought me to his hut, and I spoke some words of Spanish *caló* to his wife, an old woman who looked as if she had come from a witches' sabbath in the wilds of the Sierra Morena. As the night drew on and the gypsies were gathered around their fire one of them drew out a guitar and started to sing a song in the strange exotic tones of South Spain. Then the scene seemed to me to shift, and I imagined that I was in Granada in one of the caves of the gypsies on the Sacred Mount. The great enigma of these vagabonds rose before me: why do they come from Italy and Spain and far-off countries to this Christian shrine when we know that their religion is one that has nothing to do with Christianity? Surely we must hold that this pilgrimage goes back to pre-Christian times, and the place where stands the church of Saint Mary Jacobe and Saint Mary Salome was once the oldest shrine of the French race. By this time the fire was low, and the gypsies were arguing amongst themselves about horses when I took my leave. The way across the sand to the house where I was staying lay between giant reeds which waved in the breeze: at every instant I thought I heard the plaintive far-off flute of the king of the herd, but then above I saw the rugged old boat of the saints, and I remembered the verses of Mistral, who alone knew Provence in all her phases:

> *O Santi Mario*
> *que poudès en flour*
> *chanja nosti plour!*

WALTER STARKIE.

THE CRIMINAL

III. [illegible]

To anyone who visits a local prison for the first time it may seem rather odd to find the extraordinary assortment of human beings foregathered inside. At a first glance the [illegible] between a bigamist and a burglar seems far more apparent than that between a strikebreaker and a [illegible] [illegible] when one lights upon a group [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] an embezzling trade unionist, an [illegible] of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a deserter of his wife and children [illegible] encouraged by the law to desert them for a further three months, a performer of some abortive surgical operation, one or two persons who confused their own pockets with the public's, and a young man bored with life on his last [illegible].

Faced with so remarkable a group, and rapidly exhausting all memories of Madame Tussaud's [illegible] one asks oneself what can be the purpose of this strange collection of human beings, all of whom, so far as can be ascertained, are on exhibition only for strictly defined and limited periods of time, at the expiration of which they must be restored to their relatives or friends or permitted to wander at will, no matter what be their nature or condition.

Gradually it dawns upon the mind of the visitor that this is a museum of justice, and that the bond which unites all these interesting human beings together is the fact that every single one of them has committed or has been found to illustrate the different ways in which a citizen can break the law.

One may possibly not have realised before the wealth of opportunity that offers itself to the lawbreaker. It seems so easy—from what prisoners tell one of their experiences—to get arrested and imprisoned that one is surprised that there is such a large number of persons at liberty. One is forced to the conclusion that criminal statistics are akin to the statistics of street accidents: a certain number of citizens annually get run

over; a certain number annually get run in. And so far as one can see in either case, the fate of the few has little effect upon the behaviour of the many. People still go out and cross the road. People still go out and cross the legal frontier. The only difference between the fate of the two battalions is that those run over are examined by a man of science and sent to a hospital to be cared for, while those run in are examined by a man who will not hear of science, and are sent to a prison to be punished. Both treatments are felt to be the administration of justice; only in one case it is scientific justice based on the observation of facts, while in the other it is traditional justice based on theological guess-work. The two treatments, that is to say, represent two systems of thought which have nothing fundamentally in common. All that they imply to an observer of human affairs is that in the twentieth century the body of man has been surrendered to the man of science with popular consent, but his soul is still in the keeping of its traditional mentors.

Under a *régime* of science lawbreakers would of course be classified and dealt with in accordance with their individual natures. To speak metaphorically, the wolf would be distinguished from the dog driven wild by want or any other civilised causes. They would not be shut up in the same cage and submitted to the same treatment, nor would they be punished. Some method of discrimination after the manner advocated by that estimable body, the Fellows of the Zoo, would without doubt commend itself. Wolves would not be released on ticket of leave and then punished again for being and behaving like wolves; nor, presumably, would any lawbreaker be shut up whose behaviour was likely to prove tamable.

Very naturally the real criminal, the man or woman of prey, prefers our present penal methods and has an immense regard for the whole melodramatic splendour of the Old Bailey procedure. Like the judge who addresses him from the bench, the criminal feels he has a share in what, after all is said and done, is undoubtedly a conservative society. To him traditional justice is salvation from the hands of dawning scientific truth. With the judge, he agrees the law should take no account of psychology. Once let the man of science enter upon those scenes, and for ever disappears the hard sentence. The real criminal knows this and trembles.

Meanwhile it is his business to make the most of the prevailing way of thinking while it lasts. And this he does.

That which distinguishes traditional thinking from scientific thinking in the realm of criminal affairs is the belief that it is a bounden duty to punish any form of behaviour which cannot be

understood, and which it has been officially decided cannot be tolerated.

If, for example, a young man be found sleeping out because he has not sufficient money to sleep in, he must obviously be punished for being found to be in so intolerable a predicament. So said the Ruling Mind of 1824, and so officially says the Ruling Mind of 1929, though it may be it does not feel quite so dead certain about it as did its pre-Darwinian prototype. It is indeed rapidly becoming false to its own first principles, in that its magistrates are more and more inclined to remand the wandering youth in order to find out why on a hot night he prefers the open space to a casual ward. So extraordinary a preference for the open air and the freedom of Nature has to be accounted for. If it cannot be accounted for, and if the youth does it again on the very next opportunity, then of course only one thing can be done to him—he must be sent to prison for three months, fed and housed by the State, and introduced more or less formally to the embezzling milk-roundsman, the abductor of the too-willing maiden, the deserter of his wife and children, the surgical operator, the smart postmen and the young man with the jemmy. By such a simple process, it may surprise the reader to know, justice has been vindicated and thousands of other young men all over the country are lying awake in open spaces afraid to shut one eye lest the awful fate of this young man befall each one of them.

Without doubt there is much to be said in favour of this hereditary common sense. Its influence on human behaviour must be profound. For as we know, punishment deters, and whenever a French express goes off the rails we reluctantly decide never again to travel to Paris. Some wretched people do, of course, flout the fate of their neighbours and, like silly moths, find the lights of Paris irresistible. But some of these end their careers in the selfsame manner, and thereby once again justice is vindicated.

His Majesty's judges give us further insight into the mysteries of justice when addressing the prisoner in the dock. "Society," they say, "must be protected"—which is an admirable beginning to any address from the bench; but what is so disappointing to the trembling citizens in the gallery, who are already nearly dead with fatigue after their long stand in the theatre queue outside, is the fact that after all it turns out that society is only to be protected for a fixed number of days, weeks, months or years; and then the very same monster, whose appalling deeds may have exhausted the moral eloquence even of some learned recorder, is to be set free; for at that very hour, by a process of calculation only revealed by the Deity to judges and magistrates, justice will

have been vindicated and society will be ready to be protected again.

Such a system of thought cannot have been invented by man. Obviously it is the fruit of inspiration, if not from on high, then from some lower altitude whence the moralists have always received their supernatural sustenance.

And our prisons, as we pointed out at the commencement of this article, are the museums or zoos in which the monsters are housed during the interval when the rest of society is being scared into obedience by their example, and while the vindication motif is working itself out.

That our English prisons do contain many wolves who were arrested in sheep's clothing I should be the first to agree; that the greater number of these do gradually find themselves caged at Dartmoor, Parkhurst, and Camp Hill I am prepared to believe and hope. But what struck me when I was a prison visitor at a local prison more than anything else was the preponderating number of sheep who had been arrested in wolves' clothing. The presence of all these sheep in prison used to puzzle me more than I can say, especially in cases where they had been written up as wolves in, say, a Sunday newspaper. One would read the account of the glorious monster in that difficult period between Matins and Evensong, and then hasten off to visit it in its cell. And—lo and behold!—a poor devil of a sheep, whose story when told made one feel more inclined to sit down and groan than to stand and gaze with fearful admiration. One had set forth reciting the lines of Blake's poem, 'Tiger, tiger, burning bright,' only to end by sitting on the plank bed anxious to say, 'Little lamb, who made thee?' It was spiritually devastating. One sheep after another, each more silly than the one before. Their ghosts still haunt my memory. Imagine a bigamist who asked a relative of his first wife to the second wedding! Picture a young man standing in the dark who, when he saw the police in the distance, was too frightened to let go of the jemmy, and was arrested with it in his hand. Try to envisage an old man who suffered from epileptic fits, and whose one regret was that the magistrate had only given him three months. 'It's heaven in here,' he said cheerily, 'without the wife. Whenever I go home, she turns on the gramophone and tells me to get my own supper. Here I'm waited on, and the cocoa's tasty—just the kind of supper that suits my stomach. My fits are less, too.' And then another old man, aged eighty, anxious to die, if possible, in Brighton Infirmary. A young man of twenty-one who, under the influence of drink, madly strikes and injures an elderly man, for which he receives fifteen months' hard labour, and does well immediately on his release. Several young men with the vision

and manners of women, one of whom salutes the warder who opens the cell door in the morning with 'Is that my hot water, Rachel?'; and so on and so forth. More and more sheep in the hereditary spiritual vestments of the real criminal with his beast of prey nature, capable sometimes of loyalty to the keeper who feeds him, but not always.

My first thought on beholding this was, 'This is nonsense.' My second thought was, 'My God! this is justice!'—justice according to the traditional moralist. Then I arrived at the unorthodox conclusion that traditional justice is nonsense, that it means in fact letting loose wolves that have been caught, and shutting up silly sheep and letting them think they have the guts of a wolf, and thereby encouraging, not deterring, others to follow their example.

Very reluctantly, and only under the leavening influence of scientific thought which affects public opinion against its will, the moralist is beginning to realise the futility of his penal methods; but since from the beginning of time he has never confessed himself to be wrong, but has visited the sins of the children upon the fathers, so now the moralist of to-day deplores the penal methods of his Victorian sire; but being himself that sire's spiritual heir, and possessed by education of the same mentality, he seeks to express his penal beliefs in the form of educative ideals, and that without any sense or intention of hypocrisy. He hoodwinks himself.

Thus the object of imprisonment to-day is said to be not merely to punish the offender, but to educate him to be a good citizen. The prisons are to become training centres for backward or too forward citizens, where the dead level of human respectability may be acquired in courses of from six months upwards. Thus have we arrived at industrial schools, Borstal institutions, and H.M. training centres. Of the former I am not qualified to speak. All I can say is that if I had a refractory son I should prefer him to be educated at some school not reserved exclusively for lawbreakers. It would seem to me he would stand a better chance in life if he were sent to a school where boys who were not lawbreakers were also to be found.

But of the attempt to educate adult lawbreakers I can venture to speak, for I have watched it in progress. And this I can say with certainty: no reformative experiment has ever been undertaken more conscientiously by those in charge of it than has this. For the ideals of H.M. Prison Commissioners one has nothing but the deepest admiration. One criticises them only because one believes that penal and educative methods cannot be carried out under the same roof. Perhaps they

know it, but are victims also of traditional thought upon the subject.

Under the ægis of the present *régime* of thought, if A. is proved to have defrauded B., it is felt necessary to shut up A. for a fixed number of days, in order to deter all the other would-be A.'s from defrauding all the other foolish B.'s, and in order that justice may be vindicated. But during A.'s imprisonment it is felt that a great opportunity exists for training him to be a forbearing creature like B. instead of a defrauding person like the remaining A.'s not yet caught.

This in theory appears to be excellent. One can picture the gratitude of A. for so unexpected a free course in citizenship. He emerges full of hope. He feels he has a positive advantage over the citizens who have not been to a finishing school. He goes to an employer who has advertised for a vacancy on his staff. His case is: 'Sir, I have this very morning come out of one of H.M. training schools where I have been for the last twelve months, and where I am glad to say I gave every satisfaction. Not a single mark did I lose. Before I went there I was very shaky over my honesty and made frequent mistakes; but now I am absolutely efficient. For twelve whole months, sir, I have had not a single opportunity of going wrong without being found out, so that now I have acquired the habit of going automatically right. That, sir, must be unusual even in the world to which I have returned. Thus my value as an employee has obviously increased. I hope, sir, you will at once perceive this and not let this God-given opportunity slip through your hands.'

To which the candid employer would reply: 'I am prepared to believe that you may have benefited by your lectures and meditations while at your training centre. I would not refuse to employ you because you have been in prison; but the fact that you were sent to prison induces me to feel that there must be something or other about your nature that unfits you in some way for reliable employment. And I must remind you that the fact that you made a good prisoner is no guarantee that you will make a good citizen. Inside you had free board and lodging and work provided. Outside these have to be obtained by your own efforts. Has your education made fitted you for your struggles outside? That remains to be seen; and being a business man and not a philanthropist with private means to squander upon experiments, I do not purpose to take any risks. You have my sympathy. It may be you are the victim of the administration of a justice hard for the layman to understand. I would even go so far as to say I think your chances of recovering your footsteps would have been easier had you not been sent to a training centre reserved exclusively for criminals in the eyes of the law. The only practical

I can give you is to hide the fact of your imprisonment. obtain a post if possible without telling the employer what ive told me. Invent some story to account for your e from affairs. If he believes it, so much the better for Your education will then at least have taught you how to money by false pretences. Your plea, if detected, can be ating circumstances.'

at many employers do take the risk of employing ex-rs I know to be a fact; that many ex-prisoners prove to be tory I know to be a fact also; that any ex-prisoner finds onment to have been an advantage I have yet to learn; any ex-prisoners fear blackmail, and not without cause, I also to be true.

s for this reason, therefore, in my capacity of an ordinary with the ordinary prejudices of an ordinary citizen, I do heless hesitate in any way whatever to assist in the imprison-of a lawbreaker. I feel it to be monstrous that wolves, aught and recaptured, should be set loose upon us again their natural lifetime. I feel it to be equally monstrous that should be treated as though they were so dear to the interests imagined justice, which I conceive to be no justice at all eyes blindfolded ignorance posing as an angel of light as it the summit of the Old Bailey with scales in its hands to let ders of heaven discriminate for fear lest otherwise they congregate and drop down and lend colour to the childish hat they were indeed angels' tears.

at then, it will be said, do I propose as an alternative present penal methods? I propose the recognition of and the introduction of scientific common sense into the of the lawbreaker. I propose the total abolition of the entence. I propose the abolition of imprisonment as a ment[1] and the introduction of sympathetic understanding. e necessary to shut up wild-like predatory natures, then ir segregation be akin to that of the lunatic. Because re dangerously wild is no reason why they should be made fortable. Or if for reasons of economy the State decides ot keep wild human beings alive—but only wild animals—t these human beasts of prey benefit by the discovery of orm. At least let us in the twentieth century of human we have done with the sickening gallows.

if the lawbreaker turn out in examination to be no wolf but a wretched dog, hungry with want or tormented with sudden worry, or possessed of the nature of a silly sheep, be handed over, when convicted, to those skilled in the

[1] prisonment to enforce the order of a court would have to stand, the [illegible] remaining shut up until he agreed to surrender.

understanding of human nature; for what can be
shutting it up for precisely three months, six months, ni
twelve months, and then letting it out again, brandi
more muddled than ever, to battle with the exigenci
Such treatment is not the vindication of Justice, it is th
tion of Ignorance.

ARTHUR R. L. G

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

A number of members of the reading public, men and women, have sent recommendations of recent books. This list is a digest of these [illegible] THE EDITOR

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR: King George V. (Cape, 15s.) *Biography.*

WILLIAM BLAKE: The First Book of Urizen. (Dent & Sons, [illegible]) *Art.* A beautiful reproduction of this mysterious work.

PROFESSOR KARL BLOSSFELDT: Art Forms in Nature. (A. Zwemmer, [illegible]) *Art.* Remarkable photographs of ferns and [illegible], greatly magnified, with extraordinary resemblances to architectural forms and ornament.

GERALD BULLETT: [illegible] (Heinemann, [illegible]) *Fiction.* [illegible] of Mr. Bullett's first novel [illegible]

W. P. [illegible]: [illegible] (Cape, [illegible]) *Fiction.* The life and marriage of [illegible] governess.

[illegible]: The Court of Burgundy. (Routledge, [illegible]) *History.* An account of one of the most brilliant courts of mediaeval France.

WILLIAM [illegible]: England and the [illegible] (Geoffrey Bles, [illegible]) [illegible] the beauty of rural England [illegible] described.

H. [illegible]: The Arab's Place in the [illegible] (Thornton Butterworth, [illegible]) *History.*

[illegible]: [illegible] (Constable, [illegible]) *Naval History.* Actual account of life on a man-of-war.

H. J. [illegible]: [illegible] (Cape?, [illegible]) *Fiction.* [illegible] experiences.

SIR FRANCIS HALL?: The [illegible] of the [illegible] (Martin Hopkinson, [illegible]) *Reminiscences.* A [illegible] of rather more than [illegible] and [illegible]

SIR JAMES JEANS: The Universe Around Us. (Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d.) *Science.* The fairy tale of modern astronomy told by a master.

DIARY OF THE REV. W. JONES. (Brentano's, [illegible]) *Autobiography.* The diary of an eighteenth century clergyman.

PAUL LINTIER: My Seventy-Five. (Peter Davies, [illegible]) *Autobiography.* A good translation of a French gunner's [illegible] war diary.

W. J. LOCKE: Ancestor Jorico. (Lane, [illegible]) *Fiction.* A modern "Treasure Island," with attractive characters, [illegible] Trinidad and the ocean.

FRANÇOIS MAURIAC. "Trois Récits." Grasset. 12 fr. Thre... rather painful studies in modern French ... dealing with marriage and the femme de lettres.

C. E. MERRIAM. "Chicago." Macmillan. 15s. *Sociology*.

VIOLA MEYNELL. "Life of Alice Meynell." Cape. 15s. *Biogra*... A daughter's study of her mother.

SARAH G. MILLIN. "The Fiddler." Constable. 6s. *Fiction*. ... very simple and striking story of a passionate elopement in the veldt.

T. H. VAIL MOTTER. "The School Drama in England." Longm... 15s. *Drama*.

EDITH O'SHAUGHNESSY. "Other Ways, Other Flesh." Cape. 7s. ... *Fiction*. Quick stories of peasants and others in the Austrian Tyrol.

CAMILLO PELLIZZI. "Le Lettere italiane del nostro Secolo." Lib... d'Italia, Milan. 35 lire. *Criticism*. The first exhaustive compend... of Italian literature since 1900 written by a modern critic, whose genera... tions are more interesting than his detailed judgments.

J. B. PRIESTLEY. "The Good Companions." Heinemann. 10s. ... *Fiction*. A long rollicking picaresque novel.

I. A. RICHARDS. "Practical Criticism." Kegan Paul. 12s. ... *Criticism*. An analysis of the appreciation of poetry by univer... students.

SACHEVERELL SITWELL. "The Visit of the Gypsies." Duckw... 8s. 6d. *Art*. A suggestive analysis of mediaeval art.

E. DE CLERMONT-TONNERRE. "Mémoires: Au Temps des Équipages." Grasset. 12 frs. *Memoirs*. High life at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in Paris and elsewhere.

MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO. "Mist." Knopf. 7s. 6d. *Fiction*. ... fantastic little novel by a philosopher.

LADY WARWICK. "Life's Ebb and Flow." Hutchinson. ... *Autobiography*. Memories of Society and Socialism.

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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. DCXXXIII—November 1929

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SEA POWER

I. An English View

The importance of the Naval Agreement which seems to be in sight between Britain and the United States does not probably lie so much in the ratio of ships and guns that may finally be settled as in the fact that any agreement has been found possible between the two countries on the subject and the way thus paved for the British Prime Minister's visit to the American President. For we are apt to assume that because the British and American peoples speak the same language and share the same literature, and because their laws and institutions derive from similar principles, their political relations are on a different plane from that of the relations between other nations, between whom there is no such kinship. We have, it is true, much in common, but also much that divides. Points of contact are also points of friction, and nations, like individuals, may get on each other's nerves because they are both so like and so unlike each other.

What has always struck me most during my visits to the United States, long before the Great War and since it, has been the strange contrast between the extraordinary friendliness of the individual Americans of all sorts and conditions that I met who would go out of their way to help me in the smallest things, and apparently just because I was a Britisher, and on the other hand, lurking beneath all that kindliness, the deep-seated distrust and dislike of England as a Power. Did not one fine old New Englander of Puritan descent gravely tell me when I urged him to come over and see what we are really like that he dearly wished that he could see the old home of his forbears? 'But,' he added, 'I reckon I could not stand your atmosphere of palaces and cathedrals.'

History goes far to explain that contrast. Great as has been our growth in numbers and wealth and power and the expansion of our Empire on new democratic lines, the British people, confined within this small island of ours on the north-western fringe of the Atlantic, have changed very little in character since the American secession. For the fusion of all the races of which they are made up took place long before that event, whereas the American people, having gradually stretched across a vast continent and multiplied from barely 4,000,000 to nearly 120,000,000, very largely by wholesale immigration, have undergone profound variations of type. The Americans who still have most in common with us are those who still remember most tenaciously the circumstances which drove the Colonies into rebellion—nay, the circumstances which originally drove many of the Colonials into exile. American school-books, moreover, have gone on nourishing every resentment against us, until lately a new class of historians adopted a more discriminating attitude. The war of 1812 unfortunately reopened all the old wounds on the other side of the Atlantic, though for us, in the closing years of the Napoleonic struggles, it seemed a relatively unimportant episode. Again, during the Civil War, the supreme crisis of American history, Britain and America very nearly drifted into war, and our attitude on the whole was generally unfriendly to the North. The ruling classes and London society favoured the 'Cavaliers of the South,' and the embargo on the exportation of cotton to our markets dealt a heavy blow to our industries. Yet the stout-hearted men of Lancashire who suffered most were those who unselfishly acclaimed the abolition of slavery as a victory for humanity and worth the shortened wages and widespread distress which it cost them.

During the Civil War the American people, both North and South, displayed many of the finest qualities of which our common stock is, we like to think, possessed. Lincoln combined them in a

[illegible] in the United States, but even before the Civil War the great surge of immigration had begun to flow across the Atlantic, which imported entirely new elements into the flesh and blood of the American people—*Germans* in quest of the political freedom denied them by their reactionary rulers, but tenacious of their *Deutschthum*, Irish taking out with them their old hatred of England reinforced by unprecedented visitations of famine and misery, sick of being farmers and crowding into the towns to be policemen, saloon-keepers, and anti-British politicians. From quite other races of eastern and southern Europe were drawn, much later on, the unskilled toilers required for the huge American industries and mass manufacture which grew up feverishly with the exploitation of the immense natural resources of a whole continent. Russians and Poles and Slavs of all nationalities from eastern and south-eastern Europe, and Italians from southern Europe, poured in during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, in successive waves and sometimes to the number of almost 1,000,000 annually. They belonged mostly to a much lower type of humanity physically and intellectually, and they herded together in such solid blocks that with them the process of assimilation was much slower and more difficult than in the case of the Nordic races who had supplied the bulk of the earlier immigration. During the Presidential campaign of 1900, for instance, I was in the same train with one of the chief electioneering agents who carried round with him interpreters in seven different languages to translate his eloquent harangues at various points where the American electors could not yet understand the tongue of their adopted country. Cheap labour was welcome, for it was an invaluable factor in the expansion by leaps and bounds of industrial production, and it helped to prevent any excessive rise in the rate of American wages; but the rapid inflow of millions of aliens on a much lower plane of life raised new problems. If they were to be allowed to come in freely and flood a great and hospitable country, how long would it be before there was no '100 per cent. American' left? The alarm raised was real, if excessive, and to-day the volume of immigration has been enormously reduced by fixing the rigid yearly quota for immigrants of different nationalities to be allowed into the United States.

The Great War revealed another danger which threatened the United States from the two largest alien groups in the country. Many of the smaller groups that had come in from eastern and southern Europe retained enough communal cohesion to make them almost impervious to the educative influence of their American surroundings, but very few of them retained any sense of political solidarity with the European countries they had left

behind them. When they had qualified to exercise their rights as American citizens their votes were won mainly by the appeals which the electioneering agents of either party of the two great parties in the Union knew how to make to their local interests. The position of the Irish and German Americans was very different. They had struck deep roots of their own, but they had retained such close touch with their old homelands in Europe that when the war broke out their attitude towards it was largely determined not by the neutrality prescribed for them as American citizens but by their own racial feelings towards the belligerents. The whole influence of the German Americans was cast from the very first against England as in their eyes the chief enemy actually engaged in fighting Germany, and that of the Irish Americans, though not so solidly until after the Dublin Rebellion in 1916, against England as the ancient oppressor of Ireland; and the influence of both the German and Irish Americans was very great. They were powerfully organised all over the country; in some of the States and not a few large towns the German Americans preponderated numerically, whilst the Irish Americans controlled in different ways a great deal of political machinery amongst the lower order of voters. In the balance therefore of internal politics the German and Irish Americans counted for a great deal, and President Wilson and his Administration had constantly to bear in mind the effect of their policy upon the German and Irish vote. The German Americans, with their athletic and other societies trained on national lines, were so well organised, and so thoroughly imbued with German rather than American patriotism, that at one moment Berlin did not even hesitate to remind the American Ambassador that there were 500,000 trained Germans in America who would join the Irish and start a revolution.

This is one of the features of the situation during American neutrality, especially just before the Presidential election of 1916, which most clearly emerges from the letters of that period included in two volumes of Sir Cecil Spring Rice's correspondence published only a few weeks ago.[1] That there were times when President Wilson actually dreaded civil war within the Union he admitted in the farewell address he gave to Spring Rice in January 1918 on the latter's retirement from the Washington Embassy. The President said that

after the war began [illegible] his real preoccupation was not external but internal. There was imminent danger of civil discord; the country was divided into groups which did not understand one another, which were of different origin and which at any moment might fly at each other's throats. There was evidence of a long planned agitation which might at any time lead to most serious results.

[1] *Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice.* Edited by Stephen Gwynn. (Constable & Co. Two volumes.)

England, on the other hand, could exert no such influence. The number of Englishmen settled in the United States is very small, and, very few of them having renounced their British nationality, they are a negligible factor at election times. It is perhaps, therefore, not surprising that Washington often seemed to be much more ready to advertise the sharp notes addressed to the British Government as to the restrictions placed on American trading with the enemy than its more discreet remonstrances to Germany in regard to what we call 'German frightfulness.' It had its eye on the solid blocks of German and Irish voters, whilst there was no British vote to be placated. Doubtless we had to carry to great lengths the exercise of our sea power to stop the neutral trading with Germany, and this not only affected American material interests, though they found ample compensation in the continuous supply of war materials and munitions, but it also inevitably violated in practice the 'Freedom of the Seas' for which the United States claim to stand as the special champion on behalf of neutral States. Spring Rice's letters, which constitute an invaluable contribution to contemporary history, show how acute was the tension between the United States and England produced on more than one occasion by our action at the expense of neutral interests. But he knew that, however silent the German and Irish Americans might be on embroiling England and the United States and bringing them perhaps into open conflict, all that the President, with the bulk of the country behind him, desired was to remain neutral. He therefore on his side never ceased to impress on his Government the need for forbearance and conciliation and for all possible concessions except in such matters as were absolutely vital to the prosecution of the war, in order to avoid any sudden and untoward incident that would play into the enemy's hand and provoke an irreparable breach. Much to the annoyance of our Northcliffe Press he even refused to allow the British Embassy to emulate the raging and tearing propaganda of which the German Embassy was the headquarters, for he was rightly convinced that German methods could be left to teach the Americans much more effectively and quickly the moral as well as the material issues which he was sure they would some day have to face.

The day came at last when his sagacity and foresight were strikingly justified. That day was April 2, 1917, when he sat on the floor of Congress and listened to the President whilst 'in a perfectly calm, quiet, deliberate voice he recited, word by word, deed by deed, what Germany had said and done, and carried the whole assembly with him as he wound up with the plain declaration: "I have told you the facts. We have several

courses to take. One course we will not take, the course of submission.' The United States at that moment entered into the war on the side of the Allies—not, indeed, technically as an ally, but as an associated Power. It was a distinction intended, no doubt, to allay the apprehensions of such Americans as feared to be too closely identified with European alliances, but it was a distinction without a difference as far as America's practical co-operation in the conduct of the war was concerned. She at once cast all her weight into the scales, and it may be noted that as soon as she ceased to be neutral she was prepared to go even further than England had ever gone in questions concerning the rights of neutral shipping and the definition of contraband, on which she had previously protested most loudly against British interference with the 'Freedom of the Seas.' Her weight at any rate definitely turned the scales against Germany, and of the immense forces she poured across the Atlantic to train and equip in France several divisions were able to play an important part on the battlefields of the Western Front during 1918 before Germany was forced to sue for an armistice.

Never were Anglo-American relations, just cemented by the comradeship of war, so cordial and intimate as when President Wilson himself came over to take part in the Paris Peace Conference. He had already before the war was ended given in his 'Fourteen Points' an indication of the direction in which his mind was moving for the achievement of a durable peace. He was not going to ask for anything for America herself, and he was opposed to a vindictive peace. He constantly sought to exercise a restraining influence on the Allies, and especially on France, who wanted above all to remake the map of Europe in such a way as to make German aggression impossible for generations to come. But what he chiefly had at heart was the scheme he had evolved whilst the war was still raging for bringing all the countries of the world together in a solemn compact which would place in future the maintenance of peace on far more solid foundations than in the past. The League of Nations, if not entirely his own conception, was his child, and, though it was only in England that it found at the time whole-hearted support, he succeeded in getting the Covenant of the League placed at the head of the treaty to be imposed on Germany. That was the price for which he agreed to sign, on the morning of the day on which the Treaty of Versailles was signed, a defensive treaty with France which, together with the similar treaty signed by Great Britain, guaranteed American as well as British help to France in the event of a renewal of German aggression. But President Wilson had omitted to reckon with

adverse political forces in his own country which Spring Rice had gauged far more accurately than the President himself from the moment when the idea of a league of nations was first mooted. He repeatedly warned the British Government that the traditional dread of foreign entanglements, dating back to Washington, was still so strong in the United States that the American people would never consent to any pact that would commit them to the use of force in future quarrels between European Powers. American alarm was heightened by President Wilson's special treaty with France. There were growing indications that the President, who had unwisely neglected to associate any of the more responsible leaders of the Republican Party with him in the negotiations in Paris, had gone too far. He seemed to have forgotten—though Spring Rice had never forgotten to remind his own Government of the fact—that under the American Constitution the treaty-making power is vested, not in the President, but in the Senate, and that, as the Presidential elections of 1916 had indicated, his own popularity had been slowly diminishing for some time past. His striking personality had often dominated the Paris Peace Conference, but he returned to America to encounter a woeful defeat in his own country. The Senate refused him the majority required to ratify his treaties, and the United States declined to have anything to do with the League of Nations.

There followed a deplorable change in American public opinion towards England. The League of Nations was suspect, and we became suspect with it as the leading Power on the Council and as the British people were its keenest supporters. America was sick of Europe. A favourite phrase then was that Europe had disappointed her, and it never seemed to occur to those who used it that Europe on her side might be disappointed with America. For Europe had perhaps rashly, but not unnaturally, assumed that when the President himself came over and took a leading part in all the Paris negotiations and signed not only the Treaty of Versailles but a special treaty with France which helped to reconcile her to many of the concessions she made, largely at the President's instance, his signature would be honoured in his own country. With its repudiation the special British treaty with France also lapsed automatically, for the two treaties hung together. It was the failure of these pledges of eventual support against Germany, on which France had placed so much reliance, that subsequently stiffened the French attitude towards Germany and led to the occupation of the Ruhr, in spite of England's objections. Thus the withdrawal of the United States from Europe had, as seen from this side of the Atlantic, direct and more unfortunate results than

their mere absence from the League of Nations, though this was admittedly a great blow to its prestige and authority, especially in the early years of its existence.

Yet when we had once agreed to pay in full to America our war debts, which had been mainly incurred to supply our Allies with the sinews of war, there were no burning questions at issue between the two countries. We had long ago recognised the ascendancy of the United States in South America; we had given something more than our moral support in their war with Spain in 1898; we had left them an undisputed lead in Mexican affairs since 1913. The Irish Treaty in 1922 cut out a deep-seated sore which had often poisoned the relations between the British and American peoples. But the revival of the old attitude of American distrust towards England found fresh expression in the Far East, our alliance with Japan having been viewed with special disfavour, and not only the Chinese, to whom many Americans had extended a warm sympathy since the revolution in China, but Indian and Egyptian extremists had ready listeners when they went to the United States to carry on a violent propaganda against 'British oppression.' The supremacy of British sea-power became once more the bugbear of many Americans, for whom it was unpleasant to remember that it had had an undeniably large share in winning the war and that half their own army had been transported and convoyed across to France by the British Navy. It was not long before the old agitation for the 'Freedom of the Seas' was reopened by influential Americans who, like Senator Borah, claimed that Britain must never be allowed to treat neutral interests on the high seas in the high-handed way in which she had treated American interests between 1914 and 1917 whilst the United States were still neutral. We had gone a long way to allay American suspicions when we renounced our alliance with Japan, and at the Washington Conference of 1922 Japan, having abandoned her attempts during the war to establish a political ascendancy over China, had been induced to restore to her the Shantung peninsula. But the most notable result of the Conference in regard to the limitation of naval armaments was the recognition of naval parity between Britain and the United States in the matter of battleships. This did not, however, appease American feeling, which was systematically fostered by the reckless propaganda of the 'Big Navy' party with the American shipbuilding interests, as the Shearer revelations are now showing, behind it. In the light of these amazing revelations the Conference on Naval Disarmament held two years ago in Geneva was bound to fail, though its prospects would probably have been in any case doubtful, as on both sides the negotiations were left almost

entirely in the hands of naval experts, who naturally approached the main question, then under discussion, *i.e.* that of cruisers and their armament, exclusively from the professional angle of vision. Feeling rose still higher on the other side of the Atlantic when the British Government very tardily acknowledged that they had been seeking a preliminary agreement with France on the whole question of disarmament.

Meanwhile, however, the United States Government had begun to realise that they could not keep entirely aloof from Europe if only because the war debts of Continental Powers to America were still awaiting settlement, and American co-operation, though professedly unofficial, was successively forthcoming, first in the Dawes Plan and afterwards in the Young Plan for regulating the whole situation in regard to German reparations. Another and more signal step to mark the change in the American attitude of complete detachment from the outside world was the Pact of Paris under which, as the result of negotiations between Mr Kellogg, State Secretary under President Coolidge, and M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, all the Powers formally renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Whilst still outside the League of Nations, the United States thus carried one step further than the Covenant of the League the moral safeguarding of peace, though the Pact, like the Covenant, still failed to provide any definite material sanctions for dealing with peace-breakers. The Covenant of the League binds its members to meet once a year at Geneva and discuss international problems from a collective and not merely a national standpoint, and it binds them also to the adoption of certain financial and economic measures against any of its members who obstinately refuse to settle their disputes by peaceful methods. But it does not rule out the legality of war as does the Pact of Paris. The Pact bridges over the lines of cleavage between the League of Nations and the United States, and the latter have shown in another way their willingness to bridge them over by joining, though with definite reservations, the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. This is a judicial approach to the settlement of international disputes more consonant with the traditions of a country which has a written constitution subject only to interpretation by its own law-courts, than with our own, for we have no such thing as a written Constitution, and we have always relied on practical and empirical methods rather than on abstract principles and juridical pronouncements.

The Anglo-American *détente* which had just begun under President Coolidge has been carried a long way further by the conversations initiated under President Hoover between General

Dawes, the new American Ambassador in London, and our present Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, with regard to naval disarmament, and will, one may feel confident, have made further progress during our Prime Minister's visit to Washington. We have been warned that he did not cross the Atlantic in order to press to a final stage the precise terms of a naval agreement, as to which it is understood that only a small margin of difference still exists, and that any final agreement must be subject to the results of the Naval Conference early next year, in which France and Italy and Japan are to take part. The Prime Minister's journey has been undertaken at President Hoover's invitation for a far wider purpose. For the first time the executive heads of the two countries are to meet on American soil to try to remove by frank and comprehensive exchange of views the atmosphere of distrust and dislike which has too long affected the relations between the countries that are not divided by any real antagonism of interests. Indeed war of deliberate purpose between them is impossible, because there is no concrete issue that would conceivably drive them to have recourse to arms, and because, as every expert knows, complete naval parity would itself preclude a decision in a war which would necessarily be fought out on the seas. What is not impossible but the reverse, is that any war in which either of them was engaged would raise formidable questions as to a belligerent's right to restrict the trade of neutrals with the enemy on the high seas which played a decisive part in the Great War. For any future war will be what the French call *une guerre totale*—i.e., a war that will mobilise to the point of exhaustion all the economic and industrial and financial resources, as well as all the armed forces on land or sea and in the air, of the belligerents. As there is no country to-day, except possibly the United States, that possesses the means of waging any long war without replenishing those resources from abroad—we, for instance, have only within our islands enough foodstuff stocked to feed our population for a few weeks, whilst Japan possesses practically none of the raw materials essential to the production of munitions of war—the control of all maritime trade will be a more vital factor than ever. Even if it were possible to codify in peace-time new international laws for safeguarding the 'Freedom of the Seas' in war time, though this might well defy the wit of man, they would inevitably break down in practice under the pressure of such life and death struggles as future wars will be. We are apt to forget that what Germany compassed with her submarine campaign was a blockade to starve us out, and that there was a moment when she came perilously near to achieving her purpose, whilst our own naval forces and the pressure we exercised on the maritime trade of neutrals effected a blockade of

Germany which, if never quite complete, contributed enormously to her military downfall. This question of the control of the seas will arise equally out of any war between two other countries in which both England and the United States may wish to remain neutral, just as America wished to remain neutral from 1914–1917, and the more acute it grows the greater the danger that it will drag one or other of us in, and end by embroiling us with each other.

There is therefore no other way of averting such appalling prospects than that the United States and England should work in combination with all the other Powers that desire peace to prevent the outbreak of any war in any part of the world. Close co-operation between two such Powers as the United States and the British Empire, both intent on peace, would make war in any part of the world materially impossible, as the Pact of Paris should make it morally impossible. But that close co-operation requires the freeing of their relations from the atmosphere of distrust which has too often disturbed them at critical moments during the last century. Naval parity may no doubt conduce substantially to that end by giving satisfaction to American sentiment on that point, though we recognise that no measure of it in terms merely of naval armaments can in reality establish a parity which to-day involves so many other considerations of geographical situation, of aerial warfare, of naval bases, and of the special purposes for which either country believes that it needs a fleet. It is not unnatural that America considers that with her immense financial and industrial resources, far greater to-day than ours, she could, whenever she chose, outbuild us, should require naval parity in terms of ships and armaments as an outward recognition of complete equality between two sovereign and independent States. We do indeed thereby surrender our claim to the sea supremacy which has so long been ours, but this means merely the recognition of the basic fact that in the new situation created by the Great War we can no longer exercise it. An Anglo-American naval agreement would certainly not imply any alliance, nor any menace to other Powers whose full co-operation is earnestly invited. It would, however, clear the air of much of the vague distrust which is the only real impediment to that close understanding between the two nations upon whom the peace of the world mainly depends. The foundations of a solid bridge across the Atlantic will, we may hope, have been well and truly laid during Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's visit to America, but do not let us imagine that the bridge itself can be built and completed by a wave of the hand, or appeals to sentiment.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SEA POWER

II AN AMERICAN VIEW

WHAT is loosely called 'Freedom of the Seas' is a tradition of American foreign policy inherited from Colonial days. By that term the United States means freedom for neutrals to trade with belligerents, subject to restraints imposed by effective blockade and international regulations concerning contraband. Its insistence on free seas came from an outlook essentially neutral. The American standpoint coincided with British mercantile opinion, but ran counter to British naval power, which had to read its responsibility for sea supremacy in terms of possible belligerency. In time of war belligerents do not show any disposition to uphold trading with the enemy by neutrals. British use of sea power to prevent America from trading with Napoleon goaded America into declaring war on Great Britain, though not without some uncertainty as to whether arms should not be taken up against Napoleon, who equally with Britain trampled upon the neutral rights of American commerce. A century later, during the World War, the circumstances were similar. Britain, in Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond's words, 'walked like Agag.' Regulations defining innocent cargoes and contraband were set aside. The neutral spirit of the United States was unable to express itself because of the cutting off of its cotton, its wheat, and its manufactured goods from the Central Empires. Indignant at the unceremonious way in which its commerce was ordered about, America put an ominous note into its protests to Whitehall. 'Germany and ourselves are both contending for Freedom of the Seas,' wrote President Wilson to Sir Edward Grey, early in 1915.

That America eventually ranged itself on the side of the Allies was mainly due to the fact that Germany made the subject of contention life as well as property. The horrors of the German submarine campaign overlaid the contentions over British diversion of American commerce. American war-time policy, as a matter of fact, so far forgot its pre-war attitude that it accepted and improved upon the British interpretation of belligerent rights.

All efforts were aimed at keeping the seas closed as effectively as they could be closed under modern conditions of three-dimensional warfare. Nevertheless it was just as inevitable that America should recover its neutral thinking and seek to rehabilitate Freedom of the Seas as that Britain should recover its belligerent thinking and try to support its sea supremacy. But in what a different world! Great Britain had re-established in war an unchallenged sea sovereignty. Its challengers lay in the dust. A new apportionment of economic power, however, had endowed the United States with potential authority. Regardless of this redistribution, diplomacy at the Peace Conference pursued its time-honoured way.

"The smooth and leisurely phrases of diplomacy derive their pungency," wrote Admiral Bacon at this time, "from a vision of the force in readiness that lies behind them. Governments are influenced less by words than by material facts. We are [illegible] at every phase of the proceedings of the Peace Conference now in progress. Everyone [illegible] looks to the British naval representatives for suggestions on naval matters and to French military representatives on military matters."

British naval policy started the never finished task of filling in lacunae in naval preparedness. Old-time systems on defence came back. Scarcely a month passes but *The Times* prints an influential letter stressing the importance of safeguarding the *internal* lines of Empire communications. *The Times* has editorially underlined this assertion. Identified with these so-called Imperial sea lanes are trade routes coterminous with world communications. In the one case the assertion, if it means anything, means the protection of the sea communications with Canada; in the other, the labelling "All Red" of the route to the Panama Canal. The logical working out of this definition of British security is the building of a navy strong enough to drive off the Atlantic any possible combination against it. It was hardly likely that post-war America would accept such a reassertion of British maritime monopoly.

The Americans began to describe their objective as the ability to wage neutrality. Waging, though a less engaging expression than "asserting," came from post-Wilson realism, the memory of war-time dictation, and not least strength. Upheld neutrality in the American lexicon presupposes British acquiescence in naval parity with America. By this time we are familiar with all the incalculables involved in the search for naval parity. They defy the levelling influence of the yardstick. The disparities between economic resources, between naval bases, between merchant fleets, between sea genius—these factors, apart from those mathematically tractable, are unbridgeable. It is like seeking a will-o'-the-wisp to seek combatant parity. But if parity is viewed less as a mathematical problem, less as a naval need, than as a state

of mind, it is attainable. A meeting of minds on this problem was thought to have been attained at the Washington Conference. Though not put down in black and white, it was widely imagined in America that in principle at any rate the battleship ratios had been extended to fleet power. Lord Lee of Fareham justified the American feeling when he asked:

> Why, then, all this excitement about parity—a principle or sentiment to which both countries gave their whole-hearted and emphatic approval in 1921, and which neither of us has challenged since? Indeed to question its validity in any way would be to dishonour our signatures in Washington, my own among them, and make us by-words among the nations.

Mr. Hanihara's remarks during the Conference inferred the same conclusion for Japan.

The post-Washington cruiser programme in Britain did not suggest the adherence to the principle of parity avowed by Lord Lee of Fareham. 'We should like to feel superior in cruisers' was how Mr. Bridgeman afterwards translated the principle. The result was to produce a feeling in the United States that at the Washington Conference it had got [illegible] instead of parity.' Demands were made that as the American Government secured a battleship agreement as the result of showing that it could keep the battleship pace with Britain, so it must show Britain that it could keep the pace in cruisers. In trying to obtain appropriations for this purpose President Coolidge called the abortive Conference at Geneva. Its failure is the explanation not only of the bitterness that crept into Mr. Coolidge's last Presidential utterances, but of the [illegible] cruiser bill in passing which measure the American Senate had the support of as many petitioners as persuaded it to do the less congenial task of ratifying the Kellogg Pact.

America's new position in world affairs would argue that its policy cannot remain tethered indefinitely to political aloofness in international relations. For this is what insistence on sea freedom during war time amounts to. Future 'private' wars in this jostling world are likely to have an effect much beyond their original field of action. Besides private wars there may be 'public' wars, or wars undertaken under international authority, which would abolish sea freedom. Two possibilities are therefore opened up—first, that America will recognise the forces in world organisation which are developing the treatment of war by world sanctions; secondly, that exuberant in its might, America will ensure its neutrality, its freedom to trade, by building up to supremacy.

The second possibility has seldom been canvassed because it is not in harmony with present trends in American policy. But

prior to the Hoover-MacDonald conversations American political thinkers felt that if Britain did not soon face the problem of parity of sea power that problem would eventually cease to have any but academic interest for America, which would develop navalism so fast as to transform a race for parity into an assertion of supremacy. Some writers say that America could never be navalist because it is not sea-minded. But America is not without maritime traditions. It became landfaring on the passing of the clipper days and the beginning of 'internal imperialism.' Many agencies are at work, not least through the films, which are seeking to win back sea-mindedness and to cultivate defence-mindedness. Navalism might thrive on a business which is now deprived of the outlet of 'internal imperialism.' For America is high-spirited, its public opinion mercurial, and its youth begin their school lessons in Americanisation by a daily salutation to the Stars and Stripes. Let us pursue the thought further.

'Maritime trade,' said Admiral Mahan, 'is the parent of shipping power, shipping power is the parent of naval power, and these two together are the constituents of sea power proper.' American trade expanded enormously under the impetus of the World War. It made Americans more than ever conscious of their inadequacies abroad. The dependence on London for the financing of America's foreign trade was strikingly illustrated in 1914, when British financiers went to New York to help Wall Street solve problems in American banking which arose as soon as Britain became a belligerent. With this help and the inestimable service of the Federal Reserve Act the United States quickly found its financial feet; and nowadays the international bill market in New York vies with London for the privilege of accommodating world commerce. Commercial activity provoked a bid for shipping power. Though the war found the United States ready to assume world power, yet it had been content to allow its overseas trade to be carried in foreign bottoms. Ten times more trade is done within the United States than is done with foreign countries. Domestic trade is increasing faster than foreign trade notwithstanding the intensive drive for foreign markets. This was one reason why the Americans in pre-war years neglected to provide American facilities for American commerce. Another reason lay in the dependence of foreign markets on the raw materials and foodstuffs which predominated in the categories of American exports. There was no need for America to seek markets for these; they were essential to Europe and Europe was only too willing to come to fetch them. The post-war emphasis is on finished manufactures. In July 1929, 57 per cent of American exports were

composed of finished manufactures, as compared with 30 per cent. in 1910-1914. These are goods which the world must be persuaded to buy. So the changing character, as well as the enhanced volume, of American activities abroad called for a mitigation of carrying dependence and the building of a merchant marine. America's realisation that its future is on the sea has persuaded it that it must carry its ocean-borne activities, extend them by aggressive diplomacy, and protect them with an "adequate" navy.

The implication of America's new external affairs is a consciousness of interdependence as well as power. European cartels transcending national frontiers, which were the forerunner of M. Briand's proposals looking to economic union in Europe, are not so European as is often supposed. America has played a not inconspicuous part in them. America is a leading spirit in such organisations as the International Chamber of Commerce. Private finance, being international in its ownership, is now sponsored by the League of Nations and consortiums and, even when not formally internationalised, is subject to so many interlocking arrangements that national ownership is difficult to trace. American capital, for instance, has seeped through the bars erected by the State Department against its employment abroad. If a loan is banned in America, it is likely to be floated by a 'friend' or 'branch' of the American house, the bonds sooner or later finding their way into American hands. Investment bankers in the United States have shown a co-operative spirit in insisting in at least one instance that a State which wished to borrow in the American market should first compose its obligations to its own American bondholders. The last meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce at Amsterdam demonstrated this kind of financial co-operation when Mr. Lamont warned China, which is in default on numerous loans from Europe and which has been holding out tempting offers to America to break away from the China banking consortium, that it must treat its creditors *pari passu*. Co-operation between central as well as private banks is acknowledged and, though the movement seems of late to have suffered a setback, the establishment of the World Bank may restore it. Sealing this economic co-ordination is the fact that America is the guardian of the post-war gold standard to which it has regained world adherence.

The present tariff discussions in Washington afford a revealing picture of the interdependent way in which American life has assumed world dimensions. Before the Bill had left the House of Representatives it had become an international football, with divers American interests ranged on the side of the foreigner

American creditors were the first to take alarm. Debt to America is piling up on loan and on goods account, and if America requires payment instead of a cumulative renewal of indebtedness it must accept either goods or services. The difficulty of paying American debts is retarding trade and enmeshing many nations in a 'transfer problem.' Allied to the creditors were those commercial interests which are conducting America's giant export trade. They wanted protection as well as the domestic manufacturer: protection from retaliation. Retaliation can now operate through foreign refusal to accept America's finished manufactures, which, as we have seen, form over 50 per cent of American exports, and through the manipulation of supplies, such as rubber, which are essential to American life. André Siegfried has shown how seventy-five years ago Great Britain sacrificed domestic security when it decided to build its economic empire overseas. The advance of the American standard of living has likewise ended a precarious American self-sufficiency. 'Every American home and every American life,' says former Secretary of Commerce Redfield, 'depends daily upon the continuous labor of masses of our fellow men in other lands for indispensable supplies that we cannot produce.'

Then the American *entrepreneur* in foreign lands demanded a hearing in the tariff discussions. America's fortunes are tied up in foreign ability to sell as well as American ability and willingness to buy. Take, for example, Cuban sugar. Read 'American Industry for Cuba' and you have a clearer description of the domestic complications involved in the determination of the sugar tariff. This may be an extreme example, but the case of Cuba is being rapidly duplicated in other lands where American industry is finding extraterritorial habitation. America owns five billion dollars of direct investments in foreign countries, of which half are located in Europe. It is therefore interested in helping Europe to sell as well as buy, and the double interest does not fit in with the encirclement of America with unscalable tariff walls. If indeed these are made too high, then they will be circumvented by the shift of European plants to America, and European goods like American goods in Europe will compete with home-made goods inside the tariff wall. The recent establishment of Ford in Ireland and Austin in America shows the growth of this form of interchangeability of industrial plants. High tariffs encourage what dwindling distances and expanding organizations have made possible: they are making the locale of business as insensitive to frontier restraints as business itself.

No reading of the economic trends of the times could fail to remark that modern industrialism is disturbing the foundations of

nationalism. The late Jacques Seydoux was fond of saying that nowadays there are no political questions, only economic questions. Political actions are more and more the rubber stamp of actions already carried out in the economic sphere. In consequence, Governments give the appearance of always trying to catch up in a world of change. Sometimes there is a struggle, as over the American tariff, which has provoked a tug of war between an economic sovereignty which is being whittled down and a political sovereignty which is still resistant to the fact that the American people are thinking in terms of international transactions.

Thus between the declaration of peace and the building up of war-preventive machinery there is still 'a great gulf fixed.' Guarding it in America stands the Senate, that august and jealous co-partner with the President in treaty-making, viewing with suspicion all bridges in the shape of international conventions. It sometimes gives the impression that it needs the foreigner only for the purpose of expressing its patriotism. Mr. J. H. Morgan says that America is the father of more illegitimate children in international law than any other country—compulsory arbitration, the World Court, the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. Some people would perhaps take pride in fathering these children, even though they were illegitimate. But it is not a matter of pride that they have been left 'on the doorstep of Europe.' They have been left there by the American Senate which has frequently clogged the treaty-making machinery, sometimes out of obstructionism dictated by domestic politics, but mainly out of jealousy.

Many reasons might be adduced for this attitude, but one may be mentioned as pertinent here, namely, the long contention over parity. American co-operation was not withheld at the Washington Conference, where a foundation had been erected of understanding and common aims. The Conference marked the end of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which in American eyes bolstered up Britain's sea sovereignty. Its denunciation generated in America that state of mind known as combatant parity in the Pacific with Great Britain. Before the Conference detailed plans had been prepared to bring the Philippines within the ambit of modern conceptions of American naval protection. These plans were scrapped along with America's surplus battleships in an agreement not to build new fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific. Any naval tactician in America will tell you that by this agreement the United States cast the Philippines adrift. Some aver that in terms of naval strategy it placed the Japanese navy on a combatant parity with the American navy notwithstanding the 5–3 tonnage ratio. He would be a rash man who asserted that naval

bases have lost all their virtues, and yet the American attitude in 1921 showed that America, to apply Mr. MacDonald's recent words at Geneva, is quite willing to take risks for peace.

America, too, showed that it was quite willing to regard a political accord as offering as much security as a fleet of warships. Added to the agreement over naval bases was the Four-Power Pact. It gained American goodwill as an endorsement of what was felt to be the recognition of naval parity between the United States and the United Kingdom. As soon as it was tested, however, this agreement failed to function. The agreement provides that if the rights of the signatories "are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power, the High Contracting Parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." An emergency of world significance arrived on the heels of the agreement: the Chinese began to invade the treaty rights of Great Britain. Their campaign transformed the relations between China and the Powers set out afresh at the Washington Conference, and presumably protected by the Four-Power Pact and its subsidiary resolutions. Full and frank communication on the part of the signatory Powers yielded little more than paralysis, and the Powers, sometimes with the help of a *[illegible]*, were intent on the preservation of national interests regardless of the Four-Power accord. I make bold to suggest that more than any other agency the Anglo-American misunderstanding over parity was the cause of this non-operation of the Four-Power Pact.

The removal of this misunderstanding alters estimates as to American action which are contingent on domestic politics. It should mean the rehabilitation of the Four-Power Pact, with all that this means in relations with China and Russia. Furthermore it can be safely said, I think, that the interest of the present Administration in cutting down navies will be promoted. Hitherto, as Señor de Madariaga points out, the solution of the problem of disarmament has been outside the problem itself. It has oscillated about the resolution of the problem of the state of mind known as security. To America, which Señor de Madariaga stigmatises as the most backward nation from the standpoint of disarmament, it has oscillated about the attainment of parity with Great Britain, and though at one time there seemed a disposition to correlate parity and the curtailment of fleets, it is coming to be understood in Washington that of these two objects parity only is a special Anglo-American problem. Its relation to naval reduction, however, explains the divergence between American precept and American performance. Precept there has been in

parity. In 1928 many Americans advocated using the war debts as a weapon to reduce armaments, and I have no doubt that the unarming of Europe was a contributory factor in dictating America's war debt settlements. One of the principles of State Department supervision of foreign loans is that its approval will not be extended to the flotation in America of foreign issues destined to build up armaments. America's performance of its precept, now that parity seems within reach, will be urged by that influential body of public opinion which has been ceaselessly at work since the Washington Conference. When the Conference was mooted a great dial was set up in the streets of St. Louis, where in 1916 President Wilson had called for 'incomparably the most adequate navy in the world,' and every thousand signatures to a monster petition urging reduction of armaments was registered by a clock hand and by the despatch of a special courier to Washington. Disarmament has no more eloquent exponent than the present incumbent of the White House. 'The smaller the armed force of the world,' says Mr. Hoover, 'the less will armed force be felt in the minds of men as an instrument of national policy.' This statement will suffice to show the fear widely entertained in America that in the struggle to persuade Great Britain to accept parity navalism might come to exert an undue influence on American affairs. It explains why the United States has wished to work out parity on a lower level than has hitherto been acceptable to Great Britain.

It has yet to be demonstrated that the Senate is in a disarmament frame of mind. Indeed it is difficult to judge whether the Senate is in harmony with the trend of Mr. Hoover's conversations. But Mr. Hoover has an advantage over Mr. Wilson in that the Senate is mainly of his political faith. It was always felt that he would be a strong man President, but it was not anticipated that he would be as politically astute as he has proved to be. So far he has not aroused personal animosities which, as was shown in Wilson's time, may reduce to near anarchy a system of government which depends for its functioning on constant personal adjustment between the two treaty-making bodies. Of the two bodies the President has at present more public support. The prestige which in the last decade the Senate has lost by its obstructionism has reverted to the President. 'It was thoroughly demonstrated in Mr. Coolidge's time,' observed the *New York Times* recently, 'that as between Congress and the President, the preponderant public sympathy goes to the latter.' This is truer to-day than it was in Mr. Coolidge's time. Mr. Hoover is uniquely the people's choice as a candidate for the Presidency and as a President. Public opinion may be a treacherous reed to rely upon, but it is influential in American foreign affairs when there

are concerned with clear-cut issues. It exerted an influence two years ago when Mexican-American relations were drifting into war. About the same time it stirred the State Department into action to prevent America from siding with a reprisals policy against China. It persuaded the Senate to accept the Pact of Paris.

No change is already so apparent between the Coolidge and the Hoover Administration, as the Washington correspondent of *The Times* takes frequent occasion to testify, as that which shows the present Administration ready to accept the responsibility of its pre-eminent position in world affairs. This responsibility, in Mr. Hoover's words, is to clothe the Pact of Paris with action, to make it effective enough to reduce armaments to the police level. Does Mr. Hoover's attitude foreshadow a move in the direction of recognising parity of responsibility in upholding as well as declaring peace? It is premature to essay an answer, but it may be significant that the problem of the Freedom of the Seas seems to have dropped out of sight in the present discussions. It would throw into relief the growing world tendency to think in terms of "public" wars and the present tendency of America to think in terms of "private" wars. And "public" wars provide for an accession to, not a diminution of, belligerent rights. The real problem, then, is one of naval function. The danger of an Anglo-American clash is not averted by parity even of reduced navies, but by the possible difference in function when the British Navy is acting as a naval policeman and the American navy is waging neutrality by asserting its right to trade with the outlaw.

Though the United States so far stands aloof from sanctions, it has set its hand to an instrument which remains to be made effective by some kind of sanction, naval or economic. To make it effective enough to reduce navies to the police level more power must be conceded to international authority, either expressed or implied, in ad hoc consultation. Already several proposals are before the Senate which would complete the Kellogg Pact by taking part in coercive measures against peace breakers. Whatever remnant of neutral thinking the American Senate may seek to maintain, it would be logical to suppose that the public opinion which carried through the Kellogg Pact would be under no compunction about naming a violating State. This in itself would embroil American diplomacy beyond the embodiment of consultation with the other signatories whenever peace is broken. The Kellogg Pact should therefore be regarded as a constitutional way round the hiatus between Europe and America created by the Senate's rejection of the League Covenant, which, in Wilson's words, was to leave the world without neutrals.

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New York

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SEA POWER

III A NAVAL VIEW

NOMINAL parity in capital ships with the United States was established by the Washington Treaty. Now Mr Ramsay MacDonald has negotiated an agreement with the American President in accordance with which the British Fleet will have only fifty cruisers. This number compares, on the one hand, with 114 cruisers which we possessed in 1914 and found inadequate for our world-wide responsibilities, and, on the other, with seventy-two cruisers which the Sea Lords of the Admiralty declared emphatically as recently as the abortive Geneva Conference of two years ago represented the minimum compatible with the strategic needs of the British Empire.[1] Of the fifty cruisers, twelve or more will be refitting or refuelling at any given moment, and of the remainder, according to Lord Jellicoe, twenty-five will be acting as eyes and ears of the battle fleets, leaving at most thirteen for duty on the trade routes, extending to 80,000 miles, over which unescorted ships pass carrying our food and raw materials as well as the trade of the whole Empire.

As a part of the cruiser bargain the Prime Minister has received an assurance of American support of the British proposal, originally made at the Washington Conference, that submarines shall be banned, a proposal which, it is known, neither Japan, France, Italy nor indeed any of the lesser Powers will accept, so American concurrence in our view is really of little importance. There is reason to fear that he has also conceded something of the sovereign rights of the British Fleet in deference to the American theory of the 'Freedom of the Seas,' which would deny to naval power the liberty of action accorded to armies, namely, that of cutting off essential war supplies from a belligerent. What has been decided as to the provision of the base at Singapore and the maintenance of other British bases overseas, such as those in the West Indies, has not

[1] It was the insistence of the British Government on this minimum which led to the failure of the Conference.

ot been revealed, but it is possible that other concessions have een made of which we shall hear in due course.

There is still much doubt as to exactly what the Prime Iinister has surrendered, but he has evidently been engaged in cts of surrender from the opening of his negotiations. Official atements have been issued as to what has been said in the ourse of successive 'conversations' held in various out-of-the-way laces and shrouded in secrecy but these statements are mainly otable by reason of what they conceal The only definite evelation of importance which has been made is that the British leet is to have less than half as many cruisers as proved insufficient during the Great War

In these circumstances the British peoples throughout the orld, the children of sea power are expected to hail Mr. acDonald as a heaven-sent negotiator It is an unexampled tuation when a Prime Minister with no majority in the country in Parliament, can bargain away as a part of our sea heritage a thousand years and that Prime Minister the man who in e Great War for liberal civilisation would not on his own onfession have permitted the British Fleet to fire a shot A eclared pacifist, he has been engaged behind a smoke-screen, manœuvres the effect of which must be to lower the strength nd prestige of the British Fleet and to rob it of its rights in me of war as well as to humiliate the British Empire, which, Gladstone said is incurably maritime

The characteristic sporting spirit of the nation dictated that r Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues should have fair play, pecially as they had no majority in the House of Commons. hat was right and proper The King's Government had to be rried on Has not that sentiment been carried too far? Mr. acDonald has been depicted as a hero going forth on a hazardous ission of his own choice, whereas he has merely done, and that aladroitly, as events will show what his predecessor intended do—discuss with the President of the United States ways d means of co-operation with a view to stabilising the peace on at so great a cost by the Allies and cemented in the Peace eaty at Versailles We had, and have no quarrel with the nited States The atmosphere was more friendly than for any years when the General Election took place There was excuse for Mr MacDonald's melodramatic flight across the lantic. As Mr Hoover has explained, in commenting on the nversations with the Prime Minister, 'we fortunately, have controversies between our countries to be settled, we are erefore able to discuss our mutual problems in the long-stance view and solely in the broad aspect of human welfare. the largest sense.' The President has also pointed out that

he and Mr. MacDonald had been able to carry on their conversations 'without circumlocution and in absolute frankness, with a recognition of the point of view of both sides.'

The visit to the United States was made as sensational as possible—in fact, 'a stunt.' The Prime Minister would no doubt have been a successful actor or advertising agent if he had not chosen politics as a career, but he is too much of a sentimentalist and sensationalist to be the ambassador of the British peoples. He loves the limelight too much. No sooner had he gone to Downing Street than he suggested that there existed rivalry between the British and American peoples on naval affairs cancerous and deep-seated, and that if he could reach an agreement on the naval issues the peace of the world would be promoted. If the latter suggestion be examined, what does it amount to? Are armaments the cause of war? There were more frequent wars in the world long before what we know as armaments were invented than in modern times, as readers of the Old Testament and of ancient history know. Armaments do not make wars; they determine the character of belligerent acts and nothing more. Men have fought with the most elementary and cheap weapons in the past, even scythes and pruning hooks, and if all navies and armies and air forces were abolished they would do so again. The limitation of armaments is desirable mainly on economic grounds, but also because modern warfare has become so devastating in its effects. The bomb-dropping aeroplane and the use of poison gas, as well as the increase of armies which may act as the Germans acted in Belgium, suggest horrors which all men would banish if they could by international agreement. But naval warfare, apart from the employment of submarines against peaceful and defenceless merchant shipping, which the civilised world has condemned, is a clean business, and navies are relatively cheap.

In face of these considerations the only progress which has been made towards the limitation of armaments has been in connexion with navies. The armies of the world are larger than ever and better armed, at enormous increase of expense; the air forces have been expanded and are still being expanded, increased attention being devoted to bomb-dropping; and all necessary preparations have been made for the manufacture of poison gas. It is in these circumstances that attention has been concentrated on the limitation, not of armaments generally, but of naval armaments exclusively—the primary defence of the British peoples, but the secondary defence of practically all other nations, except Japan, which enjoys a far larger measure of maritime isolation than we do.

Has Mr. Ramsay MacDonald borne in mind during the naval

manoeuvres in which he, as a pacifist, has been engaged certain facts which have a direct bearing on his bargaining? The United States, Japan, France, and Italy are spending far more on their fleets than they were in 1913-14, or indeed at any previous period in their histories, in spite of the Washington Convention.* The following figures, vouched for by the present First Lord of the Admiralty, are significant

	U.S.A. dollars.*	Japan (yen).*
Expenditure, 1913-14	139,682,186	96,445,902
Expenditure, 1924-25	323,947,513	248,458,182
Estimated expenditure, 1929-30	372,981,247	269,116,855
	France (francs).*	**Italy (lire).***
Expenditure, 1913-14	4[illegible]	309,[illegible],000
Expenditure, 1924-25	1,378,[illegible]	1,012,580,390
Estimated expenditure, 1929-30	[illegible]	1,232,432,630

* At the rates current at the time.

These are remarkable statistics with an important bearing on current naval discussions. These maritime countries are all spending more money on their fleets than before the war—the United States upwards of two and a half times as much. Have these figures been brought to the notice of President Hoover? Have the other naval Powers which have been invited to the London Naval Conference in January next volunteered any explanation of this growth of naval expenditure?

On the other hand, what is the British record? The British Fleet emerged from the war supreme as no navy before had ever been supreme, having fulfilled its mission in defending liberal civilisation, and in succeeding years its strength has been reduced, by unmethodical stages, in response to political pressure, national and international. Since the end of the war British men-of-war aggregating 2,160,000 tons have been scrapped. As to the personnel, provision is made in the Navy Estimates for the present year for 46,200 fewer officers and men than in 1914. Turning to the financial side of our naval problem, the expenditure on the British Fleet, making due allowance for the difference in the value of money, is now less by 27,500,000 than it was in 1914, although, in the first place, the non-effective vote for retired pay, etc., has been increased by 5,500,000, owing, in large measure, to the influence of the Great War; and, in the second place, provision has had to be made for supplementing the contributions made by New Zealand, the Malay States, and Hong Kong towards the

* Mr Winston Churchill has remarked: 'I sometimes wonder if the Washington Naval Pact has not done as much harm as good.'

creation of the new naval base at Singapore. So vigorously has the pruning-knife been employed on the Fleet itself, as well as its dockyards and bases, that the entire cost now represents only 6·9 per cent. of the total national budget, whereas in 1914 the charges amounted to 24·5 per cent.[4] Did the Prime Minister, disdaining to have with him in America either a Sea Lord of the Admiralty or a member of the Naval Staff, draw any such facts from the pigeon-holes at the Admiralty before he left on his naval manoeuvres?

In this connexion a side-issue arises which it is not easy to discuss in view of the recent inquiry in the United States. The industrial loss we have suffered owing to the reduction of the Fleet is usually overlooked. It involves less coal being used for making steel, less steel for engines and ships' plates as well as armour and guns, and less of everything which goes to make a man-of-war habitable. There is no possible compensation for most of the workers rendered idle because, like the plants they control, they are unsuited to any other employment. Has Mr. MacDonald any conception of what the reduction of the British Fleet has already involved industrially? In view of the Shearer inquiry, this is a delicate subject, but in this country at least there has been no suggestion of propaganda by shipbuilders, gun manufacturers or armour makers in favour of a strong British Fleet. They have remained silent, though they and their workers have been the victims of the limitation movement. The reduction of the British Fleet has added thousands of men to the great army of unemployed. British orders have not been forthcoming, industry has got out of its stride, and foreign orders which used to come to this country have been lost, as is illustrated by the recent success of an Italian firm in tendering recently for Greek destroyers, by the success of the Italians in securing naval orders from Argentina, Turkey and Paraguay (old British customers), and the extent to which the Americans have succeeded in the same sphere.

Why were naval discussions with the United States initiated? That is an abiding mystery. It was never the practice of the Admiralty in the past to take account of the American fleet in considering the provision to be made for the maintenance of the British Fleet. Why should any change of policy have been adopted, since the strategic needs of the British and American peoples are so entirely dissimilar? There is no parity in naval responsibilities, so why should there be any parity in naval strength?[5] The British Empire, embracing nearly one-quarter

[4] The corresponding figures for the United States and Japan are 8·3 per cent. and 14·9 per cent. respectively.

[5] Successive British Governments have always declared that the United States has liberty to build as many ships as desired without offence to this country.

of the land surface of the globe, is widely distributed; it is essentially maritime because its highways are the sea; it is inhabited by upwards of 500,000,000 people, to whose liberty and wealth, in the last analysis, naval force furnishes the first line of defence. On the other hand, the United States is of a relatively much smaller area and it is very compact; it is self-sufficient and could exist in comfort for an indefinite period without sea-borne supplies; its essential means of communication consist of railways, and not ships; and the American population is about one-quarter of that of the British Empire.

These are considerations which ought not to be ignored when proposals for the further restriction of navies are considered, particularly in view of the fact that naval power is the antidote to military power—the shield against invasion—and that the land forces of every country represented at the Washington Conference in 1921 are far greater than they were before the war. Naval power is the first line of defence of the British peoples throughout the world and the maintenance of an adequate fleet has secured them against the economic loss associated inevitably with any of the forms of compulsory military service adopted on the continent of Europe and elsewhere, withdrawing millions of men from productive industry. But for the British Fleet, the presumption is that conscription would have to be adopted in this island country, as well as in other parts of the Empire, for naval power, apart from its mission as the protector of our overseas supplies, is the antidote to military invasion in force from overseas; and invasion in the present state of the development of air power, must remain a menace as long as other countries have troops and the ships in which to carry those troops overseas. We are a world Power by reason of our imperial commitments, but we are also a European Power owing to our nearness to the continent of Europe, and the peril of invasion* has not been banished, and cannot be banished so long as great conscript armies exist within a few hours' steaming of our shores.

There was never any suggestion of rivalry between the British and American fleets until the politicians on both sides of the Atlantic pushed the experts aside and, without any knowledge of naval affairs and with little enough apparently of world politics, began talking of competitive shipbuilding. We have never indulged in competitive shipbuilding with the United States, and have repeatedly stated that, whatever ships the Americans might build, we should never do so. It has never been any concern of ours what ships were built for the American navy. That has been a matter for Congress, free and unfettered by European or other

* Not to mention the danger of interruption of our essential supplies in the 'Narrow Seas' as well as in more distant ones.

entanglements, to decide. So long as our naval problems were left in the hands of the Sea Lords, there was no more idea of limiting the freedom of the Americans than of the Americans dictating to this country what number of ships should be built and maintained by us. It has served the interests of pacifists in this country and certain American shipbuilders and others, the employers of Mr Shearer in the United States, to foment trouble—the former in order to economise on the Fleet in order to provide further 'doles' and the latter in the hope of securing work which in normal circumstances would never have come to them.

In the last analysis, one question will have to be answered. Sir Austen Chamberlain, when Foreign Secretary, affirmed that war between the British and American peoples was 'unthinkable.' The American President and Mr MacDonald have reiterated that declaration with increased emphasis. In those circumstances why the talk of a 'yardstick' being applied as a means of measurement to the two fleets? Nations which have no intention of fighting each other can have no interest in the armaments each maintains. Navies are of all forms of armament the most innocent, for battleships and cruisers cannot leave the sea and invade territory; they cannot raze towns and villages, harassing and even slaughtering the inhabitants, as armies have done and may do again, and as air forces with their bombs may do in the future. Naval power has in the main been used in promoting civilisation and in protecting the freedom of nations. Has the Prime Minister ever read any of the works of the greatest naval historian the United States has produced? Admiral Mahan, writing of the gradual yet progressive process by which a higher civilisation impinges on a lower, has described the influence which the British Fleet has exerted:

> Why do English [illegible] conceptions of popular representative government, of the balance of law and liberty, prevail in North America from the Arctic Circle to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific? Because the command of the sea at the decisive era belonged to Great Britain. In India and Egypt administrative efficiency has taken the place of a welter of tyrannous brutal struggle and bloodshed, achieving thereby the [illegible] welfare of the vast harried populations. What underlies this administrative efficiency? The British Navy, assuring, in the first instance, British control instead of French, and thereafter communication with the home country, whence the local power without which administration everywhere is futile. What, at the moment the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, insured beyond peradventure the immunity from foreign oppression of the Spanish-American colonies in their struggle for independence? The command of the sea by Great Britain, backed by the feeble navy but imposing strategic position of the United States, with her swarm of potential commerce-destroyers, which a decade before had harassed the trade of even the mistress of the seas.

The British Navy has been the consistent champion of civil and national liberty, as the histories of Italy, Greece, Belgium, and other countries, as well as the overseas sovereign States of the British Empire, attest. Why, then, should the British Fleet be regarded as an instrument of aggression by Mr. MacDonald and his friends? Has any nation any cause to fear the influence of British sea power? Has the United States? On that issue Mahan has written in no uncertain terms. 'The United States cannot allow herself to be overpassed in predominance of strength by any State except Great Britain,' he said. That on the one hand. Admiral Mahan added that the endurance of peace between this country and the United States was 'as certain as anything in the future can be—much more certain than with any other of the great maritime States of the world.' On these grounds he urged that it would be 'a mistaken policy for the United States to push Great Britain towards exhaustion by an attempt to rival her in a degree of naval strength of which we have no need, whereas her dependence on it is vital and cannot by her be neglected.'

What policy in reference to the Navy should we have followed if political and corrupt influences had not been at work, producing conditions in which we appear to have been manœuvred into a position whereby the strength of the British Navy is to be regulated substantially by the result of an agreement with the United States? Admiral Sir Sydney Fremantle in a letter to *The Times* has explained the situation briefly and succinctly.

> The conditions which should govern the strength of the British Navy differ radically from those governing the strength of the navy of any other nation. The great sea highways are the internal lines of communication of the British Empire, and on their security depends our continued national existence. The assessment of the strength of the Navy, which constitutes the insurance of that security, depends upon a multitude of conditions which vary from year to year. Predominant among these conditions are the degree of probability of a quarrel with any of the sea Powers and the naval strengths of such Powers. Subsidiary conditions, but conditions of almost equal importance, are the facilities for asserting sea power in the areas in which our lines of communication may be threatened and the relative importance to us of the sea routes in the respective areas. Such conditions cannot be a function of the naval strength of any one Power.

As this officer has suggested—and there must be widespread agreement with him—both countries should preserve their freedom of action. Let the United States build and maintain a navy of such strength as she thinks fit, without criticism from us, and let us, giving full weight to every treaty and every agreement which may tend to lessen the probability of war, build and maintain a Navy of the strength we require.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his exuberant optimism, after bargaining away a score or so of British cruisers and possibly much else, suggests that he has advanced the cause of peace. He may find that he has, on the contrary, done quite the reverse, even if reductions of navies meant peace. In the first place, we are the heirs of great sea traditions, and in course of time the British peoples will realise that they have been humiliated, and, secondly, we have been, by implication, led into concurrence in manoeuvres which cannot be pleasing to such trusted and friendly Powers as France, Italy, and Japan. There was, it may be presumed, no intention to offend these countries, but the fact is apparent that an agreement between *two* Powers has been negotiated as the basis of a Conference to which *five* Powers have now been invited. Obviously the forthcoming discussions have been prejudiced, for the British and American Governments must appear to be acting once more in a high-handed manner, as they acted at the Washington Conference. We must all trust that this ill-feeling on the part of friendly Powers will not be the bitter fruit of Mr. MacDonald's activities. But in any event the Prime Minister's manoeuvres have been at variance with all the principles on which British Governments in the past, under Disraeli, Gladstone, Salisbury and Balfour, have acted. Can we imagine either of these statesmen playing the MacDonald *rôle*? He has been weak where he should have been strong, conceding where he should have stood firm, and always the sentimentalist. We can only hope that too high a price will not have to be paid for his [illegible] when the British peoples awake. For above all else it would be a disaster if the bonds of friendship between this country and the United States were weakened, since world peace rests first and last on Anglo-American accord.

The future of the peace of the world is not a matter of armaments, and least of all naval armaments, and armament wrangles, since the first Hague Conference, have been a fruitful source of suspicion and bitterness. Peace is a matter of international friendship springing from common ideals and purposes. Let the hearts of the nations be inclined towards peace, and the armaments problem—invasion perils, bomb-dropping and poison gas—will be solved, men of all races realising that war is a barbaric and cruel way of attempting to settle disputes and that, as a rule, they settle nothing, leaving victor and vanquished defeated and impoverished.

ARCHIBALD HURD

'SWARAJ' INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A Reply

The October number of this Review opens with an article from Mr Arthur Davies, who was Principal of the Law College of Madras from 1914-1927, entitled "Swaraj India and the League of Nations." In this article Mr Davies pleads that, as Great Britain and India are not likely to agree on the subject of Indian self-government, the dispute between them should be referred to the League of Nations. The idea has not emanated from Mr Davies but from an article contributed to the *Hindu* of Madras last March by Mr C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem. I do not question that that gentleman, who is an old Brahmin friend of mine, has honestly propounded this solution as a happy thought, and Mr Davies has with equal sincerity been starred by the brain-wave thus set in motion to espouse the suggestion. Mr Davies' article is moderately expressed and might make an appeal to persons whose knowledge of Indian conditions is at the least superficial. The article will not, however, stand close examination, because it is such an obvious illustration of the fatal facility with which an idealist supposes that problems ignored are problems solved, and then proceeds to propound courses of action which would be unnecessary if these problems did not exist, and must be futile because they do. It is not that Mr Davies does not perceive the difficulties; he perceives them, but passes on to his recommendation as if they were not there. He begins by admitting that "India" in his article must be read as meaning only "politically minded vocal India, English-educated India." As the total of his "India" is less than 1 per cent. of the population, and as by no means all the English-educated are politically minded or vocal, but only a section of them, and that by no means all the most intellectual, this attitude connotes that the wishes and interests of over 99 per cent. of the population do not count. Again, perceiving, but not explicitly admitting, this last consideration, he leaves it an open question whether the welfare of the voiceless millions would or

would not 'be more assured in the keeping of the alien British than in that of the ambitious native politician.' It may be an open question to Mr. Davies, but it is not an open question to the masses concerned, who have more trust in the British, alien though they be, than in the Indian politician. Indeed, the British are not nearly so alien in sympathy with these voiceless people as are the greater number of those who would gain ascendancy if British control were withdrawn. If Mr. Davies were to study the opinions and actions of the Mahars of the west, the non-Brahmins and Sudras of Madras, the Namasudras of Bengal, and the Chamars of Upper India, his mind might not be quite so open on this subject as it is now.

The writer of the article also leaves it an open question whether the National Congress really represents the people at large, or whether the 'All-Parties Convention' which approved the Nehru Constitution really represented all parties in the exiguous 'India' to which he refers, or was just the work of a few ambitious lawyers. All these important questions which Mr. Davies asks, but does not stop to answer, are put aside as of no consequence. Mr. Davies does not seem to perceive that they are fatal to his main recommendation. Ignoring all these points, he justifies his recommendation on three bases.

First, that the demand for Swaraj is so widespread and genuinely insistent that its thorough satisfaction is essential to the solution of the problem.

Second, that no solution proposed by the Simon Commission or the British Parliament will be accepted by his 'India.'

Third, that these things bring an arbiter between them necessary, and that such an arbiter can be found only in the League of Nations.

Let us, however, follow Mr. Davies just for a moment in the assumption that things which are paramount factors can safely be left out of our calculations, and examine whether even on that unreal basis the proposed remedy is feasible, and if so whether it is likely to be efficacious. A military point on the whole case upon which Mr. Davies can lean is the fact that India, in common with the great Dominions, though she is not self-governing, has been admitted to the membership of the League as an integral part of the British Empire. Her position is undoubtedly anomalous in this respect. India (by which I do not mean Mr. Davies' 'India'), rendered great services in the war, and these, together with her numerical importance in the population of the world, backed up by Mr. Montagu's idealism, were the principal factors in her admission into the League's constitution.

Mr. Davies in the course of his considerations as to the means by which India's case could be brought before the League in t

first instance leads his readers up some blind alleys. He leaves them there, and proceeds himself to travel up another path with the same result. For example, he finds an analogy (which he admits to be 'rough and dangerously inaccurate') in a suggestion that India should be regarded as an 'A' mandated territory, and Great Britain as the League's Mandatory. In other words, India is to be put into the category of a State which is under no recognised sovereignty, but being incapable of self-government, has to be committed to the care of a competent Power, which is answerable to the League for the manner in which it fulfils its mandate. Neither would Great Britain agree to divesting herself of the sovereignty over India nor would Indian Swarajists relish coming before the League as petitioners *ex hypothesi* until [illegible]. Having got us into this position, Mr Davies realises that the League might hesitate to intervene even if India [illegible], and he goes on to flirt with another suggestion [illegible] that other members of the League such as China [illegible] India, as a sort of next friend [illegible] the League. He does not himself seem to [illegible] and passes on to a vague suggestion that a body like the National Congress might make a direct application for which he thinks an analogy might be found.

This method of access, however, he speedily abandons. He then proceeds to fall back upon the proposal that Great Britain should herself refer her [illegible] regarding India to the League, '[illegible] as a matter of [illegible] as a magnanimous gesture but in accordance with a wise and far-seeing policy.' Mr Davies apparently expects every reader to recognise without proof that the policy which he commends is 'wise and far-seeing.' Obviously, unless it can be demonstrated beyond all doubt to fall within this description his entire case breaks down. Presumably, if Great Britain herself puts the case to the League, she must be bound by the League's decision. She must stand self-confessed of failure to govern her own territory, and ready to divest the King of his sovereignty over India if the League thinks that that is the only way in which India's demand can receive thorough satisfaction. On the other hand, what is India's position to be? Suppose that the League decided that India was not fit for self-government, and should continue under Great Britain's control, what possible guarantee is there that Mr Davies' 'India' would accept that decision any more than it will accept a decision of the British Parliament? The American, the Swede, and the German, whom Mr Davies visualises as deputed by the League to serve on a joint Commission of Inquiry, would merely in their turn become the target of Swarajist

abuse, as being prejudiced white people who took the side of the European against Asiatic races. Finally, when he has finished with all his suggestions, he propounds the solution that two steps should be taken, the first to give India real equality as a member of the League, and the second to give her real self-government. It would seem to most people that the second step must be a condition precedent to the first. This difficulty Mr. Davies ignores, but he proceeds to conciliate 'India's' ambition by pointing out that the League, in determining how these steps are to be carried out with the greatest efficacy and rapidity, will concede that India's voice is not merely given the equality accorded to every other nation, but will, because she is the party most concerned, predominate; and under the League's unanimity rule India would be free to exercise her veto on objectionable proposals. In other words the Swarajists' views would prevail if there was anything in the League's decision which they considered open to objection. There are other points of difficulty to which Mr. Davies does not refer. For example, such a reference by Great Britain would constitute a very awkward precedent for such Powers as France, Italy or Holland with large overseas territories, who might be thus prevented [illegible] to the judgment of the League their management of countries like Algeria, Tripoli or Java. The [illegible] of the Irish Treaty in the League's archives, or the settlement of the dispute between Sweden and Finland in regard to the Aaland Islands can afford no possible precedent for India.

Not being a jurist I [illegible] to argue on the interpretation of the [illegible] of the League of Nations, but [illegible] Mr. Davies's would seem to be a [illegible] when the wish is father to the thought [illegible] can be waved aside with a [illegible] wand. 'The world is one,' says Mr. Davies [illegible] of enthusiasm [illegible] but India is not one [illegible] Mr. Davies. The creation of the League of Nations itself represents a laudable effort to seek peace and ensue it, just because the world is not one but consists of a great number of nations whose [illegible] and national pride are constantly in conflict, and [illegible] and dangerous analogies, as Mr. Davies calls them, are more likely to produce strife than to allay it. Even supposing these analogies were applied, Great Britain would be mad to assume the rôle of a Mandatory of the League in respect to India. She had much better abandon India altogether than put herself at the mercy of Indian intrigue at Geneva. Also the 'India' of Mr.

Davies would never agree to the humiliation of becoming a mandated territory. As to the League, it would certainly have to enlarge its secretariat in order to deal with the torrent of complaints that would be received from the ingenious lawyers of the National Congress.

The proposal is not justified because 'India' is not India. It is not feasible because the League cannot interfere in dissensions inside the circumference of the British Commonwealth and the King's Dominions [illegible] and even if it were feasible it would not be effective. If Great Britain cannot find a solution of the Indian question, with all her experience of governing India, how is it possible for the League to find a solution either acceptable to both sides or enforceable if not accepted by one or the other. [illegible] last point Mr Davies is vague [illegible] result of reference to the League [illegible] and as I think, rightly [illegible] responsibility [illegible] possibility for what [illegible] League as for maintaining law [illegible] of those [illegible] may find herself getting all the [illegible] the halfpence, if indeed after [illegible] left to divide [illegible] only to [illegible] the League [illegible] new [illegible] Mr Davies' [illegible] India and [illegible] hardly good enough.

[illegible] CRADDOCK

RAISING THE SCHOOL AGE

The Government has announced its intention of raising the school age from fourteen to fifteen as from April 1 1931. The natural meaning of this declaration is that as from that date (a) the statutory provisions which require the attendance of children at school and prohibit or restrict their employment will be read as if the age of fifteen were substituted for the age of fourteen, and will apply universally and not [illegible] for all children except those who have already left school or become exempt under the existing laws, and (b) that it will be the duty of all local education authorities to provide efficient and suitable education for all children so required to attend school.

It is possible that when [illegible] the [illegible] may be postponed or adjusted [illegible] whether the requirement is absolute or qualified [illegible] will depend in the first instance [illegible] and subsequently [illegible]. In [illegible] the Government has [illegible] and also voluntary schools [illegible] cannot be made [illegible] declaration the measure will be [illegible] generally recognised that [illegible] adequate and equitable provision must be made [illegible] to mitigate hardship to parents [illegible] from obtaining employment [illegible].

I do not propose to discuss the general [illegible] question whether it is desirable in the public interest to compel all the nation's children, whatever their [illegible] circumstances or prospects, to stay at school till they are fifteen. The extension of opportunity [illegible] among children wherever they are found commands universal assent, and most people would agree that it would be a good thing for the country if a much larger proportion of the nation's ordinary children could be persuaded or helped to stay at school till fifteen or sixteen or even longer. But to extend the period of compulsory schooling for all children and defer the commencement of earning by another year is both socially and economically a major operation

It is literally one which 'comes home,' and means a great disturbance in the habits and domestic economy of the 'common people.' It must justify itself to them by actually giving their children something which *they* will recognise as worth having. The ordinary parent is a good deal of a realist, and his thoughts and ways are not those of the excellent Workers' Educational Association. Those who now make sacrifices to keep their children at school till fifteen or longer do so largely in the belief that it will pay in the long run, not only in the imponderables of character, enlightenment and culture but in cash, because it will start their children ahead of the others and give them a chance of better paid and more secure employment in a society which is likely to remain competitive for some time. When all children are educated up to fifteen their parents [illegible] by the prospect of material advantage [illegible] the wage standard for all [illegible] fifteen [illegible]. Those who do not [illegible] better [illegible] at school till sixteen [illegible] get something which will make them better [illegible] and more useful. But whether they are [illegible] are responsible for organising [illegible] make sure that at the date when it is imposed [illegible] and substantially profitable to them. It [illegible] that under existing arrangements the education of [illegible] between eleven and fourteen is not [illegible] be. The authorities [illegible] to make it more profitable [illegible] thinking that they had better [illegible] the much larger task of [illegible] children up to fifteen.

The ordinary British parent is very inarticulate until he is faced with something he [illegible] to take. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who claims the [illegible] and support of practically all the workers, and that a large majority of the parents voted in favour of the change at the General Election, may find that the temper of the home is very different from that of the platform or the polling station, and that many of them will not drink gladly or peacefully from the cup of compulsion when it is actually held to their lips. It took many years to get the age of obligatory schooling effectively raised to fourteen, and even now the requirement that a child shall stay at school till the end of the school term in which he reaches the age of fourteen is resented, and some authorities have tried to evade it and conciliate the parents by creating a number of artificial school terms.

The last great Education Act of 1918 permitted the raising of the school age by local bye-law, and some six authorities have

made such a bye-law, though they have in practice qualified it by a liberal dispensation of exemptions and used it largely to keep children at school till they get suitable employment rather than to keep them out of employment altogether. That Act also contemplated a large extension of facilities for advanced elementary and secondary education for all children capable and desirous of profiting by them. But the chief enthusiasm which it embodied was for a continuation of earning and learning, an arrangement which would allow the majority of children to make a start in life at the age of fourteen but would require them to attend day continuation schools for a certain number of hours a year up to the age of sixteen, and thus keep them under school influence, prevent them from forgetting what they had learnt and help them to go on learning. [illegible]

A good deal of progress [illegible] providing [illegible] more [illegible] and in Manchester [illegible] conspicuous [illegible] exhausting [illegible] elementary [illegible] over eleven [illegible] and giving them [illegible] courses [illegible] the age of fourteen [illegible] to stay. [illegible] schools was [illegible] tion and [illegible] aptitudes. [illegible] Committee which had been asked to inquire into the organisation, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools other than secondary schools up to the age of fifteen, interpreted its reference generously and produced a Report on the Education of the Adolescent known as the Hadow Report, which has been hailed as heralding a new era and a revolution in English education. For purposes of practical reform it endorsed the Board's policy of transferring all the senior children in elementary schools at the age of eleven *plus* to schools or departments organised specifically as senior schools, and though the senior school fo

selected children was not ruled out, the efforts of the local authorities have naturally been directed to the establishment of non-selective senior schools, an administrative business of great magnitude and difficulty. But for the enthusiast the chief feature of the Report was the claim that the senior or post-primary school should be treated as providing 'secondary' education, that in respect of accommodation, equipment and staffing it should approximate to the well-established type of secondary school, and that it should be planned so as to provide as from 1932 for all children up to the age of fifteen, with an eye on its future extension to sixteen on the basis of [illegible] attendance, and be dignified by the new name of [illegible] while the secondary school of the present type [illegible] with the name of 'grammar school.' [illegible] we have been told by Mr [illegible] the Report [illegible] demand full-time secondary [illegible] up to the age of sixteen.

In England there is [illegible] secondary education and [illegible] distinct line drawn between [illegible] elementary education. The secondary school [illegible] establishment of which [illegible] after 1902. [illegible] stage, and [illegible] secondary school [illegible] the upper [illegible] education. [illegible] to [illegible] on to eighteen and the [illegible] and [illegible] at least [illegible] between elementary and higher [illegible] administrative [illegible] resting [illegible] the powers of [illegible] and the powers of county boroughs and [illegible] The former [illegible] the [illegible] elementary [illegible] given as [illegible] elementary schools [illegible] and the latter exercise powers in respect of elementary education and also in respect of education higher than elementary under another set of regulations. The [illegible] of this arrangement has long been recognized and the Hadow Report [illegible] the ghost of Sir John Gorst's [illegible] Bill of 1896 [illegible] that the smaller boroughs and urban districts should be stripped of all educational powers and the larger elevated to the position of complete education authorities with powers over higher as well as elementary education. This would get rid of one statutory obstacle to the treatment of 'post-primary education as secondary education', but a great deal of further legislation

would be required to remove the 'senior schools' or 'modern schools' from the statutory category of 'public elementary schools,' which are hedged about by all sorts of statutory conditions deeply rooted in educational and denominational history. The public elementary system is a balanced system, and to take the 'post-primary schools' and all the children over eleven out of it would be a big and upsetting business.

The Hadow Report presented its plan as a step towards the attainment of high educational ideals—the provision of wider and better opportunity for the mass of the population, the forming and strengthening of national character, the awakening and guiding of intelligence, especially on its practical side, and the training of the tastes which will fill and dignify leisure. The election literature of the Labour Party struck a rather less lofty note. It properly emphasised the need for 'a complete and balanced system of education . . . a coherent structure in which each phase would find its proper place.' [illegible] the present system of elementary education [illegible] because it was [illegible] but because of [illegible] 'antiquated' [illegible] class prejudice. A [illegible] It was suggested that [illegible] higher education [illegible] and [illegible] would be obliterated. It was [illegible] that it was intended to remodel the [illegible] in the interests of [illegible] It was claimed that [illegible] the limitations the word [illegible] was [illegible] elementary will in a few years [illegible] posts [illegible] as the term elementary [illegible] functions [illegible] and the workers [illegible] over eleven will have [illegible] and will therefore be in the [illegible] as the secondary and public school [illegible]

What [illegible] great [illegible] was to [illegible] has not been [illegible] that the present Government will [illegible] the [illegible] by 'scrapping the elementary system,' an operation which would consume a good deal of parliamentary time. [illegible] something [illegible] a [illegible] system of local authorities would facilitate the effective organisation of public education from top to bottom. But apart from finance and the problem of [illegible] areas, which has not yet been satisfactorily dealt with, it can hardly be argued that the present authorities are incapable, if they are given time, of carrying popular post-primary

education on to the age of fifteen by a gradual process of improving and developing public elementary schools.

And after all, the character and value to the community and individual of the education given in any class of schools depends on the work done in them by the teachers and scholars and the conditions under which they do their work. The reorganisation of elementary schools so as to give the teachers a better chance of teaching all the older scholars well, and teaching them for a longer time, whether they are bright or dull, bookish or non-bookish, boys or girls, urban or rural, is the thing that matters. To call the senior schools 'modern secondary' schools will in itself make no difference to the actual quality or standard of the education given in them to the same children. It will certainly be no help to the employer if all applicants for jobs at the age of fifteen claim to have received 'secondary' education. If, as is desirable, he does give the preference for good jobs to those who have the best educational qualifications, he will have a new difficulty in finding out what standard of education that claim represents.

In the movement for raising the school age the argument that it would keep some 400,000 children off the labour market, lead to the substitution of adult for juvenile labour and thus to such saving [illegible] as would cover a large part of the cost to public funds of an extra year's schooling and the incidental maintenance allowances, has been much used. The total cost of raising the school age was recently put by the Economist at 10,000,000l. in the first year rising to 15,000,000l. Other estimates range from [illegible] to 11,250,000l.

As regards the cost of maintenance allowances, none of the advocates of raising the school age have even outlined a scale or plan for their distribution. The champions of family allowances will naturally press for an automatic scheme, but it may be assumed that in spite of its obvious administrative difficulties, there will be discretion in their distribution and discrimination according to need. The Economist recently suggested that the cost might be anything from 4,000,000l. to 8,000,000l. a year, and Mrs E. D. Simon has suggested 6,500,000l. on the average for 1931-5.

As regards the saving on unemployment relief for adults which might be set off against the cost of raising the school age, Mr Tawney in 1927 estimated it, on the supposition that one adult would be employed in place of two children, at 9,000,000l. a year. Only the other day a prominent educationist declared 'that the saving in out-of-work dole would be equivalent to the cost to the nation, about 10,000,000l., of the raising of the school age.' All calculations as to the number of adults who might be employed in consequence of the non-employment of children

between the ages of fourteen and fifteen are obviously very precarious. Some of them do not take account of the difference between urban and rural areas or between boys and girls. In any case, for the *immediate* treatment of the unemployment problem the effect of raising the school age may be disregarded, and there is at present a wholesome tendency to discuss that step from the point of view of the children and on its own merits as a measure of public education rather than as a measure of industrial relief. This was the attitude of the Malcolm Committee, who strongly deprecated making such a change [illegible] for educational reasons, but in fact to meet industrial difficulties. In its early days the present [illegible] a committee set up by Mr J. H. Thomas [illegible] decided that the matter should be dealt with on educational grounds. Indeed Mr Thomas [illegible] warned the Labour Party Conference not to assume that the raising of the school age would mean [illegible] employment for adults. [illegible] the figures put forward are so nebulous that [illegible]. When the Government [illegible] its figures they are not very likely to show that [illegible] argument [illegible] be that though the cost [illegible] worth the money.

The question [illegible] at what future date can the [illegible] able [illegible] the advantages of the extra [illegible] the disadvantages [illegible]. The appointed [illegible] that the schools [illegible] not have [illegible] children between fourteen and fifteen [illegible] the new age group will not [illegible].

The state [illegible] authorities [illegible] harassed [illegible] to carry [illegible] ment [illegible] that what [illegible] area can be [illegible] other areas. A legislator [illegible] tration is less [illegible] importance and the [illegible].

It is generally agreed that the reorganisation of the elementary schools [illegible] and [illegible] the raising of the school age so that children over eleven shall not be taught in the same schools as children under eleven, but shall be collected into schools of their own of an improved type. Can this process of

reorganisation be completed by 1931? Still more, can it be carried so far in the course of 1931 as to provide accommodation, equipment, staff and suitable curriculum for an additional age group of over 400,000 children? And still more, can it be so extended as to provide in advance for 578,000 children in that age group in 1934 and 627,000 in 1935? To compel children of fourteen to fifteen to attend overcrowded, badly staffed and ineffectively organised schools would be a bad inauguration of 'secondary education for all.' It must be remembered, moreover, that the period 1931 [illegible] is a very inconvenient period, because owing to the eccentricities of the birth rate a bulge of senior children is passing up the schools and reaches its peak in 1934 and then declines. If school places are not provided for all the children in the peak year the schools will be badly overcrowded. If they are, many of them will be [illegible]

The work of reorganisation [illegible] steadily but slowly. It [illegible] the junior children into one set of schools and the senior children into another, but [illegible] of the children is a [illegible] a mass movement. [illegible] voluntary schools and [illegible] parts of [illegible] areas [illegible] does not [illegible] schools or [illegible] required [illegible] undertake. [illegible] voluntary schools which [illegible] In [illegible] areas [illegible] clothes [illegible] arrangements made to prevent [illegible] and parochial and parental reluctance [illegible] Parents' strikes are not unknown. Where [illegible] interests are involved the process of [illegible] may lead to a deadlock. In rural areas [illegible] the difficulty and cost of conveying and collecting senior children into fairly large groups is great, and even the Hadow Report recognised that we should for some time have to be content in a good many cases with senior classes in ordinary schools. It is a big job to collect and fit into the classrooms of existing or new schools all the senior children from eleven to fourteen, and it will take the authorities much more than eighteen months from now to do it. Lord Eustace Percy has told us 'that there is not a single large city and hardly a single county where the work of reorganisation can be completed by 1931.' Any talk about the authorities being able to do it if they like or if they are forced is futile, and if they are in

the near future faced with the statutory obligation to provide for all children up to fifteen, some of them at all events may now, not later but sooner with the business of providing properly for the children up to fourteen.

The provision or adaptation of accommodation, even for existing senior children, is straining the resources of the voluntary denominational schools, and a new age group will mean a real crisis in the dual system. Must the voluntary schools fall out of the line of advance and lose these senior children, or can they be helped, on conditions acceptable to them and to Parliament, to keep their place in the line? The Board of Education has announced that expenditure by local education authorities incurred between September 1, [illegible] and August 31, [illegible] on building under 'an approved scheme of reorganisation and development' will rank for grant at the rate of 50 per cent instead of 20 per cent. Lord Eustace Percy was not only prepared to help the managers of [illegible] voluntary schools but [illegible] contemplated a comprehensive [illegible] between the State and [illegible] schools. What kind of plan he had in his mind he has not indicated, but a resettlement of the 'dual system' would be neither small nor uncontroversial [illegible] versial times than those of [illegible]. The present Government [illegible] perhaps find the [illegible] less easy than the late Government, and some of its supporters [illegible] the voluntary schools sink [illegible]. The authorities of the Church of England are [illegible] and the [illegible] bishops [illegible] the New Statesman [illegible]. But in any case, even if a measure were passed by Christmas to help the voluntary schools [illegible] their share of the work they could not get it done [illegible]. If help is given them, the local authorities will not be able in the same period to provide all the accommodation [illegible] on the proposed elementary standard.

But having [illegible] the senior children and housed them in suitable accommodation, [illegible] organised so as to 'attract [illegible]' [illegible] a new age group can be satisfactorily introduced. The new senior school has to [illegible] children over a certain age, whether backward or non-backward, precocious or retarded, [illegible]. The curriculum must be differentiated for different groups of children. The Hadow Report recognised that 'abundant practical work' must be provided 'both because the pupils in these schools are likely in the nature of things to be predominantly of a practical rather than of a literary bent, and because the work in the last years of the course s[illegible]

intended to lead naturally to the entry of the pupils into the world of business and industry.' But the development of effective 'practical' instruction is far more difficult, especially in rural areas, than the development of 'literary' instruction, and cannot be rapid. Accommodation and equipment are expensive, and the problem of recruiting and training good 'instructors,' whether by converting craftsmen into teachers or inoculating teachers with craftsmanship, is already vexatious. More practical instruction is being given, but it is not and cannot for some time be anything like up to the standard adequate for pupils up to the age of fifteen.

An effective differentiation of curriculum and teaching, as between literary and practical [illegible] to be accomplished in eighteen months from now. [illegible] progress will be made in organising lines of [illegible] for the quick and slow pupils of the same age in parallel or alternative classes, and probably the chief [illegible] will be on this basis. It is relatively easy [illegible] pupil for another year and give him or her something [illegible] keep him interested and moving. But a large proportion of the [illegible] children will, owing to nature [illegible] be slow, and to keep them at school [illegible] keeping them interested and moving has [illegible] ready to be applied by a sufficient [illegible] only [illegible] [illegible] on the part of teachers and [illegible] that the necessary organisation [illegible] take some time to work out [illegible]

And in the end we come back to the teachers. What chance is there of increasing the [illegible] to take on an additional age group in the [illegible] It is not possible to estimate at all precisely the number of [illegible] required, but it has been put as high as [illegible] to 25,000 in 1935, and they certainly ought to be trained certificated teachers, and half of them ought to be men. But in [illegible] the wastage of certificated teachers was [illegible] while the total number of students who completed courses of training of all kinds, whether in universities or ordinary training colleges, was only 7,941, of whom only 2,31[illegible] were men, and a good many of these would not enter service in elementary schools. And it takes two years to train a teacher, and it also takes good teachers to train him. We have still to get rid of 18,000 large classes with more than fifty pupils. There is obviously not the least chance of getting new trained teachers, and particularly men teachers, in time for a full additional age group in April 1931. According to their latest circular, the Board of Education do not think that

there should be any difficulty in obtaining a supply of suitable teachers which . . . cannot be overcome.' They suggest the temporary retention or recall of married women teachers and the retention of teachers who would ordinarily retire on superannuation. But the older boys will want men teachers, and in 1927–8 there were only 643 certificated men teachers who were superannuated for age, and even if all of them were 'suitable' they would not go far to fill the gap. The suitability of married women teachers to teach boys up to the age of fifteen is not obvious, and presumably they would be used to set free for this business some of the existing men teachers, who form only one-fourth of the whole corps. There is bound to be a large aggregate deficiency of suitable teachers, and this means [illegible] extensive [illegible] unsuitable teachers or large classes or both. The *Teachers' World* in August regarded [illegible] tion as inevitable [illegible] limit. The [illegible] has been suggested [illegible] larger classes [illegible] a diluted corps [illegible] to parents [illegible] Statesman that [illegible] or makeshift [illegible]

It is [illegible] actually [illegible] not them [illegible] are [illegible] there is [illegible] children [illegible] and [illegible] nor the teachers [illegible] The [illegible] may [illegible] some [illegible] in [illegible] offer them [illegible] Statesman [illegible] well [illegible]

If [illegible] elastic legislation [illegible] children [illegible] the [illegible] fifteen [illegible] areas [illegible] educational [illegible] the Government [illegible] legislate [illegible] adversary might [illegible] the Government [illegible] without having [illegible] open to the suspicion [illegible] have to find the money [illegible] the unpopularity of [illegible] or the embarrassment of finding its plan impracticable on the

appointed day. I am sure Sir Charles Trevelyan has no such underthought, and that he will not call a tune which is quite likely to be unpopular unless he honestly thinks it can be played and is prepared to pay the piper.

I have discussed this matter perhaps too elaborately on the supposition that 1931 will be the real date of the change, and perhaps I am flogging a dead horse. That date is quite impracticable, and to force it on the parents and children would be absurd and cruel. But the hard facts are valid against even a considerably later date. Lord [illegible] Percy's policy was to follow "a careful plan which would [illegible] to act as it thought fit after 1932." [illegible] to the eager enthusiast or politician [illegible] a Fabian policy. But in refusing to name the day he was quite right. I would certainly not name one myself [illegible]. My own experience and [illegible] this country convinces me that [illegible] to work out the Hadow Report [illegible]. And an extra year's compulsory schooling [illegible] is a very big thing with [illegible] the voluntary schools upon the teaching [illegible] and central finance and administration. I [illegible] first because it takes things as they are [illegible] does not cry [illegible]

Sir Charles Trevelyan [illegible] our nation at the head of [illegible] age." It [illegible] to realise it, or see it realised [illegible] right in saying that [illegible] all the parties of the country [illegible] never." He declares that [illegible] I want to do it in a half-hearted [illegible] way. [illegible] extra school year must be really [illegible] girls. That is what the nation wants. It does not want the children crammed into [illegible] and kept [illegible]. If he will [illegible] himself or is allowed to act [illegible] well.

[illegible]

THE FUTURE OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

A FEW months have passed since the General Election relegated the Conservative Party to the cool shades of Opposition, and now that the heat engendered by that contest has abated, the time would appear to have come not only to take stock of the party's present position but also to discover what are its prospects in the future. Unfortunately there has been a tendency, not altogether unjustified, in certain Conservative circles to regard any such analysis as the equivalent of an attack upon the leadership of Mr Baldwin; and the result has been that much valuable advice has fallen upon deaf ears. At the same time there can be no doubt but that there are very many members of the party who are much exercised in their minds as to its future, although they have not the slightest desire to see any immediate change made in its leadership; and in these circumstances it should be possible to conduct an examination of the strength and weakness of Conservatism at the present time, without thereby incurring the charge of endeavouring to make a scapegoat either of Mr Baldwin or of the Central Office.

The first reflection which must inevitably occur to any one engaged upon such an inquiry is that Conservative stock in the country is even lower than it was last May. Indeed, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that if another General Election were to take place to-morrow the result would in all probability be the return of Labour to power with a clear majority over the other two parties in the House of Commons. It is true that Mr Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues, whether at The Hague, Geneva, or in the negotiations with the United States relative to disarmament, have done little beyond follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, but the electorate does not realise the fact, with the result that all the credit has gone to the Government. The Prime Minister has also had a very good Press, and this too has strengthened the popular belief that he has tackled the great problems with which the Conservative Administration did little more than toy. Furthermore, the ostentatious moderation displayed in his programme and in his

choice of a Cabinet has calmed a great many fears, especially among the middle classes, so that until either disillusionment begins, or some fresh issue arises, there is little hope of any reversal of the verdict of last May: certainly the Conservative polls at Preston and Twickenham gave no indication of any turn of the tide.

It is, of course, true that every Administration is popular during its first months in office, but Labour has greater reason for satisfaction than is usually the case, for the support which its principal opponents receive is very largely of a negative character. In these latter days many men and women vote for the candidates of the Conservative Party not because they are particularly enthusiastic over either their persons or their programme, but because they fear for their bank balances in the event of a Labour victory, or because they consider that their social position requires them to do so. A more unsatisfactory state of affairs it would be difficult to imagine, for it means that the average Conservative member is returned to Westminster merely because so many of the electors in his constituency regard him as the lesser of two evils. On the Labour side the situation is very different, and victories are won by enthusiasm as often as by organisation.

A great many Conservatives are [illegible] prepared to admit that the party has lost ground even since the disaster of last May, but they solace themselves with what they consider to be the precedent of 1924. They argue that in that year a similar situation existed, and yet within [illegible] months of its assumption of office the Labour Government had been defeated at the polls. Unfortunately for those who take this view, the analogy is by no means exact, for in the first place the Conservatives were then in a position to overthrow the Government whenever they pleased, provided only that the Liberals did not support it in the lobbies, and in the second the Labour Cabinet committed a series of blunders which were for the most part due to inexperience. The situation to-day is very different, for Labour is the strongest single party in the House of Commons, and there will assuredly not be another 'Zinoviev letter.' In these circumstances the salvation of Conservatism does not lie in waiting for history to repeat itself, but rather in realising the strength of the enemy, and in taking the necessary measures to meet him in the gate. In short, the position can only be retrieved by a frank recognition of facts, however unpalatable.

Labour is undoubtedly more moderate than it was even five years ago, and there can be few, if any, of its leaders who really believe in the Socialist nostrum. Nevertheless, this increasing moderation makes it a much more dangerous opponent, for it

puts an end to the Communist bogey that stampeded the electorate into the Conservative camp in 1924. Jacobitism, Jacobinism, and Bolshevism have proved very useful sticks in the hands of the supporters of the *status quo* at different times during the past 200 years, but bogeys are likely to prove ineffective against what is coming to be little more than Liberalism writ large. Every indication points to the fact that a return to the old two-party system is imminent, though some years may elapse before it is complete, for the Liberals have first of all to disappear, and Labour has probably to shed some of its extremists to the Communists. In short, Labour is abandoning Socialism, at any rate in practice, and is gradually, with the help of its Liberal converts, becoming consolidated as a party of the Left Centre—to borrow a term from the Continent—such as Mr Gladstone and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman led in the past. Such a party will be heir to the old Liberal tradition, and must obviously be fought on the merits of its programme rather than on any alleged menace it may constitute to the safety of the Empire.

For the Liberal Party, on the other hand, it is impossible to see a future, however much its continued existence may be desirable from a national point of view. At the last General Election there was an expenditure on its behalf of money and effort probably unparalleled in British political history, but the results that were achieved were negligible. Nor is this all, for a great many electors recorded their votes for Liberal candidates last May who will never do so again because, as the Twickenham election proved, they are now convinced that the formation of a Liberal Administration is for ever out of the question. It is true that the Liberal Party has fewer members in the House of Commons than it should have in view of the votes cast in its favour, but these same votes were scattered throughout hundreds of constituencies, and no known scheme of electoral reform will return the candidate who is at the bottom of the poll, which was where so many of Mr Lloyd George's followers found themselves. In effect, the problem that faces the Conservative leaders and the Central Office is not the future of the Liberal Party, for that is already decided, but which road the 5,000,000 electors who voted for Liberal candidates in May will take when there is another appeal to the country. This is the real bone of contention between Conservatism and Labour, and it is not too much to say that Mr Ramsay MacDonald is governing Great Britain with an eye to securing the old Liberal vote at the next General Election.

Such, then, are the main items on what may be termed the debit side of the Conservative account. It has, for one reason

or another, lost ground even since May, and many of its supporters are such through fear rather than through enthusiasm, while the calculated and ostentatious moderation of its principal opponents is depriving it of any chance of obtaining the lion's share of the Liberal inheritance. It now remains, before turning from the present to the future, to consider the reserves of strength upon which the party can draw in its hour of need.

The first, and by no means the least reassuring, factor is the reflection that on three previous occasions—in 1714, in 1832, and in 1906—the party has been in a far worse plight than it is to-day, and yet each time it rose like a phœnix from its ashes. Bolingbroke's cowardice in the day of crisis, the incompetence of Canning's immediate successors, and the internal dissensions which brought the Balfour Administration down are at once warnings and an inspiration. They are warnings in that they show the dangers to be apprehended from timid or unworthy leadership, but they are an inspiration in that the subsequent renaissance of Toryism on each occasion proves that it is in tune with some deeply rooted instinct of the British people. This instinct is that belief in the virtues of compromise which the country acquired as a result of the civil wars of the seventeenth century, and to which Conservatism, in its best days, never fails to give expression. When, however, the party allows, as in 1832, its more reactionary elements to take control, or, as in 1714, its leader proves himself incompetent at a crisis, or, as in 1906, its counsels are divided, then it is driven into the wilderness for a space to reflect upon the causes of its downfall. Which, if any, of these was a contributory factor in the latest disaster is a matter for the historian to decide.

On the more material side Conservatives can derive considerable satisfaction from the fact that the merit of several measures passed by the late Government has not yet been appreciated by the country as a whole, though it must be admitted that the leaders of the party are to some extent to blame for the existence of this state of affairs, in that their achievements were not properly presented to the electorate during the General Election. Yet if Mr Snowden repeals the Safeguarding Duties in his Budget next spring it will not be long before those employed in the affected industries will regret their disappearance, while Mr Chamberlain's Local Government and Derating measures are bound to cause a revulsion of feeling in favour of those who were responsible for bringing them into operation. At the same time, the Conservative Party will not receive any credit, at the polls or elsewhere, for what it did when in office unless it proclaims its accomplishments a good deal more loudly than it has done in the past. Advertisement is a

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necessity to-day, and even the best goods will remain unappreciated and unknown unless they are well advertised.

Above all, the party is rich in talent, though the right use has by no means always been made of it. It is probable that had Mr. Baldwin taken the advice that was tendered to him in many quarters, and remodelled his Cabinet by the introduction of fresh blood on the eve of the poll, the Conservative Party would have held twenty or thirty of the seats which were lost. Indeed, possibly the real tragedy of the last election was that the heaviest casualties were among the younger and more progressive members of the party. Surrey, Kent, and Sussex have once more returned their solid phalanx of reactionaries, but Sir R. Mitchell Banks, Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. H. G. Williams, Mr. Harold Macmillan, and a score of others with whom the future of Conservatism really rests have fallen in the fight. It should be the first task of the Central Office to see that such men are not long out of the House of Commons. The party has plenty of excellent material at its disposal, and this fact is one of the most encouraging aspects of a distinctly gloomy situation.

It would, therefore, be true to say that although the position of Conservatism is serious enough, more serious than many of its supporters appear to realise, it is very far from being hopeless. The foundations are sound, but everything depends upon the superstructure. One thing at any rate is certain, and it is that the policy of 'safety first' must be abandoned, for a more fatal slogan, or one less flattering to a great nation, it would be difficult to devise. The party is in Opposition, and it must show what its principles and programme are, and in what they differ from those of the Government, for only by this means can it hearten its supporters and regain the allegiance of its lost adherents.

No true Conservative policy can be based upon the tactics known as 'dishing the Whigs.' It is, as the experience of the last few years has clearly shown, quite useless to outbid Labour in the matter of promises, for however extravagant they may be they will be surpassed by those of the Socialist leaders, who have a curious knack of forgetting their own pledges while they always remember those of their opponents. Peel attempted to array the Conservative Party in clothes stolen from their adversaries, and the result was disastrous. The Labour remedy for the ills of democracy is more democracy, but that is a doctrine to which no Conservative can subscribe, and in this respect the division between the parties is fundamental.

What, then, it will be asked, is the historical Conservative attitude upon which the policy of the party should be based? Fortunately, the answer is not difficult, and it can be given

in the words of one of the greatest of Tory leaders, George Canning: 'The temper and practice of the British Constitution is to redress practical grievance, but not to run after theoretical perfection.' To interpret the Constitution in this sense is, and always has been, the peculiar mission of the Tory and the Conservative, while their opponents—whether Whig, Liberal, or Labour—have consistently run after theoretical perfection. To-day Canning's words have a special application, for if ever there was a Government that was inspired by theorists it is that over which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald presides, and even in the Conservative Party there are not a few who are inclined at times to forget that politics deals with human beings, and not with abstract ideals. If it is to be true to itself Conservatism must beware of the theorist, particularly of the financial or economic theorist, who would persuade it that salvation lies in the application of this or that formula to the problems of the national life. This is not, however, to say that Conservative policy should be based upon pure opportunism. The charge that it had no other foundation was brought successively against Bolingbroke, Canning and Disraeli, and it must be admitted that the last of the three came very near to justifying the reproach when he wrote: 'What wonderful things are events! The least are of greater importance than the most sublime and comprehensive speculations.' Yet there is a happy mean between theory and opportunism, and it is that mean that the Conservative has always sought to follow. He has his principles—the continuity of national tradition and the maintenance of the balance of the Constitution—but he applies them according to the circumstances of the moment, and not irrespective of the actual state of the country.

We have it on the authority of that doughty Whig fighter Tierney that the duty of an Opposition is 'to oppose everything, to propose nothing, and to turn out the Government,' but in the circumstances of to-day such a line of conduct would not be possible for Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues. It was the lack of any definite policy that was to a large extent responsible for the *débâcle* of last May, and the British elector, unlike the French, always prefers to know the programme as well as the principles of those who solicit his vote. The two, of course, must not be divorced, and the former should be based upon the latter; but the formulation of a policy in which the tenets of Conservatism are applied to the needs of the day is an essential preliminary to the return of the party to power.

The restoration of the balance of the Constitution is long overdue, and possibly the gravest mistake of the late Government was its failure to restore it. A half-baked scheme to reform the

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House of Lords was, it is true, put forward, but it was abandon as soon as the inevitable opposition began to manifest itself, an thereafter the Cabinet, in spite of its overwhelming majority resolutely refused even to consider the most crying of nation scandals. It may be that the Right Wing of the party still look forward to the day when the Parliament Act will be repealed, bu the leaders certainly give the impression that their one desire is t leave the matter alone. The truth, of course, is that the House o Lords as at present constituted is an anachronism, and no bod whose position is so insecure can really play an important part i the national life Nor is any useful purpose likely to be serve merely by reducing the number of hereditary peers, as is ofte suggested, for that would be merely to admit that the principle o hereditary legislators was unsound, and at the same time to sho a reluctance to go to the root of the matter The ideal Secon Chamber would be a Senate, recruited like the Roman, but as th House of Commons would never consent to the establishment of body which would completely dwarf it in the public eye, t recommend its advocacy as part of the Conservative programm would be a counsel of perfection rather than a practical politica proposition.

The necessity of reform, however does afford an opportunit of redressing the balance, not only between the estates of th realm, but between economics and politics, by constituting a new Second Chamber with a definitely economic basis In such a assembly there would sit, not hereditary peers or members chosen from some arbitrarily selected geographical area, but the repre sentatives of occupational groups, who would be in a position t speak with authority on economic questions The weakness o the parliamentary system in these post-war days is that its bas is political, and politics now mean so much less than economics The House of Commons, for instance, is continually being calle upon to sanction some industrial or financial *fait accompli* of whos merits it knows little or nothing , whereas if there were a Second Chamber fully qualified to express an opinion there would be les less chance than there is at present of the interests of the natio as a whole suffering, while the prestige of Parliament would be considerably enhanced, especially if ministers were permitted, as is the rule in many countries, to speak in either House.

There will doubtless be some Conservatives who will maintain that such a reform is revolutionary in its character, and as such should find no place in the party programme. Yet it would undoubtedly tend to restore the balance of the Constitution, and it can be defended on the ground that it is based upon the prin ciple of the continuity of national tradition. In the Middle Ages every interest in the country was represented in Parliament. The

lower clergy, it is true, soon preferred to sit in Convocation by themselves, and this proved to be the first step in the direction of representation by geography rather than by corporations; but that the latter was the original basis of the system is abundantly clear. In the reign of Edward I. there were three occupations, and three only, of any importance in the country—that of the agriculturist, of the trader, and of the priest, and they were all represented in the Model Parliament. The landed interest spoke through the mouths of the lay peers and of the knights of the shire, and how strong it was can be seen when Charles I. attempted to impose direct taxation; trade and industry were represented by the borough members; while the bishops, mitred abbots, and the nominees of the low clergy stood for the Church and its interests. If it be objected that the constituencies were divided into rural and urban areas, the answer is that the division in those days was economic as well as geographical, for the primitive means of transport and the insecurity of travel that existed in the Middle Ages did not permit of the London merchant living, as is so often the case to-day, in some rural district of Hertfordshire or Sussex fifty miles from his counting-house. In fine, the establishment of a Second Chamber with an economic or occupational basis would thus imply a return to, rather than a break with, past tradition.

An equally great opportunity awaits the Conservative Party in respect of social matters. There can, unfortunately, be little doubt but that Lord Brentford's conduct at the Home Office during Mr. Baldwin's Administration gave the erroneous impression that modern Conservatism cares as little as its opponents for the liberty of the individual. In reality nothing could be further from the truth, but it must be confessed that the ordinary citizen is not without excuse for any doubts that he may have in the matter. The petty restrictions which are found so galling are too often defended upon the ground that in no other way can the shop assistant be protected from exploitation, while a little reflection should show that it is possible to safeguard the interests of the employee without subjecting the general public to inconvenience. Let the hours of work of shop assistants be fixed by law, but if the shopkeeper wishes to have his premises open all night no obstacle should be placed in his way, for under such a scheme the later the shops were open the more employment they would give. To say that Parliament is upon the prongs of a Morton's fork, with the 'sweating' of the shop assistant and the inconvenience of the general public as the only alternatives, is absurd. Moreover, there are countless thousands of electors, both men and women, who will assuredly vote for the party that promises to restore to them that individual liberty of which Eng-

Nations have boasted for centuries, and that party can, in the nature of things, only be the Conservative.

It was Mr. Baldwin who, in spite of the opposition of many of his supporters, remedied, to his lasting honour, a very real grievance by establishing political equality between the sexes, and the next step must be, whatever the report of Royal Commission, to secure equal opportunity in the Civil Service and in industry. All sex barriers must be removed, not in the hope of thereby attaining theoretical perfection, but because they press hardly upon a large section of the population, and also prevent promotion upon the score of efficiency alone, which is the only basis upon which either the State or the private employer can afford to work. The woman worker can no longer be treated by the legislator as a thing apart: she must be absorbed, both for her own good and that of the community as a whole, and the absorption can only be upon the basis of complete equality, both political and economic. Labour, drawing its strength from the trade unions, will never in practice place the female worker upon the same level as the male, so that here, too, it is from the Conservative Party alone that the necessary legislation must emanate.

It is not, however, only in domestic affairs, whether political or social, that the Conservative position requires restatement, for there is also the wide field of foreign policy, in which Labour is attempting to secure triumphs which are, it may be remarked, likely to prove more spectacular than lasting. Probably no Foreign Secretary of modern times has been more widely or more unjustly abused than Sir Austen Chamberlain, and that by the very men who, the moment they have taken office, have proceeded to follow his policy even down to its smallest details. At the same time the fact must be faced that, in spite of innumerable pacts and treaties, the peace of the world rests upon the status quo, and that successive British Governments—Coalition, Conservative, and Labour—have given their support to its stabilisation upon this extremely insecure basis. Yet it is as clear to-day as it was to Canning over a century ago that the settlement reached at the conclusion of a great war cannot be permanent, and the history of the nineteenth century shows that any attempt to make it so must lead to a fresh outbreak of hostilities. Even now there is no alternative to the sword if a territorial readjustment is to be effected. The Conservative Party believes in peace just as much as its opponents, but it is folly to cry peace when there is no peace; and the danger of war will continue so long as there is, in practice, no other way of securing a modification of the existing order. Mr. Henderson has found the signing of conventions and surrender to Moscow more pleasant than the facing of this fact,

and his ambitions provide Conservatives with a great opportunity.

Lastly, there is the great problem of the future of the Empire, a subject which has for many years exercised the minds of the keenest thinkers in the Conservative ranks. On its political side the question of status gives rise to no serious conflict of opinion. The Dominions enjoy an autonomy which only stops short of complete independence, and although in due course other portions of the Empire will doubtless be granted self-government, there is no reason to suppose that such developments will be the cause of any acute controversy. In respect of trade and settlement, however, the case is very different, and the conflict of opinion is already considerable. Lord Beaverbrook has recently begun a campaign in favour of Imperial Free Trade, and signs are not wanting that at any rate a section of the Conservative Party is in sympathy with his aims. The scheme is undoubtedly attractive, though it has serious obstacles to surmount, and if its author is prepared to advocate his proposals, not only in the columns of the newspapers that he controls, but from his place in the House of Lords, and from the public platform in the big centres of population, he will almost certainly gain a great deal of support even outside the ranks of orthodox Conservatism. Lord Beaverbrook must also produce evidence that opinion in the Dominions is in his favour, for it is clear that their nascent industries will be adversely affected. At the same time it cannot be denied that Lord Beaverbrook's idea is one to fire the imagination, while even his bitterest opponents must admit that the views of its author are always worthy of the most careful consideration.

The mixed reception which has been accorded to the proposals for Imperial Free Trade clearly proves that the Conservative Party is at sixes and sevens on the whole subject, and in these circumstances Mr. Baldwin's obvious course is to appoint a committee, with some such chairman as Mr. John Buchan, M.P., to report upon the whole question of Imperial trade and settlement with a view to the formulation of a definite Conservative policy on the subject. It is little short of a confession of failure on the part of successive Administrations that there should be over 1,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain at a time when other habitable parts of the Empire are so under-populated that their effective development is practically at a standstill. There can also be no doubt but that the British public is much more alive to its Imperial responsibilities even than it was twenty years ago, and if the Conservative Party will give a lead it will assuredly not lack followers. At present such a lead is impossible, for those who should give it are not themselves united, but Mr. Baldwin has it in his power to initiate the necessary preliminary investigation, and

thereby to render yet another signal service both to his party and to the country. In the meantime it is to be hoped that the Conservative Front Bench in the House of Commons will watch very closely the policy of the Government in the Near and Middle East. Recent events in Palestine have proved the danger to which the carrying into effect of the proposed treaty with Egypt would give rise, and the lesson should be impressed upon the electorate.

It is thus clear that there is still room in the State for a party whose programme shall be based upon the old Conservative and Tory principles, for it would thus present a marked contrast, both in theory and in practice, with Labour. At the present time the stock of the Conservative Party is low because the average elector regards its proposals as little better than the Labour ones diluted, and its stock will continue to decline until its leaders drive home the point that the difference between the two parties is not one of degree, but of kind. The darkest hour proverbially precedes the dawn, and the reverse of last May will not have been in vain if it leads those who are responsible for the destinies of the Conservative Party to a realisation of the fact that salvation lies, not in an attempt to outbid its opponents, but in the preparation of a programme based upon definite principle.

Charles Petrie

BRITISH BEEF AND THE NATIONAL MARK

THE production of beef is one of the most fundamental departments of British agriculture. The annual value of the trade to the home farmer is 31,000,000l.—second only to that of liquid milk, and worth considerably more than our whole output of wheat. The cattle from our pastures in the Midlands and the South-West and from Scotland are famed throughout the world for their excellence, and the huge trade in store cattle with Ireland is one of the chief pillars in the economic structure of the Irish Free State. But in recent years the public have been steadily turning their backs on home-killed cattle and becoming more and more dependent upon imported beef.

A generation ago 70 per cent. of our total supplies were home-produced; to-day the proportion has declined to 50 per cent. As the quality of the chilled beef from South America has improved, the price margin in favour of home-killed has diminished. With the arable acreage of Britain shrinking and the difficulties of placing our exports (which pay for our imports) increasing, this decline in the home beef industry is a serious thing for British agriculture and the nation.

The Report on the Marketing of Cattle and Beef in England and Wales, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture last month (October)—one of the most interesting reports in the whole of their excellent 'Economic Series'—points out some of the factors of success by which the importers have been prospering at the expense of the home trade. They are—(1) low cost of production, (2) successful study of our market requirements, and (3) the more economic system of centralised slaughtering in the chief exporting countries. As regards the first point, it is unlikely that our production costs will ever be as low as on the vast estancias of South America. It is equally certain, however, that British beef can command a better price than imported because of its superior quality and flavour, and because the British housewife has a natural preference for it if she can depend upon a reliable supply of it. Hitherto a reliable supply has not been forthcoming. A minority of farmers and butchers have been largely to blame. No one connected with the meat trade will honestly deny that a

[illegible]
certain amount of "substitution"—i.e., selling of imported beef as British—has been practised by a few less scrupulous butchers. It may be on a very small scale, but it only needs a few instances of disappointment with the article bought for public confidence in it to be lost. With competition so keen, only a little is required to change the consumer's preference from one brand of the same commodity to another. Substitution also sets a low price level that would not be possible under conditions that did not allow it. Similarly a minority of short-sighted producers have been making a habit of marketing bulls and worn-out old cows as British beef. The increase in dairying has encouraged the practice, and the result of this folly has also been further to destroy public confidence and preference for the home-killed article. The general chaos in our agricultural marketing offers no check to this foolish behaviour on the part of butchers and producers, but makes the good and careful trader suffer for the sins of the undisciplined and the unprincipled. Inevitably the result is a lowering of the general standard of production because the good is prevented by the bad from taking its proper place or realising its proper value. Under these conditions the extra care and cost of good production is not worth while.

To deal with the situation the National Mark for British beef was introduced for the London area on October 4. Three grades have been established—"select," "prime," and "good." The first is for the beef of young cattle specially fattened; the second for that of cattle slightly older and therefore giving rather larger joints; the third represents the class into which good home-killed beef naturally falls. This grade includes some first-class young cow beef, and its meat is rather less fat than the meat of the other grades. As with the other commodities to which the National Mark has been applied, the scheme is strictly voluntary. It is also experimental, but if the London venture proves successful it will be extended to Birmingham and eventually made general throughout the country.

The primary object is to re-establish public confidence and preference for home-killed beef. There are very heavy penalties for anyone who attempts to forge the mark, which is simply a State guarantee that the article that bears it is genuine and to be relied upon. Just as the State has guaranteed our measures of quantity, so the mark is an attempt to give a State guarantee of quality. It provides a name by which the consumer can buy a dependable article without looking at it. Foreign competitors in our markets have for long realised the importance of giving such a service to the housewife, and have prospered accordingly. It is the lack of this service for home-grown foodstuffs that has caused the falling off in demand for them. We have failed to

[illegible] by the [illegible] flavour and quality of nearly every [illegible] of food we grow at home with the natural preference for home-grown food, if it is good, of the most discriminating body of consumers in the world. The mark is an attempt to link up these two things.

From the butcher's point of view the mark also comes as a help to good business. A reliable graded article saves him trouble and expense in handling and prevents loss of trade through disappointed customers. In the case of beef it safeguards the honest dealer in home-killed from unfair price cutting by substitution—a short-sighted policy that, in the end, loses more trade than it brings. The biggest advantage of all to the butcher would be if the mark were to re-establish public confidence in the cheaper cuts of British beef. There has been a growing tendency for these to be neglected, chiefly because the cheaper cuts of indifferent British beef are far from being palatable. This means that the butcher is left with a large proportion of unsold meat on his hands, adding greatly to his costs. But the cheaper cuts of home-killed beef of good quality have nothing against them. They are tender, appetising and nourishing, and in Scotland, where they are more easily available to a very discriminating class of consumer, there is a big trade in them. If the British public realise this and come back to the cheaper cuts, there need be no fear that the mark will increase the price of beef to the consumer. It is more likely to lower it.

But it is the British producer for whom one is most concerned. Anything that will help the production of our agriculture and make it more profitable is something of the first importance. On broad lines all the advantages that the National Mark for beef can create for the consumer or the butcher must be advantageous to the farmer also. Demand for his products and lowered costs in distributing them create scope for better prices to the farmer. One need only consider the history of National Mark eggs to realise this. Introduced only last February, the scheme has already brought a general improvement in egg prices for the producers who have come into it. Poultry farming at the moment seems to be one of the most profitable side-lines of agriculture, and the latest returns show an increase of 7 per cent. in the young fowls on British agricultural holdings. The mark has created a better demand for British eggs, which in turn has led to broader and better prices, causing increased production and more employment in the countryside. By raising the standard of the average the mark is enabling a greater proportion of produce to realise good prices. Profitable production, from the general point of view, is not really dependent upon selling few goods at exceptionally high prices; it depends rather upon keeping low-grade,

price-depressing goods off the market entirely and bringing a higher proportion of output up to the levels for which first-class prices are paid.

This is what it is hoped the mark will do for British beef. Its first grade establishes a market for the specialist producer that should make it worth his while to study it. Formerly he had no guarantee that his special quality beef, costly to produce, would receive the recognition due to it. The other two grades aim at eliminating the bad British beef and so regaining the consumer's preference. The two grades make it possible for the good to dissociate itself from the depreciating effects of indiscriminate mixing with the bad. So far as London is concerned, it is interesting to note that the consumer has it in his power to banish bad beef from the market entirely, for slaughtering accommodation in the London area is so limited that if the London public 'went out' for National Mark beef no room would be left in the abattoirs for dealing with anything else.

It is far too early to judge yet how successful the greatest experiment we have made yet in agricultural marketing is likely to be. Certainly the first results have been encouraging. The writer was at Islington the first day British beef was graded, and there is no doubt that the scheme had encouraged producers to send their best stuff. Only two carcases out of eighty-one failed to reach the 'good' grade, and it is significant that both of these would ordinarily have come near enough to the rest to have been bought and sold at approximately the same prices, but, because of certain rather technical defects, would have meant tough eating and disappointed consumers.

A certain amount of opposition to the scheme has been forthcoming from sections of the trade, largely on the ground of the difficulty of applying the Government grading system to private slaughter-houses. Obviously graders cannot be appointed to every abattoir that exists. But the time is ripe for the abattoirs of the country to be reorganised on a far more centralised system. On this point the Ministry's Cattle Marketing Report has some very pertinent things to say. It points out that many public abattoirs are really nothing more than collections of private slaughter-houses which the butchers rent. Instead of being meat factories, they are often no better equipped than small private slaughter-houses. The essential of successful factory management is regular supply and continuous work, yet these privately rented public abattoirs are sometimes idle for days, sometimes so overcrowded with work that the carcases are not given time for hanging, and the cattle are not given sufficient time for resting before slaughter in the lairages. Both absence of rest and too short hanging are injurious to meat. This is why

imported meat, in spite of the natural disadvantages it must suffer, is often in better condition than the home-killed. We can no longer afford to give points away to imported meat in this manner. There are many butchers who slaughter and dress their meat with the greatest skill, but others handle it inefficiently, turning out an indifferent product with waste of the by-products as well.

In a word, (says the Report [1]) it cannot be seriously maintained that our meat supplies, taken as a whole, are handled as efficiently as are the meat supplies of our overseas competitors, with their up-to-date plants where nothing is wasted and from which all supplies reach the consumer in the best possible condition.

Our inefficient system seems to have arisen through viewing things from the wrong angle. Public health was the chief motive for erecting public abattoirs, and so every inducement was given to the butchers to support the movement. Among the inducements was the willingness of local authorities to make the public abattoir as much a butcher's private abattoir as possible. Hence this collection of privately rented abattoirs masquerading as centralised institutions. The height of absurdity was reached in the recorded case of a small butcher who solemnly rented his place in a public abattoir and killed one pig a week.

Had the factory principle been adopted instead, the public health would have been as well or better safeguarded, the abattoirs would have been turning out better meat, and costs would have been lower through more efficient handling of the by-products and through regular supplies keeping the factory in regular work. No factory can afford to be idle on some days and be paying overtime rates because of the congestion on others. Yet this is what the public abattoirs in many British towns are trying to do, and it is little to be wondered at that the *frigorificos* of South America are underselling them. Gradually we are realising it, and in a few places public abattoirs are being erected on more business-like principles. If the difficulty of marking beef in the old type abattoirs hastens this movement it will be one more triumph in the series of successes the mark has achieved for efficient production.

But how will the farmer stand if the National Mark for beef really fulfils its first promise of improving demand and prices? What safeguard has he that the middleman will not reap the whole reward? Surely he must have some control in the matter of distribution, or all his attempts at better breeding and more disciplined marketing will only put money into another pocket than his.

[1] Op. cit., p. 90.

So far as fat cattle are concerned, it seems absurd that they should be sold by the farmer and then pass through so many hands before reaching the wholesale butcher. The essential thing is that they should go as direct as possible from the farm to the slaughter-house. At present auctioneer's commission, market toll, at least one dealer's commission, and railway freightage at live-stock rates are all added to the cost of the average beast the farmer sells. These charges amount to something like 25s. per beast. There seems to be a strong argument in favour of farmer-owned slaughter-houses to which he might send his beasts direct.

Against this the Report urges several potent objections. Farmer-owned slaughter-houses would create rivalry with the trade, in which, principally through lack of a dependable supply, the farmers might well come off badly. And could agriculture, in its present state of financial stringency, put up the enormous capital required for the erection of these abattoirs throughout the country? Why, in fact, should it bother to do so? Why not make use of the growing readiness of the towns and cities to erect their own abattoirs on up-to-date lines? Could not sufficient control on the producer's behalf be obtained through farmers' co-operative selling agencies in the different areas? These would have no expensive buildings to maintain, no speculative risks, no trade rivalry. They would simply market their members' cattle and see that each member's stock retained its identity and was paid for on the basis of the grader's mark. An additional advantage would be that the agencies could regulate supplies both among their individual members and in concert with other agencies to avoid gluts and shortages in different areas, and it would be within their power, if properly supported by their members, to withhold supplies entirely if ever things came to a crisis and it seemed that the producers were not getting their fair share of profit from their improved methods.

As regards the buying and selling of store stock, it has been suggested that here, too, the individual dealer might be replaced by co-operative selling agencies in the breeding areas working with co-operative buying agencies in the fattening areas. The project seems far less attractive than the suggested agencies for fat cattle. To begin with, some grade system would have to be agreed upon among the various agencies, and this would not be nearly such an easy matter with immature living animals as with dressed carcases. Also the dealer in stores usually has a close personal relationship with the farmer for whom he buys. He knows each customer's special taste in the way of cattle, and his success depends upon his studying it; because there is considerable competition among dealers in stores he neither charges too highly for his necessary services nor insists too rigidly upon a

bargain if the farmer is dissatisfied when he sees the cattle he has commissioned the dealer to obtain for him. Relations between store dealer and farmer are usually good, and the dealer realises the value of gaining the farmer's confidence by giving good service. It is doubtful if an agency would provide quite the same thing. Moreover, it would be natural if the farmer looked for a kind of mechanical accuracy on the part of an agency that he would not quite expect of a human being, subject to the fallibility of mortals, and so the agencies might find themselves neither enviable nor any too well supported; they in turn might prove in practice not to have the 'nose' of the born dealer for marking down the existence of stores in out-of-the-way places and knowing just where to place them with a customer at the other end of England. Dealings between buying and selling agencies could not have the same personal relationship that causes the farmer to appreciate the value of a dealer in stores who understands his tastes. A further difficulty in such a scheme—but one which would be well abolished—is the intricate system of credit between the dealer and the farmer, the small farmer particularly. This, again, is a personal matter. The dealer who knows his man will give him more credit than the bank would give, and in present circumstances it is difficult to see how the buying and selling agencies could be run without their becoming co-operative credit societies as well. And a co-operative credit society is the one thing which no farmer in England will look at.

Sufficient has been said to show how the National Mark Beef scheme and the Beef Marketing Report, both issued by the Ministry of Agriculture last month, unite in suggesting practical means for winning back the home market that has been slowly slipping away from us. They show how the unquestionable preference of the British consumer for British beef might be made effective, and how the process of getting beef from the farm to the kitchen might be cheapened and made more efficient. While the palate, the purse, and the health of the consumer have been considered, and hints given as to how the butcher might do better business and be saved labour and expense, the important claims of the producer have not been forgotten. Many practical suggestions are made as to how he, too, may share in the prosperity that seems to follow in the wake of the National Mark wherever it is applied.

L. F. EASTERBROOK.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

So generally are the words 'farming crisis' used to describe the situation here that I may be forgiven if I point out that the word 'crisis' is not entirely applicable. The employment of the word suggests that the decisive moment or turning-point has been reached, and the general ignorance of the public on agricultural matters leads many to imagine that the British farmer is in need merely of such assistance as will enable him to withstand a critical period of temporary duration. I suggest that it is not so. If a time of crisis can be allocated, it may be said to have occurred during the war, when long-treasured custom was replaced by Government control. It would be better if it were understood that farming has constantly suffered from 'bad times,' and that the war brought about serious changes in rural England from which the present situation is merely a further difficult and complex development of a state of affairs long endured.

The urgency cannot be overestimated, and the nation generally would welcome assistance or relief (as long as such relief did not increase the cost of living) likely to give the farming industry sufficient time to organise and take such measures necessary to ensure better times. But it is extremely difficult to see in what form this temporary relief can come, and it is questionable whether farmers as a class would at the present time make any real attempt to put the agricultural industry on a sounder commercial basis, and would not be more likely to view the 'new idea' suggested to them with suspicion and alarm, preferring to continue with difficulty to risking something which they do not understand. It would have been easier ten and eleven years ago, for during the war and in that brief period previous to the collapse of agricultural prosperity the farmer undoubtedly had the opportunity to bring about an agricultural economic revolution desirable both in the interests of the farmer and the nation as a permanent benefit to the rural industry and to aid national recovery by reducing the cost of living.

He had the money then, and the time was ripe for changes. But the opportunity was not considered. In his own line of business the farmer continued unconcerned, believing, as he said,

that no Government ever would allow British farming to return to pre-war evil days, because the country had learnt by painful experience the danger of relying so entirely on overseas supplies. On this he was self-deluded. *Protection* and the control of foreign imports to prevent the slumping of the markets when prices were remunerative seemed to be the way of keeping the agricultural industry in a condition of continued prosperity.

On the cessation of hostilities the inevitable happened. National anxiety centred on reducing the cost of food, so that manufacturers—once again to face world competition—might do so at competitive prices. The Government attempted some sort of protective method and gave it up.

Unfortunately it is true, but by no means surprising, that farmers all over the country are heavily involved in debt, and are only able to continue in occupation because of the leniency of their creditors. At one time creditors enforced their claims and farmers in great numbers were ruined. Creditors found that it was not to their advantage. The reduction in the number of registered insolvencies therefore does not necessarily imply, as has been stated, that things are better in rural England.

Fully to understand the situation as it is to-day certain details of pre-war farming must not be overlooked, for they were the anchors on which the industry relied. In pre-war days rural England was not by any means prosperous, for farming profits were uncertain and scanty and by the nature of things much time was spent and money invested in production without benefit accruing. The many years of agricultural financial difficulty had taught the yeoman farmer that it was decidedly inadvisable (unless he had a leaning to make the acquaintance of the Bankruptcy Court) to undertake improvements, except in unusual circumstances. Improving his soil meant the locking up of capital not easily recoverable, if it was recoverable at all. Nor was it advisable to spend a penny more on the farm than was actually required to bring a crop to harvest and the harvest to the merchants. The farmer therefore curtailed expenditure in every possible direction. He sank any desire he might possess to farm his holding on model lines, and remained satisfied and secure, treating the soil fairly, feeding to stock the hay grown on his meadows, and using the roots from the fields and straw for stock, the manure subsequently going back on to the land. If the land was impoverished and gave no straw, it received very little manure. This was the safest way to farm. We are told that the land was by no means producing maximum yields, and that is so. Small or large crops obtained at little expense were the safe roads in farming.

On the other hand, money was to be made by the decidedly

exhaustive system of out-farming. This consisted of living on the soil in a parasitic manner, depleting the soil, merely taking what it could give. It was practised here and there, but by no means generally, for it was looked upon with displeasure. It was not a 'white man's' business by any means. It meant relinquishing the holding as soon as the land plainly told the tenant that it could do no more. Such land, once clean and wholesome, became derelict, and such farms were difficult to re-let and were taken by farmers who lived from hand to mouth, often without paying rent for a number of years. Landlords were anxious to avoid out-farming tenants. Leases were framed to prevent such procedure, and farms on which it could be practised were not easily secured.

The very great majority of British yeomen, good and fair farmers as they were, relied on keeping the soil, as far as the economic system allowed, in good heart, if possible to improve it so as to grow the heaviest yields. A good farm was a good friend. Farming families remained in occupation for oft times a matter of generations. Sons took over from their fathers and in turn handed over their farms to their sons. Yet few even of such long-established farmers were able to make sufficient annually to do more than pay their way comfortably, and as for the majority, it might truly be said of the British farmer before the war that he was seldom out of debt until after his decease, when the realisation of his assets cleared his liabilities.

Farming, therefore, was by no means a gainful business but a most agreeable and attractive life, in which so uncertain and mediocre were the profits that, had it not been for unique advantages, the farmer would not have been able to continue at all. When considering what has occurred since the war, this must be fully taken into consideration. Farming could only continue because of certain advantages which rural conditions allowed the farmer.

He was able, as we all know, to get the farm work done, the soil cultivated, the seed sown, the land kept clean, and the crop harvested, at little cost. The labour he employed was, as a whole, highly skilled, but it was cheap, so that much work was done, and well done, at a very low outlay. Seldom did men earn 1*l.* a week, and wages varied from 14*s.* to 16*s.* a week paid to the higher grade men, the horsemen and cowmen, to as little as 10*s.* a week to the labourers. In some areas and counties wages were higher, but always exceedingly low. Moreover, time is most important when dealing with soils, for it is always a matter of getting work done whilst conditions are favourably inclined. Never can an hour be wasted. The hours in pre-war days worked per week by men and horses, when the weather

[illegible], [illegible], and additional hours were given at a cost of a few pence. Even with this most important advantage many farmers would have failed if it had not been that, though farmers sold for cash, long credits were allowed them. It was not unusual for bills for cake, and corn, coal, appliances, and seeds, to remain unpaid for nine months, a year, or even for more than a year.

With such conditions prevailing, the farmer was a man of simple tastes—he spent little money on appearances and pleasures. Astonishing thrift and care in spending money was part and parcel of the daily life. It had the effect that, with little profits and frequent losses, the farmer was yet able to continue. It allowed him to carry on should he suffer a bad season, crop failure, or meet exceptionally low prices for his produce; and this frequently did occur. A sequence of misfortunes would merely force the already careful farmer into a period of stern retrenchment, during which time he could, if needs be, fall back on the soils he had up to then treated fairly. His low wage bill might be further reduced by this temporary lowering of his standard of farming. The bank would help him to a point; on the bank he might have to rely to pay his labour. The landlord would assist him by letting the rent wait until a recovery had been made, and not infrequently, if the tenant was respected, assistance, unexpected, unasked for, came from the landlord, in the shape of an advance to assist the tenant to face his difficulties.

So most farmers damaged by ill winds recovered, and failures in farming were by no means as numerous as the low profits and heavy losses would have suggested. Those failures which occurred were more often than not on the light lands, when after two or more dry seasons, entire crops on each occasion coming to nought, the liabilities piled up so much that their weight had become too much to bear. Such conditions also prevailed on the very heavy lands which were not drained after a series of very wet years. But as a general rule the poor, capital-less farmers, making very little, sometimes men hardly able to write their names, continued farming through bad times unshakingly.

New, up-to-date farmers—or 'gents,' as farm workers termed them, well-educated young men, hard-working, honest, anxious—began in increasing numbers to enter farming in the latter pre-war days, and were by no means an unqualified success. It was perfectly understood that they must come to grief unless well supported by other means than the soil they tilled, for, more often than not, they put into practice the very excellent principles of good farming acquired at college, or recommended by the Press or Government departments. At the end of the

[illegible] The industry had entered a new [illegible]. It was termed, as was a new but now defunct journal, 'Modern Farming.' A sort of blind fanaticism prevailed. Everything produced on a farm could sell. At farm dispersal sales the oldest wagons, the aged horses, the decrepit cows, made many times the price that the very best had made in pre-war days. Balance sheets with old wagons at 100l. each and cows at 50l. and 60l. a head gave an appearance of substance. Farmers who relinquished farming at the time obtained these prices. Those who remained in farming were to see their fortunes dissipated by the hand of fate, and those who entered farming at that time of high values were to suffer heavy losses from which they would never be able to recover. But few saw the clouds yet to loom over the prosperity of rural England. *Modern farming*, a spending-money farming, had arrived.

To us who experienced the old-world atmosphere of pre-war England's countryside it will always be a vista of delight, and the passing much to be regretted. Poor as rural England was, old-fashioned, yet it was contented, and the subterfuges of civilisation were yet strangers. From so simple a life both farmer and labourer had escaped during the period of hostilities. The quiet, plodding rural England of slow-moving appliances and slow-thinking, healthy people—a business of farming on low expenditure and long credit—was suddenly pushed aside.

It was all so new, so unexpected. The cheerfulness of farmer and family experiencing with untold delight and pleasure their first ride in their own car; farm labourers bedecked in fashionable clothing (too self-conscious to raise their eyes) walking down the village street; the only too evident distrust on the faces of old dames who for the first time allowed the laundry van to carry away their linen; the passage down the deeply-rutted, close-hedged lanes of bakers' Ford vans and butchers' carts making their now frequent calls!

The war ended and prices dropped. The changed circumstances had cast aside the anchors that had made, in pre-war times, a profitless farming secure; the war ended brought back those very conditions that had made the anchors essential. In many other businesses owners faced the situation, losing part of the value of the goods in stock, and produced or bought at lower prices to be enabled to sell at a profit on the lower prices ruling. But not so in agriculture.* The farmer was unable to reduce his costs sufficiently. He was no longer able to find salvation in long-protracted credits. Rigid economy, the simple, thrifty life so necessary in the countryside, had passed by.

The farmers on the poorer soils were the first to suffer. The

land could no longer be fairly farmed, and sooner or later it was left to the weeds to take up their occupation undisturbed. For a time the better lands continued less affected, but gradually the high costs of farming and of living made it necessary for the farmer on those lands to curtail labour, and in some cases to rely on out-farming, so as to be able to live at all. And as times grew worse, and losses followed losses, using up the surplus money which the farmer had amassed during the war. His debts increased, great areas of the more valuable national soil were allowed to return to weeds and lose their condition, falling back—slowly or rapidly, depending on the area and the farmer—to a condition past economic salvation. To-day it is said with truth that never in the experience of living men were soils so dirty and so poor. Each day the appalling catastrophe continues. Farming does not pay!

The cause of the bad times in rural England before the war is the same cause to-day. It has not altered, only it can no longer be faced with such equanimity. The farmer is in trouble because he habitually sells his produce at a price which is too low, and not infrequently the result of his year's work is sold well below cost price. No business can sell goods below cost of production and continue to do so indefinitely! No outside help can successfully, permanently, assist a business run on such lines as these. It is not due to any lack of costing or ignorance on the farmer's part, as some would tell us, but entirely because the farmer is forced to sell what he produces, and forced to accept the prices (however low they may be) that are offered him.

The prices paid to him on the farm must necessarily be low, for they must allow for the accumulation of overhead charges, expenses of handling and transport, and the profits of the various middlemen who handle or deal in the goods on their way from the farm to the consumer. The price of food, of beef (indifferent in quality as it is), of mutton, of veal, of vegetables and fruit, remains high, yet on the farm these things are very cheap. Recent exposures in the Press make examples superfluous. It is, as I pointed out in my book *Farming*: 'The cheapness of agricultural produce on the one hand and the dearness of food on the other is the heaven in which middlemen thrive.' It is also the ruin to-day of British agriculture.

There is no escape but one. Subsidies, protective methods, can only act as temporary measures, and even their success as such will be jeopardised by the unbusiness-like situation in which the farmer is placed.

It may be said that farming was lacking in profits before the war because the home markets were increasingly supplied from

overseas by carefully graded produce attractively packed and labelled. This certainly had its effects, but mainly, as far as we can judge, on crops which were of the nature of side-lines. The accuracy of the grading and the selling devices adopted by the organisations sending the produce to our country had resulted in traders here readily adopting these goods and the public demanding them. British goods having no such advantages found the market where cheaper supplies were needed. Thus foreign and colonial apples were sold for dessert and British apples were designated for jam-makers' requirements. But, as I have stated, the British farmer did not to any extent depend on the sale of produce such as apples. He depended then, as he does now, on milk, meat, and corn, none of which can be said to have suffered from indifferent marketing. Cattle at that time were well fattened and in most markets well sold. Milk might have been more cleanlily produced here and there, but that did not affect the farmer, for the buyers in London cleaned the milk before selling it to the public, giving the same price to the farmer whatever its condition. No one can claim that the more expensively produced milk under the various hygienic regulations has become more profitable. The reverse is the case. Nor was corn badly marketed; the appliances used for threshing and dressing were excellent, and even samples of a clean and suitable nature were the general rule. Whilst any move towards further improvement in marketing is likely sooner or later to be of advantage to the farmer, it is difficult indeed to see any financial gain at the moment because of it. For improved marketing means extra costs, and whilst present conditions appertain it must be the consumer who pays more for his food unless the farmer is to be yet more out of pocket.

It is to be hoped, perhaps to be expected, that improved marketing is the first step to the changes necessary to bring prosperity to the countryside. For undoubtedly 'From Farm to Consumer' is the slogan of successful agriculture, not undertaken in the manner of the individual, supplying in small quantities, for in that will rest no salvation. The farmer must supply direct to the public in the cheapest way—through the shops—moving his produce at the low rates used by the organisations which at the moment do this particular work for him. Until the farmer takes over the selling and, like the successful manufacturer, can somewhat control the price of his goods, the farming situation must remain an 'agricultural crisis' constantly becoming more and more serious, with brief intervals of better days.

EDWARD C. ASH.

ANTI-VIVISECTION

A Rejoinder

Two articles, both claiming to be replies to mine which appeared in the August number of *The Nineteenth Century*, give, in September and October, the Case for Experiments on Animals. It will, perhaps, be in the interests of clarity if, before referring to each contributor individually, I select as a beginning the arguments common to both.

Unfortunately, the scientific or historical aspect of the case is complicated by the fact that both Professor Dodds and Mrs. Anderson have introduced claims for the utility of vivisection in regard to specific diseases with which I did not deal in my article. It is obvious that, while a claim can be made in comparatively few words, its refutation must be a somewhat lengthy business. Since we are on debatable ground whenever a particular disease or an alleged remedy is mentioned, I selected for particular examination one sample claim, namely, antitoxin for diphtheria, explaining that lack of space alone prevented me from dealing similarly with others. Mrs. Anderson has taken the trouble to consider my remarks in this connexion, but she adds other claims concerning tetanus, snakebite, hydrophobia, and smallpox. Professor Dodds, however, opens his article with the naïve remark that there are two methods of replying, one of which is distinguished by the curious factor of 'ignoring the specific points raised by the challenger', and this is the method he chooses to adopt. His article, accordingly, does not contain a word about antitoxin for diphtheria; instead, he selects plague and diabetes!

I have thus no fewer than six diseases, with the claims concerning a preventive or cure for each, presented to me for comment, in addition to the one I originally selected as being the most popular of all. To introduce new matter into a debate is a temptation into which the vivisectionist readily falls; it enables him to deal with his new importations into the discussion as the last word upon the subject (Professor Dodds calls his 'conclusive proofs'), after which it is always safe to wind up with the reminder

[illegible] Her,
that the person who has not been [illegible] had no right to an opinion at all.

The first point upon which Professor Dodds and Mrs. Anderson seem to stand on common ground is in regard to the characters of the vivisector and of the anti-vivisector. Mrs. Anderson, like most devotees of 'medical research,' appears to think that zeal for knowledge, patience, and accuracy are extraordinary virtues to be found only in a laboratory; while Professor Dodds declares that the vivisector may actually lay claim to the very last thing to which he has a right, an impartiality quite equal to that of the anti-vivisector! He claims this for himself. He holds a licence and several certificates, including the most objectionable of all, B + EE, which allows dogs and cats to be operated upon and to recover from the anaesthetic. Yet he writes that, if the animal experimenters are supposed to be unable to take a disinterested view of vivisection, 'the reverse is equally true.' This is a strange idea. 'Disinterested' implies 'dissociated'; while the vivisector argues in defence of what he himself is doing, the anti-vivisector (unless he happens to be a paid official, which, in my view, no reputable 'leader' can afford to be) attacks, as an outsider, what he believes to be wrong; no interest is at stake. On the other hand, the cherished beliefs upon which his whole life-work is founded, to say nothing of his professional income, are at stake in the case of the experimenter.

Research workers are apt to pose as a class apart, a race of supermen; and they invariably pretend that they are maligned as devils. They are, in fact, just like other people, and share the common human tendency to become so inured to painful sights and sounds that a certain sensitiveness to suffering, which every doctor, nurse, butcher, hangman, and soldier (with a few exceptions) possesses at the outset, is necessarily blunted in time. Mrs. Anderson's assertion that 'anti-vivisectionists have alleged over and over again that physiologists vivisect from sheer love of cruelty' is a monstrous libel upon representative anti-vivisectionists. Such things have been said, nevertheless; it was Mantegazza, a notoriously cruel vivisector, who wrote:

> It is not to be wondered at that under the cloak of hypocrisy, which is not always very thick, there appears the atavism of cruelty. I have observed with much attention physiologists, surgeons, soldiers in war and other official slaughterers, and I have often observed unconscious contraction of the muscles which expressed the pleasure of killing or of tormenting.[1]

And there is other similar testimony, but not from the anti-vivisectionist side. The development of indifference, as distinguished from the lust of cruelty, has been frequently urged by vivisectors as a necessity in their work.

[1] *Bull. Gén.*, p. [illegible]

Mrs. Anderson further libels reputable anti-vivisectionists by declaring that 'the fact of deep anaesthesia is glossed over or omitted,' and that they 'invent horrors where none exist.' Indeed, she frankly alludes to their propaganda as 'unscrupulous,' and reaches her zenith of misrepresentation in accusing them of 'a morbid taste for cruelty.' According to this, every humane reformer, from Richard Martin downwards, must have revelled in cruelty, just as Howard, no doubt, revelled in the filth of prisons!

Mrs. Anderson accuses me of untruth in her announcement that 'readers who follow Miss Kidd's advice to buy the *American Journal of Physiology* will be disappointed if their object is to read about the atrocities she mentions.' Here is a case in which the refutation requires much more space than the accusation. If she will obtain the journal for March 1927 she can read therein the account of how dogs are filled with water 'to the approximate limit of tolerance as shown by the onset of convulsions,' some dying under the torture and others recovering. In the journal for January 1924 she can read of dogs and cats being blown up and half killed by guns. In the journal for September 1924 she can read how dogs were baked, so that they 'gnawed at the woodwork of the closet in an endeavour to escape,' etc., etc. In the journal of December 1923 she can read of 'parabiotic' rats and chickens—*i.e.*, composite animals, or artificial Siamese twins—joined together all along their sides, as illustrated. (This has also been done with dogs.)

Mrs. Anderson states that anti-vivisectionists are 'emotional,' appealing 'to the heart rather than to the head,' and (somewhat inconsistently) that they 'accept, ignore or simply deplore other animal pain.' If she wants a sample of emotional argument, I recommend her to Professor Dodds' article, in which he begs us to compare the most trifling experiment upon an animal that he can think of with the pitiful story of a good old woman dying after an operation, the latter being an illustration from a popular book, given at full length. The vivisectionist can seldom refrain from 'sob stuff' where human beings are concerned. The utmost is made of that 'mental pain' at the prospect of an operation, which (*vide* Mrs. Anderson) they suffer, and which a dog is spared. Professor Dodds also enlarges upon this comparison. He writes that animals have 'no sense of apprehension.' That is a conclusion that may be reached by anyone so unobservant—in common things—as the laboratory worker; but it is denied by every person of experience who has had frequently to take the same dog to some place where it has suffered, such as a veterinarian's surgery, and has felt the pull on the leash as the house is approached. As to the acceptance or ignoring of pain in the animal kingdom caused

outside the laboratory. It is noteworthy that Richard Mar
whose work all our anti-cruelty laws in this country a
denounced vivisection in the House of Commons. Th
work against the cruelties of the slaughter-house, of spo
fashion, are almost exclusively anti-vivisectionists, wh
more appropriately taunt their opponents with seldom
stirring a finger in the humanitarian cause. Perfect co
in this world is unattainable, but anti-vivisectionists do
very high degree of it; and to suggest that they ought '
kill a wasp or a flea,' or even to use leather (which a tra
the Underground in the rush hours might well find it p
avoid) is ridiculous, since it is not killing to which they ob
killing by slow and tortuous degrees.

Next I must deal with what Professor Dodds calls ou
mental error.' This consists, it appears, in 'linking t
two different reasons for opposing vivisection, namely—
it is morally wrong; (2) that it is useless.' Why anyone s
debarred from holding an opinion for two reasons passes
hension; but to Professor Dodds the mere multiplic
reasons *ipso facto* makes a man 'rabid and illogical'! I
course, quite wrong in declaring that we 'have failed to
essential difference between the two.' He makes this ac
on the ground that, unless it were so, 'there would be t
of member in their union.' There *are* two types. I ha
received letters from members saying, 'If vivisection we
use, I confess that I am ready to agree to it, but my st
vinces me that it is not.' On the other hand, the major
that they do not feel themselves competent to decide t
scientific issues raised, but that they oppose the practice
grounds alone. This very marked distinction between t
of member would not satisfy Professor Dodds, however,
he wants is an anti-vivisectionist who would allow vivis
be practised on the ground of its utility, while reprobat
ethical grounds. Such a person would not be an anti
tionist.

Professor Dodds has no justification in asserting th
vivisectionists, as a body, regard the second reason for th
as arising out of the first. Most of them keep the two q
tinct. But I cannot deny that there is a sense in which
words, 'No cruelty is useful,' may be taken to imply
pendence; it is one which belongs exclusively to the
of religious faith, the word 'useful' being raised out of the
sphere and applied to things spiritual.

Starting with the noble endeavour to avoid our 'fund
error,' Professor Dodds propounds the first question th
lingly—' whether man is justified in causing pain and suf

the lower animals quite irrespective of any ultimate gain that might accrue.' The vivisector's creed being contained within that sentence, I ask for its earnest and critical consideration. Professor Dodds declares that the question thus propounded 'is difficult, even impossible, for any one person to answer,' and that it 'can only be decided by each individual for himself.' The same surely applies to the question of the right or wrong of murder.

Quoting a condition of the Act of 1876 (referred to in my first article, by a regrettable error, as the Act of 1839), Professor Dodds declares that 'Many anti-vivisectionists have implied that surgeons get their hand in by operating on the lower animals.' I wish he would introduce me to them. For my own part, I am never tired of pointing out the obvious lesson that, as surgeons do *not* acquire their skill through vivisection, we have every right to their services.

In view of the pains inflicted by Nature, Professor Dodds thinks that 'a small amount of carefully controlled additional suffering inflicted is of very little moment.' I presume he will equally decide that the burning of Joan of Arc was of very little moment, since many people have perished in burning houses. But the morality of vivisection is not to be settled by a consideration of the least, but of the most painful, experiments so long as the latter are universally accepted as necessary on the *ipse dixit* of the operator, and meet with no denunciation by scientists, but rather a claim to identity of aim and method. This claim is made concerning foreign vivisection, and made by the very man whom Mrs. Anderson quotes as representing the spirit of the laboratory.

Professor A. V. Hill remarked in the speech quoted by her (reported in the *Fight against Disease*, summer, 1929): 'In all lands there are scientific workers; their problems are the same; *their methods are the same*. . . . If there is one thing in the world which should be international, it is the pursuit of knowledge.'

Consider this remark in the light of the American record I have given, and of the more recent horror perpetrated in Russia, favourably reported on in the American Press, and acclaimed as justifiable and valuable in a medical article which appeared in the *Natal Witness* of August 20, 1929. This experiment, performed in 1928, consisted in severing the head of a dog from its body and, by means of a machine providing a constant blood-supply, keeping it alive for four hours, showing (after recovery from the anaesthetic used during the actual operation) every sign of consciousness, including revived expression in the eyes, weeping, efforts to howl, rejection of vinegar or quinine on the tongue, and finally, when the machine was disconnected, 'agony and

[illegible]. This is what the writer in the [illegible] has to say about it:

> While a description of the operation might seem offhand to be gruesome and even quite inhuman, one must remember that most of our modern researches along the lines of medicine and pharmacology have been based upon experiments conducted in the animal kingdom.

Truly, there is nothing which a devotee of research will not condone! Dr. Banting, the discoverer of insulin, whom no British experimenter would dream of denouncing, has recorded such things as 'operating on a dog by mistake,' and pouring boiling water into the pancreatic arteries till a dog fainted from pain! (*American Journal of Physiology*, March 1924.) In view of Mrs. Anderson's doubt of my veracity, I should like to quote his actual words, but space forbids.

It only remains to be said that Dr. Banting confessed, in a lecture reported in the *Toronto Daily Star* (November 20, 1923), to having picked up dogs in the streets in the dead of night. What would their owners have said could they have had a peep into his laboratory?

Professor Dodds, as I have pointed out, took care to select, as an illustration of vivisection, the most trifling experiment upon an animal of which he could think. This was the proceeding employed in testing insulin. Everything was introduced to show the rabbit's comparative good fortune—excellent health, no fear and a copious feed of cabbage! (In the other instance given the rabbit's brain is destroyed so that it cannot feel.)

But this is how the *American Journal of Physiology* for June 1924 described this same standardisation of insulin:

> Young rabbits are started on insulin tests when they weigh about 2 kgm. They are first given sufficient insulin to produce convulsions in order to obtain the 'education' phenomenon and are then used every seven days thereafter. We think it is important that the animals should have convulsions each time they are used. If any fail to do so after a given dose, more insulin is injected to produce this result. *The rabbits are given convulsions every seven days, even though there is no special preparation to be tested.* (My italics.)

Oh, happy rabbits! I shall probably be told that convulsions are not painful, but I should not like to have them forced upon me as a matter of routine once a week.

It is useless to try to conceal the fact that experiments on animals, taken as a whole, are cruel. The atrocities which we are supposed to discover by 'ransacking of old foreign journals for painful details' were those of men exalted to the skies by Professor A. V. Hill and others, in speeches made this year. Even Lord Lister confessed that he would use an anaesthetic for a painful

[illegible] in preference to omitting it, 'if I could attain the object of the experiment as advantageously, but not otherwise.' (Royal Commission of 1876, Q. 4909.)

Let us hope that wanton cruelty never exists in a laboratory; that is not the anti-vivisectionists' complaint. It is *inferential* cruelty which they attack—cruelty which Professor Dodds admits need have no useful object. Professor Hill says that to deny to man the full exercise of his power in searching for knowledge would be 'unpardonable.' He does not seem to recognise that it is already denied, when we refuse to allow the use of human beings, against their will, for experiments.

I must use the remainder of my space in dealing briefly with the utilitarian case as put forward in the two articles, beginning with Mrs. Anderson, since she alone attempted to answer my points. She objects to my having quoted the testimony of eminent surgeons (Swanzy, Morris, and Treves) to the effect that they had (1) introduced new operations without the assistance of vivisection, and (2) been hampered in their work as the result of reliance upon that practice because they also 'asserted their belief in the value of animal experiments.' Has she never considered that this made their testimony all the more valuable? I was dealing with facts, not opinions.

That Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood through vivisection is disputed; it is also irrelevant to the question whether that practice should be allowed now. Mrs. Anderson asserts that drugs 'cannot safely be given to men until their medicinal properties have been partly ascertained.' Homoeopaths, who certainly have a profound knowledge of drugs, whether or not the system founded thereon be sound, make it a practice to test new drugs upon human volunteers. As some drugs poisonous to man are innocuous to animals, human experience here is essential.

As regards her criticism of the facts which I adduced to show that antitoxin is not, as alleged, the conqueror of diphtheria, I make the following rejoinder under each heading:

(1) Even if there were more diphtheria after the introduction of antitoxin, the fact that the death rate from that disease per 1,000,000 of the population increased suggests that the remedy was powerless to prevent *death*. I am aware that the number of persons who received antitoxin cannot be gauged; but if the argument is faulty, it is at least less faulty than the boast. As I have pointed out, a Research Defence pamphlet by Dr. Park states that a consideration of the general mortality from a disease, in order to decide upon the value or otherwise of a remedy, is the 'least open to error' of all methods. Why does

Mrs. Anderson points to a [illegible] in the years
Obviously, these dates are too far removed [illegible]
introduction of antitoxin in 1894 to have any [illegible]

(2) I referred, of course, to the figures of the Metr[illegible] Asylums Board when I wrote that that Board had [illegible] giving us the laryngeal death rate in the year wh[illegible] was an 'ominous rise.' That rise was from [illegible] cent. to 9.0 per cent. The rise may have alar[illegible] Board, who could not know whether or not i[illegible] continue. The Research Defence Society does n[illegible] the rise at all.

(3) The rise in the number of diphtheria deaths in [illegible] pitals, where antitoxin is almost invariably giv[illegible] tainly does 'bear relation to antitoxin treatment[illegible]

(4) Mrs. Anderson gives a table which I will take the li[illegible] reproduce, together with one of my own. The la[illegible] presented to the last Royal Commission on Viv[illegible] If her table has value so has mine, or shall we [illegible] the argument is cancelled?

[illegible]

	Cases.	Deaths.	Deaths per [illegible]
Treated with antitoxin	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Treated without antitoxin	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Toronto Hospital Cases [illegible]

	Cases.	Deaths.	Deaths per [illegible]
Treated with antitoxin	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Treated without antitoxin	[illegible]	[illegible]	

The medical officer of health of Toronto city also p[illegible] the figures for a whole decade, which showed a [illegible] result. The cases were unselected. (Dr. George [illegible] Addendum to Royal Commission's Report, p. 1[illegible]

(5) The fall in the case mortality of the early years [illegible] toxin does not prove its value. I assert, as [illegible] Anderson denies, that it was mainly due to the pr[illegible] 'including mild sore throats to swell the number o[illegible]

Sir George Newman, in his Annual Report for 1920, s[illegible] that these increased notifications included mild cases [illegible] seldom presented any definite clinical evidence of diph[illegible] and persons 'not suffering from illness at all.' And in [illegible] 'for official use' issued in 1922 on the Schick test, the [illegible] Dr. Monckton Copeman, states definitely that the comp[illegible] 'have for some years been rendered very unreliable' [illegible] nosis. Prior to the discovery of the Klebs-Loeffler [illegible] diphtheria was diagnosed by its symptoms.

Dr. Lawson [illegible] remarked, concerning another error (excluding the worst cases from the tabulation), 'when this error is rectified, the improvement due to antitoxin as practised in the Metropolitan Infectious Fever Hospitals for 1895 and 1896 is entirely dissipated.' (Quoted before the Royal Commission, Q. 13,231.)

(6) Medical opinion does change. It is changing now; but after the boycotting of Dr. Charles Creighton, the great epidemiologist, solely because he changed his views on vaccination, and the persecution of other medical men who openly proclaim unorthodox views, it cannot be said to change easily.

It will be realised that I have not space to enter fully into questions concerning six diseases, but since both Mrs. Anderson and Professor Dodds have inferred that sanitation is dependent upon bacteriology, and that safe surgery means Listerian surgery, I must briefly deal with these two points. Professor Dodds devotes nearly two pages (would that I could be so prodigal!) to a description of the insanitary conditions at the time of the Great Plague of London. Those conditions were removed, and it is safe to say that a similar plague could not have existed in London for very many years before the first 'germ' was ever heard of. Florence Nightingale, a determined pioneer in sanitation, laughed the germ theory to scorn. It is not bacteriology that effected the change, which has been progressive, and has, since plague was got rid of, banished even milder diseases. Until the rat-flea theory was propounded nobody ever suggested that London was more afflicted with rats than any other place, although these rodents always abound where they have scavenging work to do. Facts are made to fit a theory. Before the plague bacillus was discovered London was sufficiently cleansed to ensure us against danger; after half a century of bacteriology plague 'still persists in the East, where fifteenth century conditions still prevail' (side by side with flourishing Pasteur Institutes). The moral is plain.

Because I called Lawson Tait 'a pioneer (before Lister) of the aseptic treatment of wounds,' Mrs. Anderson remarks that 'Tait had scarcely obtained his medical qualifications at the time when Lister announced his discovery.' Tait entered Edinburgh University as a student in 1860, and Lister as assistant-surgeon in 1857. Tait studied under Syme, Lister's father-in-law, from whom he learnt the value of cleanliness in wounds. It was not a question of germs. 'At my hands,' he afterwards wrote (*Medical Press and Circular*, April 27, 1898), 'there was no Listerism, no chemical antiseptics, nothing but soap and water and strict

[illegible] to death.' [illegible] surgeon, refused even to boil water. He appears to have believed that germs, usually regarded as dangerous, are really beneficial, in support of which he quotes the classical instance of Dr. George Stoker, who found that an ulcer swarming with streptococci (supposed to be the prime cause of suppuration) healed up, while another ulcer, situated on the other foot of the same patient, from which they had been rigidly excluded, refused to heal. He gives also his own similar experience (*The Modern Doctrine of Bacteriology*, by Dr. G. G. Bantock). There are plenty of dangers in dirt, apart from germs. As to the tetanus germ, Dr. Leonard Hill has declared that 'when washed clean' it is innocuous.

Pasteur Institutes are run on commercial lines, and are steeped in commercial interests. Professor Karl Pearson has declared that: 'Full statistical data for the Pasteur treatment both in Europe and Asia are not available. What data are published permit of no prudent statistical judgment.' [1] Rabies will tend to die out in all countries when dogs are properly treated. The fact that cases are recorded where the bitten person has died of hydrophobia (largely a nervous disease), while the canine culprit remained perfectly well, points to danger in this treatment. Indeed, all inoculations are dangerous, and it is significant that the connexion between vaccination and brain disease has only just been recognised, although it must always have existed. I have addressed some hundreds of women's meetings during the last twenty-five years, and I have never once failed at such meetings to receive volunteered testimony from perfectly respectable women concerning the evils which they have seen in their own homes arising from this practice. This it is that renders comprehensible to me the extraordinary revolt of the public, resulting in the decrease in vaccination in spite of incessant exhortations concerning its value. Moreover, if it be true that smallpox now exists in England, it is certain that unvaccinated children are not dying in accordance with prophecy.

Mrs. Anderson reminds us that men have offered themselves for experiment. All honour to them: they knew what they were doing, and why. They had the comfort of comprehension and a good conscience. She writes, 'the driving out of malaria and yellow fever . . . was nowhere achieved until experiments on animals and men had proved the mode of infection.' The words 'and men' are all-important. Sir William Osler told the Royal Commission (Q. 16,700) that, apart from his opinion that 'these things would not have been attempted save through the experimental spirit,' the discovery was due solely to the human volunteers.

[1] Letter to *The Times*, January 1, 1926.

I conclude with a criticism of one claim admitted by Professor —namely, the treatment of diabetes by insulin. As anti-xin for diphtheria is the most popular, so insulin is the most ent, of the noteworthy claims, and it cannot be cursorily dealt th. He writes that certain experiments on dogs led 'morbid atomists to examine the pancreas of patients who had died m diabetes, and they were able to prove that there was a definite sion in the pancreas.' Granting, for the sake of argument, ofessor Dodds' facts (which are sure to be disputed), one wonders y they had not examined, not only the pancreas, but every gan of the diabetic's body, to see where the lesion might be, thout waiting until some cruel experiments on dogs had been rformed. (Incidentally, Professor Dodds refers to other experi-ents, which were productive of the useful information that abetes produces sugar in the urine, and which were solely the sult of applying the test of personal experience to a supposition.) e adds: 'With regard to the value of insulin there is no doubt atsoever. Whereas in the old days very nearly all cases of abetic coma died, it is possible to-day to save a great number of ese patients.'

The curious thing is that more patients die! Failure to monstrate the value of insulin statistically is admitted. It was troduced in 1922. In that year the deaths from diabetes in the ited States rose from over 14,000 in each of the previous two ars to over 17,000. In England and Wales the death rate per 00,000, which for the previous five years had varied between o (only reached once) and 100, began in 1922 to assume a more rious aspect, being respectively, in the years including and llowing that date, 110, 114, 109, 112, 115, 126 and 131 (the last ure is for 1928). Toronto, the home of insulin, has had a rticularly bad record, statistically, since its introduction. The oral seems to be that, while insulin appears to benefit the tient by reducing the sugar content of the blood (which can also achieved by other methods), the insidious disease is meanwhile ogressing, and probably accelerated. Insulin is certainly not e last word for diabetes, with this serious drawback. Further provement in diet may prove the ultimate solution, for no ethod has yielded, comparatively, such magnificent results; t the digestion of the dog, a member of the carnivora, cannot be ken as a guide, even if its pancreas has been cut out (which, of urse, has not happened to the human patient).

Moreover, in addition to the deaths from diabetes, we now ve a new class to deal with—the deaths from insulin itself. I ve personally encountered several of these.

A German paper (*Zeitschrift für Angewandte Chemie*, Sep-mber 1926) gave a good account of some of these deaths.

grouping them under four heads, namely—(1) death from insulin shock; (2) death from insulin coma; (3) death from destruction of the islets of Langerhans; (4) death from destruction of the blood. All these things result from the use of insulin, and it seems a poor boast that patients are rescued from coma by the use of insulin if other patients die in coma produced by insulin.

No convinced anti-vivisectionist would willingly take insulin if diabetic.

Summarising my points, I suggest that no unbiassed reader can fail to realise :

(1) That both the writers in *The Nineteenth Century* on behalf of experiments on animals have set up bogeys in order to knock them down, alleging that 'anti-vivisectionists' make statements of which I was entirely guiltless.

(2) That the attitude of medical research workers in this country towards vivisection as performed in other countries savours of prevarication, or at least of contradiction, and that vivisection cannot be honestly considered in its limited or national aspect, with a complete ignoring of its broad or general aspect.

(3) That when the testimony of anti-vivisectionists is received with opprobrious adjectives and accusations of untruth and unscrupulousness it can hardly be wondered at if medical students take their cue from such procedure, and conclude that all opposition to experiments on animals ought to be shouted down.

(4) That there is, both morally and scientifically, a case against vivisection, and inasmuch as it is held by many persons who cannot be described as sentimentalists or emotional, still less as unscrupulous, it should receive more serious attention than has yet been accorded to it.

BEATRICE E. KIDD

TO COMMERCE VIÁ THE UNIVERSITY

This year has produced, in one of the dailies, an article on the perennial subject of university men by someone who claims to be a Fellow of All Souls'; and who should doubt his claim? It was entitled 'Graduates who Miss the Tide,' and was in every respect precisely what any regular reader of newspapers would expect to follow this title. Its general tenor was that university men have exaggerated ideas as to their cleverness and importance, that they expect to start at the top where others start at the bottom, that they are usually more of a nuisance than anything else, and so forth.

The article contained one sentence which attracted my attention, not because of its originality, but because it made an assertion with which I quarrel every time I meet it. It was a contemptuous reference to the mediocre men who spend three pleasant years at Oxford or Cambridge and finish up by getting seconds or thirds, and it intimated clearly that these mediocre men should not enjoy the privileges of a university career at all.

Logically this view is hardly worth contesting, since the inherent fallacy is obvious; if everyone at a university was of first-class intellectual standard some would none the less be awarded seconds and thirds by the examiners. But the general principle on which the Fellow of All Souls' founds his proposition is one worth examining more closely, since there are serious arguments in its favour. It is, I believe, a principle held by many members of senior common-rooms, but kept in the background by considerations relating to the college revenue.

Should the universities be maintained, as they were founded, exclusively for the encouragement of sound learning and true religion? Those who answer 'Aye' to this question will base their arguments mostly on grounds of personal experience, and with them I sympathise heartily. I always found it impossible to cover the distance between my rooms and Carfax without seeing at least a score of fellow-undergraduates whom I considered totally unworthy of enjoying the privileges which I was enjoying. Indeed, I could scarcely leave the quadrangles of my college without meeting several who seemed quite out of keeping with the

inhabitants of Oxford, with her historical traditions, with her unique position. But such is the strength of prejudice that, though I was never so optimistic as to regard myself as a possible 'first,' I never questioned my own right to walk across the Tom Quad as a king in his native land, and to direct Americans to the Bodleian.

The need for moral honesty, or moral casuistry, forces me now to draw some line of demarcation between those who, in my opinion, should be permitted to matriculate at Oxford, and those who should not. I will try to surmount this difficulty by broadly describing the qualification for membership of a university as 'the aptitude for acquiring culture.' This description, in that two out of the three terms used are extremely vague ones, I regard as fairly satisfactory.

It would, of course, be impossible for anyone to design even the roughest practical tests for the ability to acquire culture. The Fellows of colleges do the best that they can. Nearly all colleges require would-be members to submit to an examination which will exclude those of abysmally low intelligence, and in addition the candidate is personally interviewed. Such an interview should reveal the main features of his character. But beyond this the colleges must trust to chance. They are forced to proceed on the assumption that those who have proved themselves capable of acquiring some learning are likely to pursue the paths of wisdom. This is an unsatisfactory assumption, since vigorous coaching at school frequently leads to a horror of scholarship in any form, and consequently the boy who can construe Xenophon most readily will often spend a great portion of his time at Oxford in the Super Cinema. However, let the men of business, who are among the chief critics of universities, devise a better system for admitting only the serious-minded.

Of those who satisfy the colleges' requirements for entrance there will be many who are destined, in Mr Compton Mackenzie's celebrated words, 'to row in their college boats, to hunt foxes, or to wear very large and very unusual overcoats.' It is to be regretted that certain of the most famous colleges seem to specialise in these classes. Many will waste their time completely. Many will waste a great part of their time. Only a small percentage will come through their final schools in the first class. But how many will acquire culture?

Putting on one side the question of scholarship, it seems to me that the value to a man of his university career is roughly in inverse proportion to the amount of money he possesses (in this generalisation I would make an exception of those whose allowances are so small as to make them feel severely 'cramped'). I do not mean by this merely that a heavy pocket enables the

undergraduate to enjoy amusements which will divert his attention from more serious occupation. The more important fact is this: The son of wealthy parents tends to regard the university as nothing more than a certain period in the process of education. There is nothing very exciting or romantic about it, nothing essentially different from what he expects throughout life. Later on he hopes to enjoy some leisured career in, say, the Army, or as a director in a business which will run without the whole-time attention of its directors. So the programme when he is 'up' is similar to the programme of society anywhere else. It consists, for the most part, in attending well-served dinner parties, in wearing very beautiful flannels during Eights Week, and very resplendent tails during Commemoration Week, in playing bridge, and in riding to the Spread Eagle at Thame in luxurious cars. There is really no very great difference between the society which attends Eights Week and the society which meets later at Wimbledon; between a Christ Church ball at Oxford and a Guards ball in Mayfair. Somehow it seems very difficult for wealthy men to lead anything but a wealthy existence, and a wealthy existence may be led anywhere else just as well as in Oxford.

The poorer undergraduate, provided that he has enough money to preserve his self-esteem and to pay the fare to Bourton-on-the-Water without worrying, gets far more out of Oxford. He 'goes up' with excitement, and meets the sons of artists, engineers and clerks, as well as those of peers and company directors. He discovers Blackwell's, and finds it a much better reading-room than the Radcliffe Camera. When he spends a day out of Oxford he does not go to London (where he will probably be in the vacation anyway), but to the Cotswolds, which are less known and therefore more worthy of exploration. He sees life. And the more his experiences are varied, the more completely different they are from the experiences which he will have in later life, the more will he acquire culture.

The same thing applies to the vacations. To travel from Düsseldorf to Prague in a third-class carriage is a more valuable experience than travelling from Southampton to New York in the *Mauretania*. It is better to walk in the country near Sagunto than to arrive at Madrid in a Hispano-Suiza. And here let me point out, in defiance of all the big industrials who condemn youthful laziness, that leisure is among the most valuable things which a university career gives. Such leisure is meted out sparingly—every undergraduate is given a huge list of books at the beginning of the 'long,' and if he is at all conscientious, as the man without an assured position before him must be, he will slave to read some of these during the time. But in a comparative sense the university man is a gentleman of leisure.

Now I find it almost impossible to look through an article by anyone who has made gigantic progress in life without coming across some reference to the value and the glory of hard work. The man who has built up an American 'chain store' is never tired of telling how, when sleeping under a shop counter at the age of fourteen, he would get up early to read a book on salesmanship before sweeping the floor and opening the shutters at six. Nor is it an unknown thing for great artists to tell the aspiring young how many weary hours they spent in their childhood drawing in line, practising counterpoint, or learning long lists of synonyms. Of these the former have, of course, fallen into the common error of confusing the business of living with the business of making a livelihood. The latter have not conscientiously considered the connotation of the term 'work,' or correctly interpreted the meaning of drudgery. This, however, is unimportant. The main fault which the elderly-and-successful school of moralists makes is to draw from the premise that 'work never hurt anyone and is invariably the secret of success'—a premise which, incidentally, no sane man will admit—the conclusion that 'idleness is harmful and those who are once idle are bound to be failures.' It is not necessary to have studied Melbone to realise the fallacy in this argument.

The absence of any but the most fragile routine is, for those who are already familiar with the principles of discipline, more efficacious for 'character-building' than the carefully-planned curriculum of the American military school. It is said that to see young men lounging in King's Parade with nothing whatever to occupy their time is nauseating. This is so. But to say that a man whose every hour is time-tabled achieves more of all that makes existence worth while than the man who can scull on the river, read Marcel Proust, or sit at a window studying crowds for several hours each day is manifestly ridiculous. The man who has no leisure can never learn the art of spending it. Every year thousands of men who have been brought up in the hard school retire from business at the age of sixty-five or so, and from their lack of anything interesting to occupy their time fall into a premature decay. I venture to say that it is worth the £1000 or £600 which the university costs to avoid that pitiful last scene. A young man must be unusually dull if he leaves Oxford or Cambridge without learning joys more exquisite than those of hard work, pleasures that will make life just as full when he is out of the office or surgery, away from the hangars, or off the parade ground.

I have done my best to indicate what I mean by 'culture,' and the capacity for acquiring it. I might try to define 'culture' as 'interest in a wide range of subjects, a capacity for appreciating

intrinsic values,' etc., etc., but definitions of this sort can never be adequate. I have, I think, said enough at any rate for the reader to recognize the quality which I have thus named as that possessed by himself or by people he knows. I come now to the fact upon which critics of the universities really base their attacks. It is this: 'culture,' as I have attempted to indicate it, is not, as a rule, a marketable commodity. There may be certain secretarial positions where such a quality is desirable, if not essential. But generally speaking the active parties in the employment market have no use for it. Young men must be 'presentable,' 'of good appearance and address,' certainly; but anything even remotely indicating a tendency to read Shelley in off hours is not welcome. Employers generally—and I speak with authority, for how many have not interviewed me?—have simple, clear-cut, and rather naïve ideas as to the characteristics for which they are looking in candidates for their salaries; an interest in Einstein or Epstein is not among these. And here we have the riddle. Hundreds of men leave the universities with a quality which no one can value but themselves, without the distinction of a first-class degree, with no specialised knowledge that is useful for earning, with no money for the further training which law or medicine demands, with no position waiting for them. They are, to all appearances, worse off by the lack of three years' experience than those who have entered some profession straight from school. What happens to these young men?

Schoolmastering claims a good many. To the question asked of one undergraduate by another, 'Do you know at all what you're going to do when you go down?' the answer I have heard five times out of ten is, 'Oh, ushering, I suppose, like everyone else, don't you know!' A certain number are 'wangled' into some comfortable position by useful uncles. Some depart for the cornfields of Canada, and others are completely lost. They want, they say, to write, or to paint, or to play the piano. Unhappy youths! Drunkenness, gambling, and even more serious vices, may be forgiven to young men, but a desire to write, paint, or play the piano is not to be forgiven—unless, of course, they wish seriously to write advertising 'copy' or to draw fashion plates. When they have interviewed several London editors who advise them to start by reporting for the *Bootle Echo*, or several publishers who advise them to consult a specialist, they usually try to get work with Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited. This firm appears to be the Mecca of all young men without marketable qualifications. I do not quite know why, but there must be some good reason. I have met any number of young men who are trying 'to get into the I.C.I.,' and these all seem to know someone who can 'wangle them into the

I.C.I.' I have never yet met the [illegible] who has obtained employment from this [illegible].

When a man has filled up the forms of application for employment in the I.C.I., and these have been courteously filed for future reference, he has no other course but to seek employment in what is broadly known as 'business.' He knows very little about business, beyond the fact that it is rather unpleasant, that it is not altogether 'done' to be in it (except as a director), and that it consists largely in 'referring to yours of the 9th ult.' However, business it has to be, and he goes hopefully to his University Appointments Committee, a body which knows something about this vague and extensive form of occupation. The Appointments Committee helps him to find work.

Here let me say something of this body's activities. It would be unwise, as well as discourteous, to criticise in a hostile spirit an institution so valuable, one which professes and really tries to find the right job for its *protégés*. It should, however, be pointed out that the committee's activities have their limitations. In the first place, the committee cannot be expected to have really intimate knowledge of business firms; it is bound to rely on the 'name' of the firm, and on the opinion members have formed of such directors as they have met. Secondly, since the world at large is usually best impressed with good, solid figures, the outstanding object of the committee must needs be to keep up the number of appointments secured annually. The young man enters business wholly in the dark, except in so far as he may have formed conclusions at the preliminary interview; and, having once entered it, he finds that he has burnt his boats. Speaking with some experience I can say that University Appointments Committees do not look very sympathetically upon men who are not satisfied with their jobs. They are inclined to view the position with eyes similar to those of the employers themselves, who are content to treat youthful impatience with such phrases as 'young blood,' 'preliminary restlessness,' 'settling down gradually,' and the like. This attitude is a natural, perhaps an inevitable, one. But I would go so far as to suggest that the position should be made much clearer to the man who seeks the committee's aid than it at present is.

That a university man entering business should at first find his life very unhappy is obvious. From a routine which is practically non-existent he has entered suddenly into one that is very severe; compared with the twenty-eight weeks' vacation to which he has become accustomed he now gets a bare fortnight, or at the most three weeks. (His schoolmaster friends, he reflects bitterly, get fifteen.) His salary at the end of two years is probably less than it would have been if he had entered the Air

[illegible] His work is [illegible] uninteresting, and this is par-
ticularly galling to one who has been reading Goethe or Pigou.
le finds the society of the office distinctly less congenial than the
ociety of a college—probably his new colleagues are markedly
ealous of him. And, to crown all, the friends he has made while
t Oxford or Cambridge are inclined faintly to despise him for
aving become 'a clerk.' (A clerk, to those who are not clerks,
s a man who tucks his napkin into his waistcoat. This item in
he code of snobbery is still very generally accepted.)

All this may be good for the soul of the young man—I see
ome truth in the popular dictum—but the point I wish to make
lear is that it can be carried too far I mean, that an educated
nan will, as a rule, submit conscientiously to a good deal of
rudgery, but eventually he will either rebel or become too broken-
pirited to be of any use to his employer

Let us turn now to the employer's attitude According to his
wn upbringing and social position, the employer nearly always
as a definite bias either in favour of or against the 'college man.'
am prepared to hazard the statement that those in favour are
istinctly in the minority With those against I have a pro-
ound sympathy Nothing is more irritating to the experienced
nan than the knowledgeable and rather self-confident youngster
rithout experience. Those who have not had the 'fortune' (a
etitio principii in view of what has been said so far) to see either
public school or a university will notice with disfavour the rather
loof air which invariably hangs about a university man. And
uch men as these will set about the business of knocking the new
ecruit into shape with a certain feeling of relish which may well
e forgiven them But how far should the knocking-off-corners
olicy be pursued ?

As I have already suggested, this question is bound up in
nother—namely, is the university man wanted in business at
ll ? I sincerely believe that he is. With all his commercial
gnorance, knowing nothing of company law or of book-keeping,
nable to write shorthand or use the typewriter, I still maintain
hat a graduate—even a second-class graduate, because commerce
vill usually secure no other—is none the less likely, at the end of
uite a short time, to be a really useful member of any business
rganisation.

I have two reasons for thinking this First when I was
nyself 'job-hunting' I was interviewed by a director of one of
he largest and best-known steamship companies in the world.
told him that I knew nothing whatever about business, nor
vhether a university man was likely to be any use in it. His reply
vas that university men, in his experience, were always behind
hose who had entered business straight from school in the first

[illegible] and that the occupation of 'business' really involved nothing more than 'the ability to grasp simultaneously a number of details, each in itself simple, and to have the power of making people work for you.' The latter remarks my own experience of business has since shown to be correct. The problems which arise in commerce are usually such as call merely for systematic and intelligent analysis. There is, of course, such a thing as a 'business flair.' There are men who have an uncanny ability for seeing rapidly where profit lies and for acting immediately on this 'sense.' But as a rule I have found 'business' to be an occupation which demands ordinary mental powers far more than specialised training.

My second reason is this. I find every day that those who have passed through no more than the usual secondary education very frequently have not those mental powers which I have just described, rather optimistically, as 'ordinary.' The bad grammar and terrible style which is so common a feature of business letters is not, perhaps, vastly important. But anyone who deals with a large amount of commercial correspondence cannot fail to realise that the writers, over and over again, express themselves in such a way as to show plainly that their ideas are extremely hazy. Moreover, this mental fogginess is not exclusive to junior members of companies, or even to departmental managers. Those in higher positions, possibly because they have come to rely so much on the value of their experience, possibly because they have been taught to regard so keenly the importance of attention to detail, often show an amazing ineptitude for reducing a business proposition to its fundamental elements. They talk heavily about 'getting down to brass tacks,' and then form their conclusions on *prima facie* observations. This is a fact which no business man in the very first rank will deny.

Now a university training, so often criticised because it is supposed to teach nothing in particular, is, in my opinion, precisely the training most likely to rid a man of this mental fogginess. University 'dons' do not talk about 'getting down to brass tacks.' But they are master hands at what I may call 'brasstacksmanship.' Hairsplitting is their speciality, be it in history, philosophy, or the interpretation of tongues, and woe betide the undergraduate who leaves unsplit hairs in his essay! Every statement he makes is pounced upon by his tutor, is unmercifully analysed and refuted. Why? What do you mean by that? Define . . . ! This is the criticism which pours down upon everything he writes. Few of the bitten do not enjoy biting. Is it likely that a man who has been showered with sarcasm for agreeing with the proposition that '[illegible]'

will [illegible] to perceive at any rate most of the weak points of a proposition offered him in business ?

A faculty for detecting fallacies is not, of course, the only one engendered by a university training in the normal subject. Now that advertising is taken so seriously most business men admit that 'imagination,' in its widest possible connotation, is what the Americans call a 'dollar-producing' asset ; and if 100 men, representing graduates and clerks without higher education in equal proportions could be submitted to some test for imagination, I am prepared to guarantee an overwhelming victory for the graduates. Incidentally, when I myself first entered business, I found that I was the only member of a staff of nearly 200 who possessed anything approaching a working knowledge of the French language

Relatively, however, these considerations are insignificant. The fact that large firms have taken on university men, and continue to do so, suggests that there must be some 'dollar-producing' quality in these men it is, to say the least, unlikely that business men would pay a far larger salary than is necessary for acquiring an ordinary junior simply because they liked the sound of a Mayfair accent ; many of them, as a matter of fact, detest it Business does want graduates, and the problem of getting and keeping this class of labour is one which will have to be studied much more seriously than it has been up to the present.

A year or two ago Mr (now Sir) William Morris announced publicly that he had no use for university men. He said that he found them bad workers, unresponsive, inclined to have airs, unwilling to start at the bottom, and so on. At the same time he gave a little fortune to Oxford for the founding of a new chair, showing that he had no quarrel with learning *qua* learning. I think that Sir William was unfortunate in the graduates he got, and that it would have been worth his while to experiment further. (He may have altered his policy by this time) His statement, however, was a frank and perfectly fair one, and every right-minded person will respect his opinions. The only correct answer to such a statement would have been for some graduate, slightly disguising his accent and dress, to obtain employment at Cowley, work under the usual conditions, and make a success of it. Now when a man deliberately goes to a University Appointments Committee to obtain labour his position is different altogether. He admits, by so doing, that he wants a specimen of the genus graduate. If in reality he expects a man of the same type as those he gets from an ordinary secondary school he will be disappointed, and it will be his own fault.

In the kind of world which Socialists portray as their ideal everyone will start with equal chances, and presumably at the

same salary. Men will not derive the advantages which a university education is postulated to give simply from the fact of having a wealthy father. As it is not the subject of this essay, I will not comment on that view beyond saying that in strict ethics it seems to me quite unassailable. The fact is, however, that we have graduates coming from an 'upper' class, and were this not so there would be no graduate problem such as I have described. The business man by his very position as a capitalist or the representative of capitalists admits a system of inequality. Having thus countenanced a system of inequality, he cannot cavil at the phenomenon which presents itself in the form of graduates who require specially good and responsible positions. And I maintain that it is his duty as a rationalist to try and see the point of view of the man for whose superior mental ability he is prepared to pay.

What I mean is this. The bargain which an employer strikes with a graduate-employee should be one which both sides clearly understand. Every man entering the service of another has a right to know what his immediate position and his future prospects are to be. The employer can say 'I want your brains, but I do not intend to treat you differently from my other employees, and I shall never pay you more than I consider you worth in exact proportion to these others.' This would be a fair statement and one which would enable the graduate immediately to give up the idea of business and take to preparatory schoolmastering. Again, he might say, 'I am going to make you do the work of an office-boy until you have lost some of your aggressiveness and assurance, and then, if you survive, I will find a decent job for you.' I believe that if such a statement as this were made the candidate would take the position, and probably make a success of it. But I have yet to meet with such splendid candour. More usually the graduate is interviewed in the pleasantest fashion, he accepts the job blindly, he finds the work unbearable, and he is shipwrecked. The employer meanwhile writes to *The Times* in the usual vein.

As things are at present constituted the university man expects good treatment at the hands of his business employers, and, I think, expects it rightly. If his formal qualifications are the same as those which enable others to enjoy the long leave given to civil servants overseas, then in taking up an overseas position under a commercial firm he expects similar leave, or else something to compensate for them—for instance, higher pay. If the firm, without taking him into its confidence, expects him to accept shorter leave, a lower salary, and less congenial work, is it to be imagined that the employee will work contentedly?

University men are themselves responsible for much of the

friction that occurs. They become riled with the tedium of their employment, they fail to exercise tact, and they behave badly. All this goes to make them unpopular with employers and to swell the volume of anti-graduate correspondence in the daily Press. But I think that these men receive far more than their fair share of the blame. Children will play Red Indians with each other almost automatically, but you cannot expect a grown-up person to take the *rôle* of Red Indian with success unless he is asked to do so specifically. Likewise the university man will play almost any part if he knows clearly what that part is to be. He will act as omnibus conductor in a strike, he will serve as cook's assistant in a tramp steamer, he will join the Army as a private and share the life of the men with great good-will. To play the part of office-boy among other office-boys is a much more difficult undertaking; this also he will accomplish if he feels that his action is appreciated by high authority. But to endure this, the most abysmal of all monotonies, without clearly outlined prospects of better work to follow is a thing he will not do. How can such useless self-abnegation be expected of any enlightened person?

If commerce can give the university man sufficient leisure to pursue his hobbies and can handle him tactfully, it will find him a willing and useful servant. Otherwise it seems that the preparatory schools will become overstaffed, and in time graduates will be adding largely to the number of the unemployed. This would be a great evil, but I do not think it would, or could, be met by closing the gates of the universities to all but the best scholars. Granting even that the idol of efficiency would be appeased, it would be an unhealthy world which denied the opportunity for special culture to all but the sombre successors of T. H. Green and Bosanquet.

RAY CORYTON HUTCHINSON.

MIGRATION

The rapid changes in the location of industries, the growth of rationalisation and concentration of business management, and the acceleration in transport and communication all call for the greater mobility of population and therefore render international migration of increasing importance. Its basis is, however, in a state of flux, which renders its future uncertain and the issues complex and obscure. The efforts to secure agreement upon the general principles of migration at the International Migration Conference last year ended in failure; the proposals to increase emigration from the British Isles to Australia and Canada have been followed by an actual decrease; and President Hoover's protests against the new quota system which he had to bring into force coincide with proposals to introduce a quota system in this country to save the Scottish race from being overwhelmed by Irish immigrants.

Some of the greatest evils in the world come from defective distribution, which is especially troublesome as regards mankind. Some areas of China and Japan maintain by agriculture 2000 persons per square mile, while the continent of Australia and the subcontinent of Canada each hold about two per square mile. The unequal distribution of people is difficult to remedy. Under modern democratic conditions communities can no longer be transferred wholesale without their consent, and individuals are increasingly reluctant to seek their fortunes abroad. Oversea transport, it is true, is more commodious, swifter, and more comfortable; but the obstacles to migration have also increased. The appalling extent of unemployment in Britain is due, in part, to increased competition; the markets for our cotton goods are more restricted. The demand for coal has been reduced by the output of foreign mines and the use of oil. Yet British industries employ 800,000 more workers than in the early part of 1914. Our present burden of 1,200,000 unemployed is due to the population having increased faster than our trade, so that we have, according to Sir Charles Close (Geography, vol. xiv., 1927, p. 435), an excess of several millions. The intense eagerness with which other countries are studying migration problems show

their anxiety as to the future outlets for their fast multiplying people.

The most obvious cause of the diminished emigration from north-western Europe is the reduction in the areas which welcome immigrants. The United States has greatly reduced the total number it will admit, and has so divided the number between the nations of the Old World that the legitimate entries do not reach the maximum, as some nations do not always use their allotted quota. Australia practically excludes all but people of the European race. Some of the South American countries have refused the admission of some Europeans on the only conditions under which they are allowed to leave their homeland.

Some of the motives which have led countries to restrict immigration are worthy of respect. Thus the United States fears lest the national unity and homogeneity should break down, as many immigrants reject assimilation and live in alien groups which are inconvenient at any time, and in a national crisis might be a source of serious danger. Australia is anxious for the future of its trade, for the men of business recognise that it is no use increasing production unless the markets are secured and increased; and, according to the labour leaders, Australia's high purchasing power of British manufactures is due to the high wages, and a lowering of the general standard of comfort would lead to a fall in Australian imports and therefore in exports. A third genuine fear is the objection to racial intermixture which has led the United States to exclude Orientals and Australia to adopt the 'White Australia' policy.

The international difficulties and friction have led to efforts at two international conferences to discover means of reconciling the rival policies. The first International Emigration Conference was held in Rome in May 1924; the second at Havana, in Cuba, last year. The rapid change in national attitudes to migration is shown by the contrast between these two conferences. In 1924 Italian policy was still based on the necessity for great emigration. In that year 283,738 Italians went to the United States, and in 1925 600,000 applied for permits to go there. Italy was then so anxious for the maintenance of emigration that it hoped that the Rome Conference would develop into a permanent international migration organisation. But by the date of the meeting at Havana so great had been the change of opinion that Italy did not send any special representative to it. Many countries, including Brazil, Canada, Ireland and some of the Eastern European States, were not represented, and others sent only their local agents or observers who did not take part in the discussions or vote.

The Havana Conference was especially instructive from the history of efforts to reach an agreement between the fourteen countries represented as to the fundamental principles of migration. It was agreed that the questions could be divided into the domestic and international, and that on all domestic questions each country has the absolute power to decide for itself. The domestic matters include the right of each country to determine how many and whom of its citizens may emigrate, how many people and what sort of people may enter, and whether its immigrants should be encouraged to be assimilated and naturalised. The international section of migration agreements should, it was admitted, include the control of migrants *en route*. It was also agreed that every nation, as part of its domestic policy, has the right to help its emigrants by collecting information in order to give them reliable advice as to the best openings abroad and suitable preparation for their future home. An emigrant nation may also desire its citizens abroad to share in the benefits of Workmen's Compensation Acts and old age pensions that they would have enjoyed at home. This extension of national protection is apt to cause trouble over the status of the emigrants. Such measures involve systems of registration and interference with the daily work of residents in a foreign State. They require a staff of officials and the encouragement of national associations and organisations, and they may lead to the provision of special schools, churches, and newspapers, and efforts to maintain in a country alien language, religion, and habits. The registration of the emigrants may be with the deliberate purpose of retaining hold of them, so that they may be called up in time of war and made to act during peace as agents for the extension of the trade and commerce of their homeland. Such measures may be opposed to regulations by the immigration country that are intended to secure the easy assimilation of the immigrants. The United States in 1917–1918 made determined efforts to induce all the immigrants to become 100 per cent. American. The Government of an emigrant nation is anxious to retain hold of its citizens so as to secure their service in war and use them as its commercial agents in peace. The Government of the immigrant country, on the contrary, in the desire for national homogeneity and unity, may only be prepared to accept immigrants who are willing to be assimilated. Such policies are irreconcilable, and have led to acute trouble over Italians in South America. An agreement to stimulate Italian emigration to Brazil was drafted in 1924; but it was not ratified, owing to differences of opinion as to control over Italian immigrants. The President of Brazil objected (May 4, 1925) that Italy was claiming the right of supervision over residents in Brazil to an extent inconsistent with Brazilian sovereignty. He

felt that Italy was endeavouring to establish a series of autonomous alien colonies whose residents would enjoy all the advantages of Brazilian administration and citizenship without taking their fair share of the responsibilities. Brazil refused to admit immigrants on such terms.

The principles that each nation has the right to determine its own racial composition and its own density of population, and exclude immigrants who might be a danger to the public health or undesirable owing to differences in culture or race, are admitted theoretically, but with reservations that preclude their general application. It is held that no country is justified in keeping idle land which others need; that no State with a population of two per square mile is entitled permanently to exclude refugees from over-peopled areas; and that the United States, which was founded by colonists from Europe, has no ethical right to close its frontiers to those who desire to make the same move at a later date. It is pointed out that it is no use admitting the right to emigrate if countries with a sparse population can refuse to admit new settlers. The right of a nation to keep land inadequately occupied as a reserve for the future while other areas are seriously overcrowded is therefore denied.

The conflict over the right of admission is especially keen when it is complicated by racial issues, and some States, such as Japan, though not insisting on immediate action in accordance with their view, decline to admit that immigrants may be rejected simply on the grounds of race. Efforts to frame a declaration of definite agreement as to the essential principles of migration were made last year at the Havana Conference, but without success. It was agreed to collect information as to the migration laws of all countries, though this work has been already done by the International Labour Organisation in Geneva. The further proposals that a committee of legal experts should codify the migration laws and draw up a statement of general international principles, and that an international emigration and immigration office should be established, were emphatically rejected. A Spanish resolution to the effect that there was no need for such an office, because the International Labour Organisation at Geneva and the Rome Institute of Agriculture were doing the work adequately, was carried by twenty-four votes against three. Japan led the attack on the proposal to draft a general statement of the principles of migration, as it feared that it would officially recognise the right of countries to restrict emigration on racial grounds.

The Havana Conference, in spite of the hopes that had been based on it, was not able to make any material progress towards the removal of the two fundamental difficulties. It agreed to

entrust the international study of the question to the International Labour Office at Geneva, and to leave in abeyance all schemes for definite international control, while the proposed next conference at Madrid, if held at all, will be confined to the consideration of definite proposals on a limited range of migration questions.

The decline of immigration, owing to the opposition of the countries open to it on a large scale, has been aided by reduced inclination towards emigration. The motives for this reluctance are mixed. One powerful cause has been the improved position of European workers, especially as regards social conditions, during the past forty years. The increased specialisation of work has also rendered men less self-reliant and doubtful of finding suitable employment in a less specialised country. Doles and old age insurance have the same effect on the immobility of the artisan population that the sacrifice of position and pension in a change of employment has long imposed on the professional classes.

There has, moreover, been an increasing reluctance on the part of some European Governments to allow their people to go abroad. It has been calculated in various places that to rear a man from babyhood to maturity and to train him costs on an average [illegible]. It has been maintained that the Italian emigration to the United States was equivalent to an annual tribute of 90,000,000l. Italy now feels the need for a larger population, as its military strength depends on its man power. Mussolini has declared that for Italy to have its due weight in Europe it requires a population of 60,000,000; and as the crusade for the increase of the birth rate has had little effect, he has taken the more effective courses of easing maternity and thus reducing infant mortality, and of prohibiting emigration.

According to the alarms of a few years ago the effect of these measures would place on Italy a heavy burden of over-population. Many authorities hold with Professor Carr-Saunders that emigration is no cure for over-population. Emigration, they say, stimulates the birth rate, and the emigrants are soon replaced. That view has been advocated in an extreme form in the United States, where it has been claimed that the population would be as large as it is, and much better, if there had been no immigration. As since then the United States has received no less than 33,000,000 immigrants, that view is ridiculous; but the idea is not without foundation. In crowded countries, where the population is already up to the full ordinary capacity of the land, the principle may be correct. There is, however, no absolute maximum to the population a country can carry. The optimum population, which is that most suitable for a country under the conditions that exist or that may reasonably be expected and desired, is variable.

The population capacity may be greatly increased by improved industrial and social conditions; it is claimed that Italy could support a 50 per cent. larger population, and that on a higher standard of comfort than its people enjoy at the present time. That view was advocated for years by Professor Gini, who has at length persuaded the present Government that emigration is wasteful and needless. The policy of Mussolini is based on the capacity of Italy, by more active industrial development, to secure more intensive food production and greater agricultural prosperity; and the support of the middle and professional classes has been gained by the expectation of larger employment as teachers, doctors, and lawyers, and also as musicians, actors, and artists since the theatre and opera flourish only in large cities. During the first stage of the development of these views Italy encouraged her people to emigrate, provided the emigrants contributed to the success of home industries by purchase of Italian produce and manufacture and by encouraging their use abroad, and were ready to help in case of war. Italy now refuses to allow her subjects to emigrate and has succeeded in finding employment for them at home. The object of this policy has been explained by Signor Bottai in a recent speech to the mothers of the Abruzzi: 'When to-night you return home to the cradle-side, sing not lullabies, but hymns of war, for the babes of to-day are to be the soldiers of to-morrow.'

THE FUTURE OF THE POPULATION OF NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

The question whether the population of Italy and of north-western Europe will continue to increase is fundamental to migration problems. If the population of Europe should become stationary or decline, the main motive for extensive migration would have disappeared; countries that desire immigrants from north-western Europe would fail to secure them, and would either have to trust to their own increase or admit immigrants from elsewhere. The population of north-western Europe during the last century doubled itself in three generations; but changed habits have so lowered the rate of increase that, according to some authorities, these nations must die out, or at least will soon have no surplus available to reinforce the under-peopled countries. This view, in addition to technical literature, has been supported in the British Press. The fall was first important in Ireland after the great famine, and in France; but it has gradually appeared in other countries and is now general. In fact, in some recent years the birth rate in the British Isles has been lower than in France. Attention has been called to this problem by R. R. Kuczynski in one of the monographs

[illegible] of the [illegible] who was inclined to [illegible] national policies. In his *The Balance of Births and Deaths*,[1] [illegible] declares that

> with a fertility and mortality, as they have prevailed for some years, the population of western and northern Europe is bound to die out. The process, of course, will be rather slow. With the present age composition it would take decades until there actually would be an excess of deaths over births. It would take centuries until the population would be [illegible] of what it is now.

It may be urged that the view that the population is declining in numbers is contradicted by the fact that the British birth rate is 200,000 in excess of the death rate. But bare figures give no proof that the growth of the population is assured. If the excess of 200,000 births were due to a reduction in the deaths of people aged over fifty and of children, and if it were attended by the emigration of young women or their employment in industries which prevent marriage or by their preference for independent unmarried life, an excess of births over deaths would not ensure a permanent increase in population. The increase depends not on the gross population or excess of births but on the number of women of reproductive age. Kuczynski maintains that comparisons of gross populations are misleading and that the only reliable basis is how many mothers give birth to future mothers. He states a simple truism when insisting that if each woman produces one girl who becomes a mother the population will be stationary; if a mother produces two mothers the population will double itself; and if a number of mothers produce less than that number the population will fall.

In the eighties of the last century Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland had each a net reproduction of 1.4 or 1.5—that is, the number of births was 40 or 50 per cent larger than was necessary to maintain the number of the population. Each woman bore on an average three children who became parents. The net reproduction rate in Denmark and Finland had been reduced by 1926 to 1.1 and to less than that in France and Sweden and still less in England and Germany. According to these figures Denmark and Finland were still adding slightly to their population; France and Sweden have reached a birth rate which is insufficient to maintain the population, and the deficiency is still greater in England and Germany. From Kuczynski's calculation that in 1926 in western and northern Europe one hundred mothers give birth to ninety-three future mothers only, he concludes that "with the fertility of 1926 the population is bound to die out unless the mortality of potential mothers

[1] Vol. I, "Western and Northern Europe," 1928 (Macmillan, New York).

nass beyond reasonable expectations. 'And fertility,' he 'continued its downward path in 1927.'

he facts do not seem to justify this gloomy prognostication. ynski declares that 'the World War did not essentially ge the trend of the birth rate.' But the war seems to have a bigger effect on the conditions than he allows. The low eproduction rate at present may be a temporary effect due ses in the war. The average marriage age in this country 73 was 25·6 for men and 24·2 for women; the ages had by 1903 to 26·6 and 26·4. The change has no doubt nued, and the average age of men at marriage is now ibly nearly 30. Many of the young men who fell in the war l have married in the last few years. Their loss has left a number of unmarried women who would about now have making their main contribution to the birth rate. The ate of 1920–1928 is probably a temporary post-war effect.

table by Kuczynski shows that the proportion of women ild-bearing age in the English population from 1920–1925 een at a maximum of 28 per cent.; it has been slowly from 1890–1910 from 25·80 to 27·40. In the Scottish ation in the pre-war period the maximum was 26·70 in it fell to its minimum of 25·44 in 1880 and had risen to by 1910.

he fall in the rate of births despite the increase of women ild-bearing age is not wholly a direct consequence of the it has been due to the opening to women of many new s of livelihood, and the growth of interests which have ed the attraction of matrimony. Some of these influences e expected to be temporary, and the low net reproduction of 1926–1927 are insufficient to prove that north-western e is doomed and its races already on the way to extinction. theless it is only too probable that a continued period of pread unemployment in this country would ultimately o a decline in the number of the population available for ation, and overseas countries may find, if a time comes they must have immigrants, that they may not be able ure them from the peoples of Britain or north-western e.

IONAL QUOTAS AND IRISH IMMIGRATION INTO SCOTLAND

e United States has at length put into force the quota based tional origins ordained by the law of 1924. This system is on a classification of the people of the United States which en condemned as simply fictitious. The residents there in have been classified from their names into nationalities of

which each is credited with a proportion of the later increase. Senator Reid, of Missouri, declared 'the national origins law is the most impracticable thing I ever saw written into a law and it opens the door for all kinds of unfairness and injustice.' This objection was expressed as firmly, though in official language, by the three State Secretaries who had to provide the calculations for the working of the Act. Mr. Hoover was one of them. They reported 'their grave doubts' as to the whole value of the computations on which the law was to be administered, and concluded, 'we therefore cannot assume responsibility for such conclusions under these circumstances.' It is one of the ironies of the situation that Mr. Hoover, as President, has had to make the proclamation that has brought into operation the system for which, as a State Secretary, he refused to accept the responsibility. He has made it clear that he still vehemently objects to the measure, and has only signed it as he had no option in the matter.

The capacity of the United States to interpret its laws in accordance with administrative convenience and in defiance of facts has been also shown by the action of the Migration Bureau in regard to Mexican immigrants. According to the Immigration Act of 1924, entrance to the United States is restricted to people eligible for citizenship—that is, 'free white persons and persons of African nationality and descent.' The Mexicans are neither, being predominantly Indian. According to the obvious interpretation of the law they are ineligible for admission to the United States. But the Immigration Bureau allows them to enter on the pretence that they are white. The Mexicans are entering the States in such large numbers—[illegible] were recognised as having entered in 1924 and as many are believed to have entered unrecorded—that the agitation against their admission is gaining force.

The experiences of the United States illustrate the difficulty of enforcing national restrictions on immigration. They would be still more difficult to impose within the British Isles, where the most serious local migration problem is how far the Scottish race is in peril owing to Irish immigration. According to the admitted principles of international migration, Scotland has the right to expect this movement to be stopped if it is taking place to an extent which is endangering the Scottish race. That there has been extensive Irish immigration into the west of Scotland in the past is certain. The population of Ireland has fallen since the great famine from 6,000,000 to 3,000,000, mainly by emigration. So many Irish went to the industrial areas of the north of England that Lancashire was seriously alarmed, and its protests led to consideration of the problem by a Royal Commission. The

south-west of Scotland shared the overflow from Ireland, and it was very useful as more labour was required. One of the natural advantages of the Clyde basin was that its industries could draw upon the cheap, adaptable, and for many purposes highly efficient, Irish labour. A Glasgow directory and the University rolls show a considerable proportion of Irish names. To what extent is this immigration still in progress? There is no doubt about the facts up to 1911 and 1921. The censuses of those years show that the Irish population in Scotland was diminishing.[1] According to the census of 1911, of the population of Scotland (then 4,365,855) 174,715, or 3·67 per cent., had been born in Ireland—a decrease of 30,349, or 14·8 per cent., compared with 1901. The English and foreign born, on the contrary, had both increased. In Glasgow alone the foreigners had increased 1620, while the Irish had decreased 14,784.

The census returns of 1921 show that the same process had continued. The population had increased to 4,882,497. The Irish had decreased another 15,695, or 9 per cent. (a decrease of 46,044 since 1901), the Welsh had increased 1439, or 41·7 per cent., and of the 159,020 persons of Irish birth in Scotland 88,397 were born in the six northern counties and only 70,623 were from southern Ireland. The English residents in Scotland had again increased.

Statistics since 1921 are scanty and unofficial. When preparing a book, *Human Migration and the Future* (1928), I made various inquiries as to the number of Irish born who were entering Glasgow. The answers were based on individual experiences and had to be regarded with caution, but they were all to the effect that Irish immigration had ceased or become insignificant. The careful investigation by the author of a series of five articles published in the *Glasgow Herald* on March 20–25 shows that there is no appreciable Irish immigration at present, and explains why it has stopped. In the absence of official statistics, such experiences and personal estimates as those of Dr. Colvin in a letter published in the *Glasgow Herald* on April 23, 1929, give the best available guidance, and he fully agrees that Irish immigration into Scotland has practically ceased. In the Glasgow University lists Irish names are numerous, but of the 650 students who graduated in the earlier part of this year only five were born in Ireland—two in Northern Ireland, one in Dublin, one in Dublin county, and one in Cork. The increase of the Irish race in Scotland is due to the fertility of the Irish residents, and that cannot be controlled by restrictions on current immigration.

The late Government announced its intention of introducing

[1] Census of Scotland, 1911, vol. ii. pp. xxi., xxv.; ibid., 1921, vol. ii., pp. xxix., xxxv.

a Bill to empower Scotland to send Irish paupers back to Ireland just as English paupers can be returned to England. No statistics have been issued to prove that the extent of this injustice is sufficient to require cure by an Act of Parliament. A quota restriction on Irish immigration into Scotland would need a frontier guard along the border and inspection of all passengers across it by train. The inconveniences would not be tolerated unless the necessity for them has been clearly proved. The exclusion of Irish labour might do Scotland more harm than good. The main threat to its future is the transfer of commercial administration to London and the tendency of industries to follow southward. The great passenger liners have abandoned the northern ports and use the English Channel and the Thames and, owing to the falling output of Lanarkshire coal and iron ore and the development of the Kent coalfield, the Clyde no longer holds the advantages which enabled it to wrest shipbuilding from the Thames. The southward industrial movement would be encouraged by the rise in price of labour in Scotland that would probably follow any restriction on its entry; and while the Churches have been calling for the closing of Scotland to Irish Catholics Glasgow has been advertising for workers in the north of Ireland. The continued effort to import Irish labour indicates that for some purposes it is cheap and efficient; and if it could not be hired, either Scotland would lose work or more people would be drawn from the Highlands to the Clydeside cities. The progressive depopulation of the country districts, which is the most disquieting feature in Scotland, weakens the position of the towns. For without the support of an adequate rural population an industrial collapse that might be only temporary might prove permanent.

Though there appears to have been no considerable Irish immigration into Scotland in recent years, the existence of a neighbouring supply of labour which can be hired when necessary helps to restrain the southward migration of British industries and to counteract the portentous decline in the Scottish rural population.

J. W. GREGORY.

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF RATIONALISATION

As I listened to the presidential address of Mr. Ben Tillett at the Belfast Trade Union Congress and noted its reception I realised how much popular progress the idea of rationalisation has made during the past year or two. The passages dealing with this idea were the most definite of the whole speech. Mr. Tillett said:

> We have already given official support to the rationalisation of industry provided adequate safeguards are given to the workers. I say this with all seriousness and emphasis. The tendency to-day towards rationalisation and amalgamation is inevitable. I cannot stress that fact too strongly. The tendency cannot be resisted.

His audience was a characteristic trade union gathering. Looking round the hall I felt that the faces were as revealing as the speeches. These men were shrewd, unimaginative, tenacious, possessing a great fund of obstinacy and narrow common sense. At first glance one would prophesy that such a body—responsive to the prevailing economic insecurity—would stick fast in the ruts of old-fashioned industry and be opposed to new ways. But the Congress, representing the organised industrial workers of Britain, accepted the idea of complete reorganisation of industry on a large-scale plan without serious question.

Considering what a short time it is since rationalisation—the idea and the word—achieved world currency, this is a remarkable result. Even now there are many misunderstandings on the subject. Sometimes rationalisation is simply taken as an alternative to nationalisation. This is quite wrong. It is a process which may be applied either to State or private industry. Rationalisation was first applied in Germany after the mark crashed and the French occupied the Ruhr—events which are both, happily, becoming historical. German industry was in a particularly depressed condition, owing partly to financial troubles and partly to the interruption of industrial activities in the occupied area. Immediate measures had to be taken to save industries from crashing. The traditional method, carried over from pre-war times, was for cartels and syndicates to ration

various works by means of organised quota schemes. By this means they were able to adjust production to the market. When consumption was low each firm worked far below its point of maximum production. This system introduced some method and order into industry. It enabled firms to calculate roughly the relation between the amount produced and the available market. Undoubtedly it prevented cut-throat competition and saved many firms from the bankruptcy court. But it had the disadvantage of imposing unnecessary overhead costs when huge plants were maintained, by means of a joint fund, at half or three-quarter production capacity. As the immediate German problem was largely to reduce prices in order to bring the commodities within the reach of an impoverished market, the old cartel 'rationing' system was no longer of service. The method now favoured was to shut down redundant plants and to keep those whose machinery and methods were most up to date working at full capacity. With this went concentration upon increasing the productive capacity of the most efficient units and so still further reducing costs. Every item in production and management came up for consideration and revision. An industry in which the entire productive machinery has been thus rightly overhauled, including factory organisation, sales, distribution, etc., so that every unit works together as an effective machine to produce goods as cheaply as possible, is said to be rationalised. At this stage rationalisation came to have its general meaning as 'rational' or 'reasonable' methods of production as distinct from irrational methods, which result in unnecessary labour, waste or expense. But the paring of productive charges in order to keep prices down is in direct contradiction to the previous policy of price rings which aimed at keeping them up. And under this system, though production is still rationed, every attempt is made to do away with the practice of working short time and keeping machines idle.

Though rationalisation appeared first in response to special German needs, the universal desire for markets in an impoverished world caused it to spread rapidly. Crossing the Channel it reached England, where it was taken up eagerly by certain industries, though it was regarded suspiciously by others which were reluctant to undergo thorough and ruthless reorganisation. In the Irish Free State rationalisation was applied to the creamery industry with marked success. The creameries were in a chaotic condition. Several creameries were competing in areas where one only was needed. Overlapping in organisation, waste, and bad methods of transit resulted. Economies and better facilities for transport could only be provided when all

the butter could be sent from a certain area on some organised plan, arranged in conjunction with railway companies.

Consequently credits were furnished by the Free State Government, and all the proprietary creameries, numbering 180 out of a total of 580, were bought up. Most of these were closed as redundant. The whole industry was put under the control of co-operative creameries. A licence is now needed to set up a creamery in any area, so that the old chaotic position cannot be repeated. This scheme was worked out between the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and the Free State Government. The 400 co-operative creameries which remained when the 180 proprietary creameries had been closed down provided the basis for rationalisation. And, besides being an example of how far rationalisation has cast its net, it is an interesting case of Government help which does not involve Government ownership or control.

Rationalisation by its very nature is a continuous process. It can never be complete. New needs will always demand new methods. Problems are constantly arising in the course of industrial reconstruction. The repercussions of rationalisation must be looked for first in Germany, where the idea was first applied. Already the German Federation of Trade Unions has suggested that rationalisation should cover not only production but consumption as well. It should aim in this view at securing wider markets by raising the general standard of life. Ford anticipated this criticism when he gave his employees enough money to buy motor cars. And such a logical extension of rationalisation was suggested in my article 'The Science of Industry' in *The Nineteenth Century*, September 1928.

At the Conference of the International Association for Human Relations in Industry (I R I), held at Schloss Elmau, Bavaria, early in July, where the industrial thought and experience of sixteen different countries was represented, a unique opportunity was afforded for the discussion of rationalisation in the light of what had actually been done in the various countries. A member of the Vienna Chamber of Labour (a body elected by the general vote) addressed the conference on the subject of the 'culturally admissible intensity' of work. This phrase (which sounds very German) was now, the speaker stated, in common use in Germany and Austria. The question has come to the front because, in the countries hard hit by the war, the idea of eliminating waste and decreasing the cost of production has led to excessive speeding up. Rationalisation, by enforcing a greater intensity of work, may leave the worker too exhausted after his day's work to be able to expend energy upon study, reading, sport, or any recreation involving effort, especially

sustained mental effort. He has no more capacity for fatigue when he has left his work. He has been drained of all energy except that needed to exist, to eat, to fill his pipe. This means that he has no real life outside the workshop. He is stultified as a human being. Human values have been sacrificed in the attempt to pile up economic values. The man becomes like exhausted soil, destroyed by greedy farmers, out of which nothing will grow. There is an intensity of work which is not 'culturally admissible' because it does not leave room for culture or thought, just as there is an intensity of land cultivation which is not admissible. Rich life is as important as rich soil. It was claimed that workers should not have to expend all their capacity for fatigue upon work; other interests demand attention if they are to live human lives. Here is a demand which rationalisation must meet. And the fact that it is put forward in those countries where rationalisation has gone furthest proves that it is a modern problem which cannot be brushed aside.

A more obvious criticism advanced at the conference was concerned with the displacement of labour. It is commonly agreed that rationalisation, in its early stages, means shutting down the more unremunerative plants, tightening up the productive machine to dispense with all unnecessary labour. Eventually it is claimed that by lowering the price and stimulating demand wider markets will be created and more workers absorbed. But this concedes that the problem is as much one of consumption as of production. And in the struggle for world markets, if one country succeeds in underselling its rivals the problem of unemployment is merely transferred to the unsuccessful countries. Where there is no expanding market efficient production cannot solve this problem. As soon as rationalisation begins we are faced immediately with the suffering of the men and women who are displaced. Many of these, by reason of age and lack of adaptability, find it difficult to fit in elsewhere even if opportunity exists. This has been ignored in the past by economists who have talked glibly of the mobility of labour. Yet how many of these economists would fit in easily to some unaccustomed calling? Labour is not like a bucket of water that can be poured from one area to another or from one occupation to another. Where it is inevitable that workers must be displaced there should be, alongside the machinery of rationalisation, machinery for the training and guidance of displaced workers as well as provision for those who cannot be transferred. At present questions of technical reorganisation occupy the experts, often to the exclusion of these matters. But humanity should take precedence of machinery, and only if this is done will rationalisation be successfully applied.

Judging by the evidence given at the International Industrial Conference by works managers, English industrialists have given more thought to this side of the matter than their fellows in the Continent. One told us how his firm had pensioned off older workers, who could not adapt themselves to new methods, as a preliminary to a complete reorganisation of their works. Another explained an elaborate scheme by which his firm had created an unemployment fund: 10,000*l*. a year was being set aside for this purpose. Large sums had been invested in non-competing local industries with the idea of absorbing workers during slack times and so keeping them in the town until the firm was able to employ them again. Here the motive was not philanthropy, but mutual benefit. Such methods show imagination which penetrates through the technical details of industrial reorganisation to the human realities which underlie them.

An outstanding case of a firm which shouldered human obligations is that of the Weber Wagon Works in Chicago—a long-established firm manufacturing farm wagons, for which there was a steadily diminishing demand. Eventually the firm was compelled to close down. But before doing so particulars of every employee—age, length of service, etc.—were taken. And, though it took some months to fit them all in, each man was given an opportunity to work in some other associated concern. Speaking for the management Mr. Cyrus McCormack said:

> The passing of Weber Works signalises the birth of a new day. With works councils to explain to workmen the economic backgrounds of situations, it is simple to get them to understand the position in which the employer finds himself. It is not a happy matter to force men out of jobs in which they have been efficient, out of a service in which they have grown grey. But the working of economic law is impersonal, and it is necessary to obey it if one is to remain in business. On the other hand, we now know that it is possible to follow its dictates without causing immeasurable personal hardship to the men who constitute the mainspring of our manufacturing power. I doubt very much if any one of these Weber men feels anything but the kindest attitude towards the company. I would not trade a large sum of money for the goodwill created in our other factories when this news became known.

Until rationalisation can include human planning to cope with labour displacement it is bound to be met with apprehension and with obstruction by the mass of wage-earners, who, it should be understood, have no objection to the principle of industrial reorganisation.

The question of working hours needs to be explored afresh from the rationalisation angle, considering both the need for industrial efficiency and the problem of labour displacement.

One difficulty is that to-day a much greater unit of capital is needed to employ a given amount of labour. Once four looms at all kept a worker fully employed; now he can attend to looms costing 3000l. Whether it is practicable to have shorter working shifts so as to double or treble the number of workers needed is one of the questions which a really scientific organisation of industry would answer. Mr. C. Tate, secretary of the Blackburn Cotton Employers' Association, has already approached this question on practical lines. Speaking to the Blackburn Textile Society on the need for cheapening production, he said that he had no desire to reduce wages or to extend hours, but he urged the Lancashire cotton operatives to consider a system of working in shifts, thereby getting the most they could out of the machinery. Mr. Tate, in a key sentence, put forward a conception of rationalisation with which no one will disagree. He said: 'We can afford to pay our operatives their existing standard of wages if we are able to sweat our machinery instead of sweating our operatives.'

If rationalisation follows that line its success is assured. Yet the manner in which the Washington Eight-Hour Day Convention has been left unratified shows a strange reluctance to face the human implications of long working hours. They make for exhaustion, for staleness, for inefficiency and lowered production. But few countries have ratified this Convention. Britain would not be affected to any appreciable extent by its ratification, for at the present time only about 7 per cent. of the industrial workers work more than forty-eight hours a week. In Germany, according to a Government inquiry of [illegible], [illegible] per cent. of the workers in the metal industries and [illegible] per cent. of those in the textile industry worked more than forty-eight hours a week. In England, as might be expected, practical experience, far more than any theorising, has led to shortening of hours. It has been proved that a shorter working day has actually increased output. Dr. H. M. Vernon, investigator, Industrial Fatigue Research Board, computes that the reduction of hours to forty-eight per week could be fully compensated for in from a half to two-thirds of all the industrial establishments in Britain. Some English factories work only forty-four hours, and—as in a large soap works—the output has been maintained up to the level of the former fifty-three hours, largely through speeding up the machinery. Many of the experiments in shorter hours have proceeded from the Mather and Platt investigations. It was found when they reduced the length of the working week in the Salford Ironworks from fifty-three to forty-eight hours that ultimately the output was higher than before. But it took some months to achieve this result. Arising out of these

experiments Government factories concerned with the production of munitions reduced their hours from fifty-three to forty-eight. After the change both time and piece workers produced as much as before. The experience of the war was the turning point of the whole hours controversy. Till then it had been largely assumed that the more hours a worker could be kept in the factory the greater his output automatically became.

At the beginning of the war, when Sunday work was the rule, factories were filled with jaded men who worked listlessly every day. I know in my own experience of one big engineering firm where the common practice was for men to work all day Friday, all Friday night, up till noon on Saturday. The assumption was that they would get sufficient rest over Sunday to be fresh on Monday morning. Entering the factory on Saturday morning I have frequently found workers, who had been standing by their machines all night and all the previous day, hardly able to stand upright. They kept their machines running. But the amount of work done on Saturday mornings was negligible. The management refused to allow those who had worked through the night to pass out at breakfast time, though this would have been a distinct saving to the firm. The crude theory—disproved by all later experience—was that the longer men could be kept standing at their machines the better for production. It took the industrial experience of the war to destroy the theory that men were machines which could be geared for a certain time to do a certain amount of work. Rationalisation experts need to remember past mistakes if they want to avoid repercussions that will interfere with the efficiency of their work.

'Industrial efficiency' are the magic words of our present era. Rationalisation spreads from country to country with irresistible force. Chemicals, steel, coal, cotton are organising on ever wider lines. But rationalisation may be carried out in two ways—the right way and the wrong way. Examples of both may be found in the present position of the cotton textile industry in the Southern States as outlined in a memorandum recently issued by Dr. H. S. Person, managing director of the Taylor Society (New York). In the spring of this year a great dispute in the cotton industry of the Southern States occurred, and it has been fought out with exceptional bitterness. Dr. Person states in reference to the cause of the dispute:

> The striking workers based their action on the management's disregard for proper working conditions and an adequate wage, and specifically on the 'stretch-over' system, by which is meant an increase in the number of looms for which a loom tender is made responsible. Owners and managers generally in the conventionally managed mills have operated on the assumption that it is labour's responsibility to give the production

[illegible] that will create profits. They have called in "efficiency engineers" who, without careful investigation of particular situations, have established arbitrary standards calling for increased productivity, without increasing the conditions and facilities for work so as to make increased productivity possible without greater effort on the part of the workers.

Rapid production was evidently the only factor considered. The world movement for cheaper production and greater efficiency was interpreted in this way by these American firms. That is what they mean by rationalization. The breaking point came when the number of looms was increased from sixty to seventy-five per worker. But another view of rationalization is also held. Other mills have worked peacefully right through the worst days of the trouble when massed pickets and armed guards clashed in bitter, and sometimes bloody, conflict. One of these peaceful mills was purchased by the present owners three years ago. They, too, had ideas of industrial reorganization. At that time each employee worked thirty-six looms; now each loom tender looks after 110. But there has never been the slightest friction at that mill. The reason is that investigators studied how the work could be done more easily instead of merely considering, as in the other case, how much more work they could heap on each worker. Their first task was to separate work requiring skill from unskilled tasks. Formerly loom tenders had three tasks—changing warp beams (unskilled), filling batteries with bobbins (unskilled), and tying threads (skilled). The first two jobs were taken away and given to unskilled workers. The planning work did not stop there. Better machinery was provided and a system of inspection was introduced which reduced the possibility of breaking threads. Every piece of machinery is taken down and thoroughly overhauled at regular intervals. So much for machinery. Next attention was given to raw material. Greater care was given to the purchase and inspection of cotton so that threads of an even quality would be used. This also prevents breakages. So much importance is attached to the quality of the cotton that high grade seed is purchased by the mill and distributed at cost price to the growers. These improvements have reduced the breakage of thread per loom per hour to one-seventh of what it was formerly. So the amount of work which the loom tenders have to do has been reduced 50 per cent even though the number of looms which each has to tend has trebled. And it has been found possible to pay wages 21 per cent higher than the average wage in surrounding mills.

The management of the "new model" mill realized that it had to deal with men, raw material, and machinery. Aiming at getting the best out of each, it treated them scientifically—but not all alike. And its justification is that it can show the best

output on the part of satisfied workers in the midst of mills where discontent and muddle reign. That is a type of real rationalisation in which none of the essential elements are neglected, and it is fitting that an official of the Taylor Society should call attention to it, for in England Taylorism has too often meant just those crude 'efficiency engineer' methods of speeding up which Dr. Person rightly condemns.

One fact stands out clearly. Rationalisation is going on and is being clarified in the process. It is a world-wide process and it cannot be stopped. At the International Industrial Conference speakers from country after country told us how industry is being organised and planned on larger and more efficient lines. International competition is compelling this line of development. Nor is it useful to advocate wasteful or clumsy methods of production. Yesterday can never be successfully opposed to to-day. Our problems of unemployment, speeding up and the like, can only be solved by going forward, not by going back. There is a spurious form of rationalisation which ignores certain factors, such as that in the Southern textile mills, but the weakness of this is already being revealed by experience. Not to oppose rationalisation but to use it, to make it more rational still, is the line to pursue. This will take us beyond production. We shall have to consider consumption, a higher standard of life, fuller co-operation in control. Such questions as variety of occupation versus monotony, the desirability of short shifts, including night shifts, will force themselves to the front. So far scientific organisation has been too narrowly concerned with tools and equipment. Its business should be not to drive the worker to greater effort, but to study how work may be done with less effort. The new industrial ethics must be formulated for the new industrial order. Rationalisation is plainly inevitable, and if only it applies reason to every side of the industrial problem its triumph will be to the lasting good of mankind.

R. M. Fox

THE SHREW THAT SHAKESPEARE DREW

THE fact that the plays of Shakespeare have been largely ignored by the theatres north of the Thames during the past fifteen years occasions more comment than it deserves. The circulation and study of his plays grow like an ever-widening river, and their restoration to the West-End stage may come at any moment. It can, in any case, be awaited with perfect composure. Meanwhile the good work of the 'Old Vic' also goes on. It has not produced the commanding actor or actress in Shakespeare for whom we are hoping, though probably it had the chance of doing so in the case of the late Miss Florence Saunders, a young actress with rare gifts of voice, presence and understanding, whose early death was a greater loss to the stage than has been generally recognised. But it has for years been familiarising its audiences with the dramatist's unmangled texts, and in so doing has conferred an immense service both upon the poet and the public. Thanks partly to the 'Old Vic' and partly to the ever increasing study of Shakespeare's works, a popular standard of taste and judgment in regard to them now obtains which is probably higher than that of any previous period in our history.

Such a production, for example, as that which Mr Augustin Daly gave at the Gaiety in 1888 of *The Taming of the Shrew* would certainly nowadays receive a very different reception in the Press from that which it enjoyed in that far-off month of May. Mr Daly heralded it with paragraphs in which it was announced that the Induction and the comedy's twofold plot at last would be restored to the stage, and that the text would be not that of David Garrick's version called *Catharine and Petruchio*, which for over a century had practically been in possession of the English stage, but the play as Shakespeare wrote it. And when, on Tuesday night, May 29 of that year, the curtain rose, the audience which filled the theatre in every part felt at once that the American manager was keeping his word, for we were straightway introduced to the befooling of Sly, the tinker. As the play proceeded, however, the wonder and delight which the Katherine of Miss Ada Rehan inspired in scene after scene were mixed with certain spectral doubts. One caught well-known lines in the play

being delivered in an unfamiliar form, as, for instance, Petruchio's early 'O, how I long to have some chat with her!' which Mr. John Drew rattled off as 'O, how I long to have a grapple with her!' with a roll of his clenched fists which doubled the peal of laughter it evoked. Then single unfamiliar lines grew into double ones, and finally into long passages which one felt certain, as one listened, were not in Shakespeare's play at all. And gradually the truth emerged. Practically the whole of Mr. Daly's interpolations, including such bombast as the following:

> Kiss me, my Kate and since thou art become
> So prudent, kind and dutiful a wife,
> Petruchio here shall doff the lordly husband,
> An honest mask which I throw off with pleasure,

had been conveyed straight from David Garrick's deplorable *rifacimento*. And the oddest thing of all was that the leading critics, with one voice, not only very rightly lauded Miss Rehan to the skies for her superb performance, but also warmly thanked Mr. Daly for having at last presented the play as Shakespeare wrote it! The critic of *The Times* became almost lyrical in his gratitude for 'a resuscitation of the play in the shape in which it left Shakespeare's hands.' Mr. William Archer was so enchanted with the whole production that he confessed he had been to see it twice (paying for his seat on the second occasion) before writing his column of praise. And Mr. Clement Scott, who was always rather prone to declamation, gaily exclaimed in the *Daily Telegraph*: 'Another strong nail has been knocked into the hideous stage effigy known as *Catherine and Petruchio* created by that shameless iconoclast, David Garrick.' If Mr. Daly possessed a sense of humour he must have been entertained by the success of his 'bluff.' Such a success is unthinkable in the London of to-day; and the present-day healthier state of both Press and public in this matter of Shakespeare's texts is largely referable to the educational work which the 'Old Vic' has so long and so faithfully been doing.

In such a setting of lead and gold the jewel of Miss Rehan's Katherina dazzled London that night. Forty years have passed, and as one looks back on that performance and all its bravura, it wavers, in the sad way of all such things, as an incommunicable dream. Even to the playgoers of that day, accustomed as they were in the theatre to remarkable personalities and the magic of consummate acting, this wild daughter of old Baptista Minola seemed a being of another race than ordinary mortality. Her sumptuous beauty, as of a figure stepped straight from the studio of Titian or Veronese, her statuesque grandeur, her frenzies of rage, her exquisite comedy, and her final stream of poetry and tender-

ness, made a combination unparalleled on the stage of that generation and unapproached since. I have been refreshing my memory by re-reading what Mr. Archer wrote of it:

In her opening scene Miss Rehan's Katherine has the restless grace of a caged panther; at the close the mild dignity of the milk-white hind. What other actress could rub those inarticulate cries of rage wherewith she receives Petruchio's imperturbable advances? What other actress could make such haunting melody of the long and difficult closing speech beginning 'Fie, fie! Unknit that threatening unkind brow'? I never heard English verse more exquisitely spoken save French verse by Sarah Bernhardt. On Tuesday night and again on Friday the action was interrupted, after her first exit, by a prolonged salvo of applause.

I remember that exit—and the roar that followed it. In her flame-coloured robe she strode across the stage sweeping with superb gestures her father from her on one side and her trembling sister on the other, and with a roar of fury disappeared. The thing itself and its effect were electrical.

And the loveliness of her maidenly shrinking from Petruchio's 'Come, I will bring thee to thy bridal chamber'; the drollery of her address to the old man on the road whom her husband (still 'taming' her) had bidden her salute as a beautiful gentlewoman:

> Young budding virgin, fair and fresh and sweet,
> Whither away, or where is thy abode?
> Happy the parents of so fair a child!

spoken slowly, with an infinite variety of inflections, almost each word evoking a fresh burst of laughter from the audience, and while it sounded so sincere, with a twinkle of merriment in her eyes all the time. In such moments as studded throughout the whole performance Miss Ada Rehan lifted the play's boisterous action on to the plane of comedy at its most splendid. If any enactment of an author's invention can be called a creation this was one, for such a Katherine Minola had assuredly never been seen before nor has anything like it been seen since on the English stage. She played other Shakespearian parts. Her Portia brimmed with humour in the comedy scenes and rose at the trial to a cathedral majesty of spirit. Her Viola, which followed in London almost immediately upon the engagement of Ellen Terry, caused Daly's Theatre to be crowded nightly for months. Her Rosalind at the Lyceum had a yet greater success and brought all sorts of honours upon her. '*As You Like It* is the most enormous success I've yet had in London,' wrote her manager to his brother in America. Varied and dominating, however, as her acting was in these three characters, it was still possible to compare them with other Rosalinds, other Violas, and

other Portias. Her Katherina stood alone. Another famous American actress, Miss Clara Morris, wrote of it: 'So absolutely has she made the part her own, so deeply stamped her splendid presence and black-browed rage upon it, that it is as thoroughly her property as if protected by copyright.' And in Paris it so turned the heads of the critics that, in open and almost blasphemous defiance of the shade of Voltaire, more than one of them found in the genius of Shakespeare an element not only splendid but—French!

Such qualities of imagination and emotion as were revealed in this and her other Shakespearian performances could only come from a character of unusual richness and such—as all who knew her bear witness—was the character of Ada Rehan. An English lady who was her friend from 1884 to 1916, the year of the great actress's death, writes of her to-day: 'She was as enchanting in her private life as in her work: the ideal artist; simple-hearted as a child yet very wise; untouched by the world; devoid of all vanity or selfishness; generous in all ways; a great brain and a great heart.' William Winter, the distinguished American critic, who knew her for thirty-five years, wrote when he heard of her death: 'She was one of the gentlest, kindest, most noble of women, who bore generously and modestly the triumphs of a great career.' Mr. John Drew, who played leading parts with her for years, said of her after her passing: 'She was a wonderful creature; her personal worth was beyond words.' So shrewd a judge of character as Ellen Terry says of her in her book of reminiscences: 'As a woman off the stage she was even more wonderful than as the Shrew on. She had a touch of dignity, of nobility, of beauty.' And while the worlds of art and letters in that England of the 'eighties were laying their laurels at her feet and hailing her as 'the incomparable,' she only smiled, a little wearily, at all the homage, and seemed eager to attribute it to almost anyone's virtues but her own, and particularly to the loyalty and confidence of the manager who owed so much to her, and who, it must be added, never failed to acknowledge his indebtedness. Her gratitude to Mr. Daly only grew with the years, and was as deep as his to her. 'I also wish to acknowledge your generous assistance for the high position I hold to-day in my profession. May God bless you!' she wrote to him in a letter of birthday greeting.

Augustin Daly died in Paris in June 1899, and for three years after Miss Rehan was not seen on the stage. In the autumn of 1902 she returned to it for a twenty weeks' tour of the principal American cities in the parts of Katherina, Portia, and Lady Teazle, with a very able and popular American actor, Mr. Otis Skinner (who had been a colleague of hers years before in the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Charles Surface, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in New York, in the Library Theatre, on Forty-second Street. She was even then only in her [illegible] year, but her career had been long and arduous, and her health had suffered. To the end her favourite part was that of the Shrew. Writing of that tour years after, Mr Otis Skinner said:

Katherine especially was enervating to her and so it continued to be throughout the tour. She suffered much from indisposition as the season went on and the grind and hardships of repetition and long railway trips had to be met. She would frequently enter her dressing room weary and depressed, but once in the [illegible] nature of Katherine, her tired spirits would fall away; she would lose the droop of fatigue, her head would grow erect and proud, and the [illegible] of the comedy [illegible] of Kate would appear in a little [illegible] smile and in the glance of her grey eye. She had a way quite her own of taking the audience into her confidence, and they inevitably fell delighted captives to her art. That art was her own, springing from her sense of character and expression, and never borrowed from another's work. And no one ever brought more devotion or greater labour to the work of perfecting her art than did Ada Rehan.

The fifteen years of life that remained to her were spent in a very happy retirement. Griefs came to her as they come to all, the deaths of friends she loved; but all else was full of good things for her. She had managed her affairs with the practical wisdom which seems to be an almost inseparable element of genius, and not less of Irish genius than of any other. She had a charming home in New York, full of her lovely possessions. Since [illegible] she had owned another ideal little home at Cumberland on a promontory between the mountains and the sea. Up to the time of Mr Daly's death she enjoyed her vacations there, and after it she spent half of each year there, happy with her friends, her books—her favourites being those of Balzac and Thackeray—and her dogs. She also lived from time to time in a pretty little house in Cadogan Place, Chelsea, and during one winter in England she took a house in Brighton for some months to escape the London fogs. She was fond of an evening with friends at the play or at an orchestral concert in the Queen's Hall, where an ovation more than once awaited her from some foreign composer or conductor who had seen her act in Paris or Berlin in the years gone by, and who was amazed and enthralled on hearing that the tall, quiet, smiling lady presented to him by her companions was Miss Ada Rehan.

She had made arrangements to sail from New York to England on May 8, 1915, but when the friends expecting her in London heard of the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* on the 7th of that month they immediately cabled to her not to risk the crossing. She spent that summer in a place she had on Long Island. She

sensitive nature suffered acutely from the huge personal and public tragedy of the war. In the following winter she had a severe heart attack, from which, after a few days' illness, she died on January 8, 1916, in her fifty-sixth year. An article upon her appeared in *The Times* next day from the pen of its dramatic critic, Mr. A. B. Walkley, and in the course of a long and finely-written analysis of her appeal he used these words:

> There was a sense of fulness and mellowness in her nature, a genial warmth. Her style was large and liberal. Her mirth had 'body' like a generous wine. 'Here she comes, full sail,' you said of her, as Mirabel said of Millamant. Humour and irony played round the mobile lips; the deep rich tones of her voice thrilled you like the notes of a Stradivarius. As Katharina her rage was devastating, like some great convulsion of nature. Looking at her you seemed to snatch the fearful joy of dancing on the edge of a volcano. Yet the whole thing was harmonious, superbly beautiful, Shakespearian through and through, absolutely 'right.' For once a dramatic character had met with the very person to interpret and to illuminate it. Such a piece of good fortune is not likely to happen again. You feel that something of Shakespeare's secret died with Ada Rehan.

Years after, in 1924, a well known American theatrical manager, Mr. W. A. Brady, made a speech at the Colony Club, New York, one passage in which must have sent a shiver through thousands of hearts on both sides of the Atlantic. 'That "farewell" performance,' he said of Ada Rehan at the Liberty Theatre, 'had been given before a mere handful of people, and the great actress just passed out of the picture—no flowers, no particular enthusiasm—and probably went home with a broken heart.' And he summed up the paragraph with the words: 'We Americans forget our favourites. All other countries remember them.'

Whatever else in that outburst was correct, I have been able to show that Ada Rehan was very far from taking a broken heart home with her from that last performance. I am also able to say that she understood perfectly the events of that evening. It is a familiar story—there were wheels within wheels; and she often smiled over it afterwards with her friends. She was glad to be free of the bondage of acting, but the stage was far from glad to be free of her. Brilliant offers were made in the hope of luring her back. A sum which even to-day seems fantastic was ready for her if she would only consent to play a six weeks' season in New York which should be a real 'farewell.' A dramatist whose repute is now world-wide almost went on his knees in the effort to persuade her to 'create' the chief *rôle* in one of his plays. She longed to accept these and other offers, but her physicians forbade it. So it came to pass that the public she had so delighted in many lands saw her no more.

But her place in history is secure in the little group of immortal comédiennes which began with Dorothy Jordan and ended with Ellen Terry. In that company there is no question of supereminence, and such words as 'rivalry' and 'supremacy' are unheard. All are stars of equal magnitude, and will go shining down the ages with an equal light. It is only in the outward world of the men and women who knew them and fell captive that any ways of discriminations are heard. And, as the playgoers of her day echoed Charles Lamb when he said that the only rhetoric Mrs. Jordan used when playing Viola was that of Nature herself; as the men and women of half a century ago who knew Miss Terry's Beatrice in its most lovely radiance vowed that the lady, Leonato's niece, must have been born under a star that danced; so also the playgoers who sat beneath the spell of Ada Rehan's Katherina will alter a familiar line of Pope and declare to the end of their lives that 'This was the Shrew that Shakespeare drew.'

H. M. Walbrook.

A TALE OF A CITY CRISIS

'I HAVE always been a fighter—and a gambler. And had some knock-down blows, cruel blows. I have seen life as a mule driver; baggage man to a Western outfit; mining labourer, broker, financier, promoter. And I've enjoyed every job. To me life is a gamble, a hustle, a fight with Fate. Not so long ago I was trying to borrow fifty dollars. To-night I entertain a prince, a bunch of dukes and some of London's smartest society women. Next week I shall be racing my yacht *Sybarita* against the Kaiser's *Meteor*; after that I shall be discussing with my architect the 1,000,000*l.* house he is building for me in the country. In a few months I may be hunting for 50*l.* A mad gamble, I tell you!'

This confession was made by Whitaker Wright in 1900 to one of his most intimate friends and myself at his Whitehall Court flat, and we both envied him his pluck, his luck, and his sporting temperament. Several writers have traced his career, but his intimate friends realised that their 'stories' revealed that they had no clear conception of the romantic personality or the amazing career of the reigning Napoleon of Finance.

Now, the happy fortune of a roving career brought me into the City and into close contact with Whitaker Wright just as he was coming into prominence. Thus, I was able to follow, almost day by day, his *début*, rise, apotheosis, and collapse. He was certainly the most striking personality and the most daring gambler that had ever mobilised the Stock Exchange, the Press, the old nobility, and certain fascinating society beauties for his amazing manœuvres.

From the moment that Whitaker Wright invaded London he impressed us all as a 'coming man.' I see him now—big, burly, imposing, nearly 6 feet high, weighing about 16 stone. Everything in his person breathed pluck, power, primeval energy; unscrupulous daring. His manner imperious, his eye keen—his words few but pointed, tinged with Americanisms. With his Semitic cast of countenance, black piercing eyes, dark hair and moustache, powerful chin, flabby cheeks and fleshy, bovine neck, he arrested attention wherever he went. Endowed with a nimble

brain, served by a strong will, a passionate energy that nothing could tire, a varied experience of men and cities, Wright appeared to be a man born to dominate. He had 'gone through the mill,' as he said: knew all the shady tricks of the mining sharks and Wall Street hustlers; had seen ruinous panics, huge losses, fabulous profits; fierce revolver fights in Western dancing-halls, struggles between greedy mining men and New York financiers. And he had gloried in it all!

Born in a modest Lancashire town, given a sound education, including a good grounding in chemistry and assaying, young Wright developed into a plucky, clever, ambitious fellow who on attaining his majority, decided to seek his fortune in America. 'I had not a penny,' said he. 'And, of course, that meant tough times before making good.' About that time the Pacific slope was offering brilliant attractions to the adventurous, and Wright determined to make for Leadville, a region rich in copper and gold. His technical attainments no less than his temperamental love of gambling, attracted him to the West, where fortunes were made and lost in a day by a lucky strike where the wild rush, the crushing losses, the fabulous profits, and the hectic excitement inflamed this young gambler's imagination. There he was quick in learning, not only the startling surprises of mining speculation, but the thousand and one tricks of salting, promoting, organising, and the 'planting' of shares. He saw nascent mining magnates, apparently models of conservatism and integrity, scrambling to buy at bargain prices worthless holes in the ground, or even the mere chance to spend more money in digging. But he observed that no claim could be so unpromising, no assay so preposterous, no prospectus so fraudulent that it would not attract subscriptions from the pockets of people bitten by speculation.

Having finished this primary course, Whitaker Wright graduated, with a modest capital for his diploma, into the Financial College of Wall Street. There he studied the ways of the market; there he chose out the speculative magnates who revealed to him what tricky work could be done; brokers who would scorn to 'do' their clients unless they were quite sure of a fat profit; promoters who would never resort to shady manœuvres unless the chance for a smart 'deal' was fairly certain; railway directors who abhorred stock manipulation unless they thereby made big money; bankers and pillars of the Church who refused to lend their honoured names to dubious concerns unless they were handsomely 'recruited.' At Leadville the training was severe, but painfully crude; Wall Street supplemented it by some artistic finishing touches. In New York, moreover, he again observed the phenomenon that had impressed him out West—the eagerness with which people infected with

the rabies of gambling would buy anything and everything: the higher the prices of shares and the more hopeless the enterprise, the more brilliant the success of the flotation. How could he escape becoming cynical in the atmosphere of such a college?

Perfected and polished by contact with Wall Street, and by personal research in various get-rich-quick schemes, Wright assembled his resources and took ship for London, to inaugurate a career of greater glory in the financial centre of the world. Happily, the times were propitious for a man of his talent, training and psychology For he found a boom starting in the Australian market, the Stock Exchange being agitated about the 'fabulous wealth' of the new Western Australian goldfields. 'Boulders of pure gold have been found in the workings,' wrote a lyrical financial scribe. 'The surface glittered like a jeweller's shop,' was another glowing report on the goldfields 'I saw,' said Wright, 'my chance of making another fortune and plunged into the gamble' He brought into play his varied mining experience, theoretical and practical It was in this hunt for a fresh million that he revealed himself one of the keenest financiers that had ever bred a boom in London—a genius, in short. He formed companies with tangible assets, and the public appetite was sharp, he tried fair capitalisation and was prosperous; he over-capitalised and was still more prosperous Such was the glamour of his name and fame, that had he offered the ambient air for sale his propositions would have been clamoured for. Fired with ambition and spectacular schemes, he secured honoured names of famous noblemen for his directorates, harnessing them to his chariot, affording England the spectacle of a financial Cæsar's triumph.

Queen Victoria herself was nearly attracted within the orbit of his final and most spectacular enterprise—the London and Globe Corporation. For having, by diplomatic tact, 'roped in,' as he put it, certain noblemen, the rapid development of his social and financial ambitions prompted him to endeavour to create an international sensation by securing as chairman a scion—by marriage—of royalty. Well do I remember the midnight scene in Austin Friars when Wright and his experts and private secretaries were putting the finishing touches to the prospectus of this gilt-edged proposition. In my mind's eye I see the wet 'proofs' of the prospectus on the table, ready for the printers of the morning papers. Everything had reached the fine frenzy stage, and great excitement prevailed. Wright, flushed with success, the master of millions, became imperious, dominating, and already visualised his royal chairman sitting at the board of his superb Globe Corporation. What he, apparently, did not know was that the nominee for this flattering appointment had considered it respectful

to consult Queen Victoria about this dazzling offer. I heard from a sure source that it was met with an emphatic '*No*.'

It was on the stroke of midnight that a trusty friend of the proposed royal chairman notified this categorical negative to Whitaker Wright. The latter expressed his disgust in American expletives, powerful and picturesque, and ordered the name to be struck out.

Fresh from the savage life of the Wild West mining regions and the comparatively uncouth methods of Wall Street, Whitaker Wright enjoyed the more leisurely, cultured, suave social atmosphere of London—the delicate attentions, the flattery, the hubbub created by his sensational exploits, which attracted world-wide attention. He lived in a whirl of feverish excitement in the City. Earls jostled plebeian brokers in their eagerness to approach this Napoleon of Finance, whose fame had been broadcast throughout the land. Beautiful fascinating adventuresses, with designs on the great man, sat side by side with sisters of mercy, eager to plead the cause of charity. City promoters—*engaged*, brokers' touts—mingled with financial magnates, fretting at being kept waiting. Bishops and deans came for building and other subscriptions. All worshipped at the shrine of the idol that made millions. The vast offices were like some gigantic money factory; telegraph instruments clicked, telephones rang, an army of clerks on several floors developed wonderful activity. Whitaker Wright was always busy, breathless, snatching his meals hastily, granting interviews everywhere—in his office, in any odd corners, between a rush from one room to another. Frequently he held night conferences at his London flat, his Park Lane mansion, and even at his country seat, Sunday often being his most hectic day. Wherever he was, night or day, the financial machine was driven at high pressure, the *furore* attaining its maximum whenever a prospectus was on the stocks.

Wright's career had been spectacular. The City had already developed many daring, cunning financiers, but he surpassed them all, so ambitious and successful were his operations. London has always loved a clever, masterful man, who triumphs by sheer force of pluck, imagination, and speculative genius. The latest Napoleon of Finance was admired—and followed—because he displayed an uncanny smartness, negotiated with facility and success; introduced into his finance that imaginative dramatic touch which reveals the master mind. Seldom missing a chance, he decided a 'deal' with intuitive rapidity—took a risk pluckily, faced a loss with a smile. Regarding the public's millions as his right, he asked boldly; the public clamoured for the privilege of handing him their gold. A philosophic gambler, he believed in two things—his star and the imbecility of the public. 'It's easy

to sale in 1,000,000*l.* than 10,000*l.*,' he would say. 'Speculators have periods of madness, when they will "plunge" to the depths. That's the moment to lure them on.'

He astonished London by the magnitude of his conceptions and the audacity of his flotations. Starting with a modest enterprise of 200,000*l.*, he flooded the country with shares of some fifty companies, which at one moment represented a market value of 35,000,000*l.* His success was phenomenal. He made money as if by magic; wielded immense power; the City regarded him with respect not accorded to any previous promoter, for he operated on a colossal scale; brokers securing his *clientèle* made splendid profits. He had the Midas touch, and was always eager to share his prosperity with his collaborators, in the City as in the West End. All around him high salaries were paid. From society people he obtained invaluable information and assistance, and one brilliant beauty was credited with having made at least 300,000*l.* by following his advice. He considered the services she was able to render—unique in their way—were well worth that amount. At the zenith of his career he made splendid provision for his wife and children, for he was fond of, and proud of, his family, and enjoyed home life—never happier than when he could snatch a day to stay at Lea Park playing billiards, inspecting his estate, his wonderful fish ponds or his palatial stables. While bored by the usual society inanities, he entertained in grand style, and was a genial host and a capital *raconteur*. Even with the great ones of the earth he retained his air of perfect confidence, as a boss within his own sphere, contriving, at the same time, to infuse into his manner a deference and a respect which charmed his royal guests. For he had a veneration for emperors, kings and princes, and was proud of their flattering affability. If he had a social ambition in life, it was to become a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, with all its prestige and privileges.

Having known most of our modern financiers, I acquired the conviction that in their careers a moment arrives when they 'see visions'—visions of limitless power that blinds them to the obstacles lying at their feet. Megalomania usually proves dangerous. Now, the London and Globe Corporation was not conspicuously strong financially, but, despite that, Wright suddenly decided to finance the 'tube' known as the Bakerloo Railway. Scarcely estimating the consequences of such a tremendous enterprise, he discovered, when fully committed, that this involved locking up for several years precious capital which would not be available for current transactions and would yield no early dividend. Shrewd friends saw the danger, but Wright felt strong and disregarded their advice. Nor was this all. According to an intimate friend, who had worked with Wright,

[illegible] City of Light [illegible] According to my friend, Whitaker Wright, struck by the coup de foudre, paid her court with characteristic ardour and was not discouraged. Apparently she had been gambling and losing sums that she could not meet. 'I cannot tell my husband,' she confessed; 'he is not rich and has his own debts.' Faced by social ruin, the family wheedled Wright into financing her. Seductive, alluring, her eyes gleamed with the fire of passion; connoisseur like all Parisiennes, she revealed to him a glimpse of a paradise of which he had never before dreamed. And he thereto abandoned himself and provided for her needs at a moment when every hour was precious. But what of that?

Returning to London, Wright, apparently a millionaire, was now beginning to 'feel the draught,' as they say in the City. His companies were constantly being attacked in the Press; powerful Stock Exchange cliques 'beared' his shares on the market; he had to find big sums to prevent a total collapse—yet, and this sent Lake Views, and indeed, all shares of his group. For that sort of weakness soon permeates a group's entire fabric: produces a dry rot which must be arrested at all cost. On the other hand he had been spending about [illegible] on the building and improvement of his lordly country seat and large sums for his [illegible] Park Lane mansion, and other costly manifestations of his pride and power. Before he met Rosalie his mind was concentrated upon his financial affairs. But the souvenirs of his Paris visit were so bewitching he could not always banish them from his mind. Sometimes he felt impelled to abandon all and return to Paris.

He quite thought that his hour had arrived: his happiness was reflected in his face. Love had transformed the portly, flabby-faced financier of fifty; there was a glorious flame in his eyes. Absorbed by this fierce passion, he forgot the City—the market, his wife, his children, his embarrassments, everything; an ardent lover who saw his passion reciprocated. Alas, he did not know his beautiful idol—how lightly she [illegible] her vows, how treacherous she was, how cold at heart though so ardent in manner. Just at this critical moment, when he needed all his strength, mental and physical, he was abandoning himself to a dream of love; while the market was 'slumping' disastrously he was spending his days with Rosalie, who had come to London for a trip—and some money! When his aristocratic chairman called on urgent business he was coldly informed: 'Mr Wright can see no one.' The indignant nobleman, suspecting the cause for such isolation, feared some catastrophe which he was powerless

[illegible]

[illegible] Rosalie without [illegible] through
[illegible] doors. And—the market was still 'hanging' his specu-
[lation]; the Press was thundering about the scandalous condition
[i]n which the group had been allowed to drift; the shareholders
[we]re clamouring for a committee of investigation. At one meeting
[cri]es of 'Swindlers,' 'Lynch them,' were heard, and the board
[wa]s nearly rushed by the infuriated shareholders.

But Wright had arrived at that age when a vigorous man [co]mmanding money feels the last urge of romance. The tide [of] Time was flowing against him—the great climacteric period [wh]en a man realises that life is slipping away from him. No [lo]nger young, he yearned for something more exciting than [do]mesticities—a desire to test his capacity for love; the passionate [ro]mance of a famous financier!

Amid these distracting preoccupations his moments of [ec]stasy were intermingled with periods of nervous impatience and [ir]ritability; financial affairs worried him—he could not con[c]entrate upon them. Yearning for artificial mental and physical [e]xcitement, he depended upon brandy and other stimulants. Suddenly Rosalie was called back to Paris by some urgent affair which she did not explain to her London lover, for her 'flirts' were numerous—diplomacy was needed to keep them all sweet. Then Wright, by a tremendous reaction, resolved to make an effort to save himself by facing the situation. It was too late; his companies and their affairs were in such inextricable confusion that no expert on earth could have unravelled the tangled skein. Even Wright himself could not invent any fresh financial juggling [t]o save the situation. Finally, at one desperate moment, he so [m]anipulated the accounts of his various companies that what [r]eady cash remained to their respective credits was temporarily [l]oaned to any company about to meet its shareholders for the [s]ubmission of its balance sheet and accounts for the year. This 'window-dressing' was, of course, not only dangerous, but [d]oomed to defeat its own end. During this time the directors of [t]he companies were anxious, fearing the worst, although he had [s]o far averted a crash. Such had been the force of Wright's will [th]at he had dominated all of them, so that no man dared insist [u]pon a revelation of the true position. They were, apparently, [a]fraid of him, for they had seen him when determined to brook [n]o criticism, no opposition. Thus they, perfectly honest, allowed [h]im to control everything—signed any cheque, confirmed the [s]trongest resolutions; submitted to act as living pawns, movable [a]ll over the board at his will. And they secretly trusted to his [w]izardry to 'pull himself through.'

Indeed, Wright himself almost thought that he would. Con-

ahead of his financial contemporaries, [illegible] in his former successes, he had failed, in the absorption of his sudden passion, to realise that he had 'touched the top.' While all his promotional operations had been successful, the results achieved by his [illegible] had been so disappointing, and the attacks on them so fiendish, that prices had weakened, his enemies had become more daring, shareholders were getting nervous and clearing out in a sort of panic. Losing all sense of proportion, convinced of his power and impregnability, Wright began to treat the Stock Exchange and the Press with haughty disdain—a policy which exasperated them and intensified their wrecking operations.

'Gutter rags!' 'Blackmailers!' roared Whitaker Wright. Nevertheless, these attacks were terrifying the shareholders and bringing the financier and his companies nearer to destruction. Jobbers, noting the trend, marked down prices and even indulged in speculative 'bear' manoeuvres by which they made money at Wright's expense. We call them 'bears,' for their actions can be deadly, as it was in Wright's case. For five years the financial wizard had ridden on the crest of the wave of success, making millions, but also creating many enemies, naturally some among his own directors. He had been so phenomenally successful—he had a following of investors and speculators which had enabled him to work miracles. He felt like a monarch, scattered his money freely, not only to satisfy his own grandiose yearnings, but among charities, churches, and even foreign missions.

But the day dawned when even Whitaker Wright began to feel nervous about the position, and made a feverish effort to raise money by a private 'deal' with some wealthy people who still believed in his financial power—or so he thought. Should he, however, fail, he realised that the entire fabric of his group, outwardly presenting such a solid façade, would suddenly collapse, burying its architect and poor shareholders beneath its ruins. This conviction alone nerved him to make a tremendous effort.

Now in this, as in so many financial enterprises, Fate played its part. Wright succeeded in making an arrangement with a big New York house to take over the London and Globe Corporation assets for 500,000. Had this 'deal' been put through, the company would have been liquidated voluntarily, the public scandal of a compulsory liquidation would have been averted, and the enterprise could have made a fresh start under favourable auspices. At that moment 650,000 had been expended on the Baker Street-Waterloo Railway, and this constituted a valuable asset that justified an attempt at rehabilitation. Indeed, liquidators on the voluntary basis had been appointed. Wright and his directors were thus technically eliminated. [illegible]

naturally passing to the liquidators. The latter could not recognise the 'deal' in time, owing to the five hours' difference of time between New York and London: the delay caused the New York house to suspect some hitch, and the project was abandoned.

Wright had another promise of 250,000*l*. by a wealthy financier who saw a possibility of saving the London and Globe. But so fiercely had the group been attacked during the previous year by a clique of Whitaker Wright's enemies that this capitalist lost confidence in the corporation, and that 'deal' also fell through.

Finally the crash came. Late in December 1900 the London and Globe Corporation arranged for the advance of a large amount—150,000*l*.—for the purpose of meeting its obligations. Suddenly Whitaker Wright was notified by the banks that this advance would not become available. The cheques of those brokers who had usually acted for Wright were returned by the banks. The brokers who represented Wright's 'bear' enemies promptly dumped 12,000 Lake Views on the market for 50,000*l*., insisting upon being paid in Bank of England notes. The latter were not, of course, available. The news of such dramatic events, not expected (so soon, at any rate), caused consternation in the City, where Stock Exchange men lingered until a late hour, discussing the position and dreading further disasters. Altogether about forty brokers were 'hammered'—declared defaulters—one firm being credited with a loss of 200,000*l*. Wright 'landed' the Stock Exchange as well as the public. Of course the wildest rumours were circulated regarding the cause of this crisis, and the actual facts proved to be almost as serious as these rumours.

A peculiar feature was that the Public Prosecutor, the Solicitor-General, and the Attorney-General appeared to take the view that the State was not concerned in this tremendous *débâcle*. Then the House of Commons intervened, and it was elicited that the framing of a successful indictment appeared to present serious difficulties. While the Solicitor-General expressed his conviction that Whitaker Wright had issued a false balance sheet of the London and Globe Corporation, he hesitated and asked: 'But could anybody in the House get up and say that he could be prosecuted because he had published a false balance sheet?'

This amazing question was duly commented upon and even criticised, but the House, accepting the Government legal expert's opinion, voted against the proposed prosecution. However, early in 1903 the case reached the Bankruptcy Court while Whitaker Wright was in Paris—probably seeking comfort in his distress from Rosalie—and an indictment was presented about June 1903. But Wright had then already fled to America, where he learned from London friends of the tremendous agitation among his

victims and the action of the authorities. But the Consul-General in New York developed commendable activity to ensure his extradition, and this resulted in the arrest of Wright. This former millionaire, with his palaces, yacht, and luxurious mode of existence, found himself cramped in a small, dark cell, its only furniture being an iron bedstead, without a mattress and only a blanket for a covering—not even a tin bowl to wash his face—and he was stared at through the iron bars of the door as if he were a beast in a cage. With characteristic assurance he blamed the British Consul-General for these hardships, and even boasted, 'I shall not be surprised if he is severely censured for exceeding his authority in this respect, but that is a matter for future consideration.' Finally he was transferred to London.

This master gambler appeared in court, apparently cool and collected, dressed with exceptional care in his traditional loose clothes without any jewellery. But as the proceedings developed one noted a realisation of his tragic position by his hunted look and the nervous twitching of his hands. Before leaving New York he had boldly asserted that he would be able to return to America and resume his former position of influence and prosperity. 'The injustice of my detention makes my blood boil. I am guilty of no more than a technical offence at most against the laws of England. Would that I had never left America. Had I remained, I should to-day have a snug nest-egg of [illegible] dollars as the result of the losses of the last few years.'

It was in January 1904 that Mr. Rufus Isaacs, K.C. (now Lord Reading), presented before Mr. Justice Bigham (Lord Mersey), the case for the prosecution, that the jury fully realised the extent, and even the intricate mechanism, of his fraudulent exploits. It was clearly demonstrated that in making up the London and Globe balance sheet Wright had entered into such paper transactions with his other companies that the London and Globe was represented as having made a profit of [illegible]. Bankruptcy swiftly followed this misrepresentation. The group's total losses were estimated at [illegible].

As the trial proceeded Wright gradually acquired the conviction that the end must prove for him disastrous. Thus while Mr. Justice Bigham was summing up the case, the prisoner was mechanically scribbling 'W. W.' upon a piece of blotting paper. Also the words 'No Jersey' in block letters. Ever and again he would write in Roman numerals VII—obviously an estimate of the term of his sentence. Yet, despite all these damning developments, he still indulged in the hope that the jury, muddled by this formidable, confusing mass of facts and figures, would finally disagree.

Wright, plucky to the last, heard the verdict unmoved

The sentence 'Seven years' produced no apparent effect. 'I am as innocent of intent to defraud as anyone,' he said quietly; 'yes, as anyone in court,' he added. Then, finally yielding to a spasm of agony, he added, 'That's right; that's right.' Then he was led from court into a consultation room, followed by his solicitor, who found him with two friends chatting affably, while the court officials watched. Sir George offered him a cigar, he drank some water, and then smoked a little. Suddenly he fell forward, and never recovered, having contrived, during a moment of liberty, to swallow a strong dose of poison. Resolute in his will to die, he had another tabloid and a six-chambered revolver fully loaded, and even cocked, in his pocket.

Imperious, arrogant to the last, this master gambler snatched from Fate, and secured for himself, the control of his own destiny even unto death. His last, and certain, throw of the dice!

ROLAND BELFORT

THE CENTENARY OF THE 'REVUE DES DEUX MONDES'

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* is more than a review. It is a French national institution. It is the mirror of the intellect of France, it is a monthly image of the Gallic soul. It has occupied the dominant position for some fourscore and ten years. It celebrates in December 1929 the centenary of its birth. This event is of world-wide significance.

The personality of François Buloz is impressed upon every issue of this publication. He was not its founder; he took it over when it was but a few months old and moulded it to his own likeness. He passed to his reward in 1877. The imprint of his individuality, however, still lives in its pages. His successors have all of them been outstanding men. There has not been a light-weight among them; they have, as writers, far outshone him. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* remains, nevertheless, the incarnation of François Buloz as much as the Comédie Française continues to be the House of Molière.

Ségur-Dupeyron and Mauroy founded the magazine in 1829. The sub-title which they gave to it, *Journal des Voyages*, clearly indicates that they did not envisage dominating the literary field. They appear to have contemplated issuing a journal specialising in descriptions of travel. Their world was divided into the Old and the New. They wanted France to know these two worlds—*les deux mondes*—rather as geographical entities than as repositories of foreign culture.

When François Buloz took over the reins of leadership he deliberately discarded this programme. Literature was his goal and non-partisan politics his objective. The first number issued under his management contains 100 pages of reading matter contributed, in part, by Montalembert, Dumas père, Balzac, and Sainte-Beuve. These four names speak volumes. They tell the whole story of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. They symbolise that *génie français* which has secured the sustained primacy of the metamorphosed geographical magazine ushered into the world by two editors who are now forgotten.

The man who galvanised into life a publication which in those days was not viable wrote nothing. His successors,

Brunetière, speaks of him as a '*Littérateur qui n'a rien, ou presque rien, écrit.*' It has repeatedly been written of him that *il n'avait pas d'instruction*. This latter statement is obviously an exaggeration. The truth is that he was essentially a self-made man, and that his vast erudition was largely self-taught.

One has but to follow his career to realise this. He was the eighth child of what biographers are tempted to describe as 'poor but honest parents.' He was a Savoyard by birth. This is another way of saying that stubbornness was ingrained in the marrow of his bone. He was born in troublesome days. The very date of his birth emphasises this fact. It occurred on the third complementary day of the year 11 of the French Republic. This, translated into English, reads September 20, 1803, but the former designation stresses the hard times which young François had to face.

His father died when the future publicist was but ten years of age. His mother, however, scraped together enough money to send him to Paris, where he entered the Lycée Louis le Grand. He left there in 1821 and began to work in a chemical factory located at Sologne. He soon tired of this and returned to Paris, got an odd job of some kind, went to the Sorbonne and followed a course in chemistry. At the same time, with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary, he studied English for intellectual distraction.

Such untiring effort caused a Monsieur de Jouy to become interested in the determined young man. This friendship did not take the form of a grant-in-aid. On the contrary, this well-wisher contented himself with giving Buloz a position at 50 francs per month for doing research work in connexion with a biography of contemporaries which his admirer was editing. This billet came to an end after a little while. The young man then turned his attention to learning the printer's trade, and translated, as a side line, Duncan's *Modern Traveller* from English into French.

He became an efficient typesetter. In due course he was made a proof reader. Later on he took over the management of a printing-house. While thus occupied his efficiency, alertness, and perhaps *hauteur*, threw him into touch with Véron (who had just founded the first *Revue de Paris*), Eugène Sue (for whom he printed *L'Histoire de la Marine*), Brucux, Alfred de Vigny, and many others. These celebrities ceased to look upon François Buloz as the human adjunct of a printing press. They came to know him as a man. It is not said that they consulted him. The inference, however, is clear that when they called at his workshop they talked to him upon subjects which broadened his intellectual horizon.

Among his new-found acquaintances was a schoolmate of his college days, Monsieur Auffray, a printer, but a man of some means. The Savoyard and Auffray became fast friends. And just about this time Ségur-Dupeyron and Mauroy were having a

hard time keeping their *Journal des Voyages* afloat. It was making for the rocks. Auffray was convinced that his money and Buloz's literary connexions, driving power, and technical fitness could make a good thing out of the moribund *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He therefore proposed that they should take over the publication. They did so. Buloz's remuneration was fixed at a salary of 1200 francs per annum, plus a premium of 2 francs for each subscriber.

It is needless to say that the review had at first a hard road to hoe even under the skilful direction of François Buloz. His abode was a modest one. A small apartment had to suffice alike for his publishing office and for his home. He was practically the entire staff of the magazine. He read the manuscripts, rejected or chose them, selected their titles, edited them, looked after their punctuation, kept in touch with the subscription list, went out after new business, protected his copyrights—in a word personified his publication.

He had a policy; he defined it early in the day and religiously adhered to it. His journal was not an organ, but a forum. He allowed nothing to get into it that he did not understand. He did not agree with the views expressed by all of his contributors, but he made it a point that every line of copy printed by him should be in the interests of France and of righteousness, and that it should carry a clear-cut message which would either instruct or entertain his public. A signature as such meant nothing to him. He demanded from even the best known writers that their manuscripts should toe the mark. If an article struck him as being diffuse, prolix, or merely colourless, it went into his waste-paper basket, even if it were signed by one of the forty immortals.

A disagreement which he had with Victor Cousin, when the latter was a leader in the world of letters and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* still struggling for a foothold, will illustrate Buloz's methods. The author had recently read before l'Académie des Sciences Morales a paper on Kant. Unanimous applause had greeted his effort. The manuscript was offered to the young editor. He rejected it. When remonstrated with by men who appreciated the outstanding merits of Cousin's paper, Buloz replied:

I do not doubt a word of what you say. I am not, however, conducting this publication either for you or for Cousin, but for men of average intelligence. I have read every line of that article. I do not understand a word of it. I shall never publish anything which I do not understand. Let Cousin bring his copy to the *Journal des Savants*.

On another occasion Buloz was heard to say, speaking of another contribution:

Of course, his name would be an advertisement for us, but he must manage to send a good one. I put myself in the place of my public. I want either to be taught something or to be entertained. I get no [illegible]

f this piece of work. A signature cannot of itself satisfy my craving for ther knowledge or edification. If I get nothing out of this article my aders will get nothing out of it. An author's name will leave them as old as it leaves me.

This does not mean that Buloz kept his ear to the ground and earkened to the whims of the crowd. He was above such ractices. All that it implies is that he saw to it that his publica- ion respected the best traditions of France which make clearness nd preciseness their tutular deities. In politics he was a Liberal, ut he opened his columns to Veuillot. In foreign affairs he pposed vagaries, whatever label they might bear, and advocated hat may best be described as 'sanity and continuity.'

In order to keep in touch with foreign politics he kept up a teady correspondence with many French diplomatists stationed broad. He made it a point to have personal contacts with at east one member of the French diplomatic mission accredited to ondon, Turin, Rome, Stockholm and Madrid. When he was a oung man neither Berlin nor Washington loomed large upon the iplomatic horizon. He had in addition to these sources of nformation correspondents in all of the main centres. He also, n later years, gave roving commissions to such men as Loève emars, Marmier, and Jurien de la Gravière to travel around and et an insight into foreign politics. In a word, he left nothing ndone to get his facts right.

But, important as were the insight that Buloz had into every amification of the publishing business, his phenomenal capacity or work, his keenness of vision in defining a sane policy, his moral courage in adhering to it and his well-organised intelligence ervice, his abiding place in French letters is probably due, in an ven greater degree, to his uncanny sense for detecting ability in oung writers and for enlisting them under his standard. He did ot, of course, adopt what is called the Osler theory and attach o his chariot no man over forty. He seemed, nevertheless, to urn towards writers whose youth made it possible for him to look orward toward long years of collaboration with them. Take, for xample, the four names which lent lustre to the first number of he review issued under the Buloz management. They are, it vill be recalled, Dumas père, Montalembert, Balzac, and Sainte- Beuve. The name of Victor Hugo graced the second copy. The ldest of this galaxy of stars, Balzac, was then but thirty-two ears of age; the youngest, Montalembert, was barely twenty-one.

It is all very well to argue that the editor himself was, in those days, a young man and that he naturally gravitated towards his own contemporaries. But he was in 1831 twenty-eight years of ge, and the average man on the shady side of thirty is very apt to ook with contempt upon the lore of a youth of twenty-one. The

acceptance of Montalembert's manuscript, therefore, tends to show that it was not merely affiliations but judgment which caused the *Revue des Deux Mondes* to specialise in supporting young authors.

And, besides, this principle was adhered to far too constantly to have been due to accident. As Marie-Louise Pailleron clearly points out in *François Buloz et ses Amis*:

He believed in young men. He believed in obscure men. His beginnings had been humble. He therefore sought for talent among the humble. How many young men started out in the rue des Beaux Arts? Musset was only twenty when he did his first piece of work for the review. Jules Simon was taken in hand just as he left l'Ecole Normale. When barely twenty Henri Blaze, introduced by Dumas, had his first manuscript accepted. And how many other examples may be cited!

Alfred de Vigny, Edgar Quinet, and Augustin Thierry were soon identified with the stars of *La Revue des Deux Mondes*. It took all the subtle arts of diplomacy to keep these temperamental writers in hand. One of the earlier difficulties was brought about by certain incense burned by Sainte-Beuve before the shrine of Victor Hugo. Those were the days when the author of *Les Lundis* had special reasons for desiring to stand well in the graces of the man who subsequently treated Napoleon III so cavalierly. But be that as it may, the eminent critic excited the ire of Alfred de Vigny when he wrote that:

Barely thirty years of age, M. Hugo has created for himself a place in our literature which is both unique and [illegible]. *[illegible] de ses devanciers.*

The author of *Stello* saw red when he read these lines. He criticised the impartiality of Sainte-Beuve. He said some great things, and let his tongue wag. Hugo's admirer was prepared to apologise, but the question arose as to how to frame a retractation which would not offend the man whose friendship meant so much to Sainte-Beuve. The issue of November 15, 1832, therefore carried the following:

In this connexion we may say that when quite recently this Review spoke of writers *qui estiment d'un grand écrivain* it is obvious that we did not refer to the great names of the present day. The great poet to whom we referred would be the first to combat any such idea. *Les Lamartine, les Vigny, les [illegible], les Barbier, les Dumas* [illegible].

Buloz had both George Sand and Musset among his contributors. When they were still the best of friends the latter wrote a charming sonnet addressed to the lyre of the irresistible Madame Dudevant. One morning the temperamental Alfred hurried around to the editor's apartment and begged him to burn the lines. In them he had referred to her 'Chère [illegible].' One wonders why the irate poet sought in his wrath to suppress a

compliment of so doubtful an alloy. The explanation probably is that he had forgotten what he had written and feared that his praise had been orthodox rather than schismatic.

One can best grasp both the general scope of the magazine and the high type of its contributors when one recalls that even in its earlier years its main articles upon philosophy were by such masters as Victor Cousin and Jouffroy, its manuscripts upon history by Augustin Thierry and Mignet, its poems by Lamartine and Alfred de Musset, and its novels by George Sand, Mérimée, and Jules Sandeau. In other words, its field covered a wide area, and every subject touched upon was committed to the hands of a master. Later on, during the Buloz days, the place of these leaders was taken by Octave Feuillet, Edmond About, Taine, Renan, Havet, Dumas fils, Gautier, Baudelaire, Bourget, and others of high repute. All of this means that Buloz at no period of his existence ceased to command the services of the best literary brains of France and that his publication at all times covered the widest range of knowledge.

In 1838 François Buloz became the *commissaire du Roi près la Comédie Française*. In 1847 he was made the *administrateur* of that theatre. He resigned in 1848. This connexion with the Française doubtlessly fastened his firm grip upon the services of the French dramatic authors. They all aspired to have their works appear upon the stage of Molière. They therefore had an additional reason for offering their manuscripts to the man who was able to assure them not only the ear but also the eye of the public.

And, speaking thus of ear and eye, it is sad to relate that the indomitable publicist became in his latter years not only deaf, but almost blind. Yet neither his energy nor his courage ever flagged. When in the war of 1870 the tricolour of his country went down before the Prussian cohorts he dedicated his life to the rehabilitation of France. His one lament was that old age was then creeping in upon him. But he threw himself into the breach and made the *Revue des Deux Mondes* not only the cultural and spiritual mouthpiece of France, but also the sounding-board of her patriotic resolve to remain great and to be worthy of her best traditions.

Ferdinand Brunetière became connected with the review in 1875, some two years before the death of its editor. It was not until 1893 that he officially took over the reins of management. It is, however, inferred that while still clothed with the more humble title of secretary he was the dominant factor in the management nominally conducted in the name of a nephew of François Buloz. Brunetière was as ardent a patriot as the departed master. And he was just as stubborn, just as courageous, and just as much of a martinet as his great predecessor. He was, in addition, a prolific writer. He enforced his point of view with

[illegible] to much as with [illegible], [illegible] a later edition—not a revised [illegible], but merely a later edition—of Buloz. Times had changed between [illegible] and 1877, and still more so between 1877 and 1893. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* had expanded and met new conditions. The prestige of its virtual founder enabled him to impress his personality upon the men of the 'sixties and of the 'seventies. But such a mantle was not a patent of nobility which could be transmitted. Brunetière was just as arbitrary, just as dogmatic, and just as *autoritaire* as Buloz. He was able to force French men of letters to accept him as he was because he was a latter-day Buloz.

When Ferdinand Brunetière passed away in 1906 the best interests of the review called for an iron fist in a gloved hand. It would have been dangerous to have attempted to find a twentieth century replica of the two "B.'s." Constitutionalism had replaced arbitrary authority. France wanted her great review maintained in its pristine form, but she required that the traditions of the past be enforced according to the ethics of the present. The French are always logical. The situation called for a diplomatist who was also a literary man. The Quai d'Orsay came to the rescue. It produced Francis Charmes, of whom Paul Adam once said that "*l'esprit de l'homme était descendu en lui*."

The wisdom of this selection was manifest. It enabled the historic publication to adhere to its old standards, not only of excellence, but of discipline. The astute ancien directeur at Quai d'Orsay knew how to solve each problem with that keenness and sense of justice which had won his spurs for him.

René Doumic, *secrétaire perpétuel* of the French Academy, succeeded Charmes. Here, again, a happy choice was made. It was essential that the literary aspect of the review should predominate over its political or diplomatic phase. The publication had, however, at no time assumed a partisan colour. It had always soared above party. And, needless to say, Francis Charmes was not a politician. Nevertheless, it was the part of wisdom to have as the new editor one whose name was both indelibly and inseparably associated with letters. The literary world had, through the tact of a diplomatist, accepted without murmur the traditions of Buloz and Brunetière. It was but proper, with the disciplinary feature thus solved, that emphasis should be placed upon the development of the literary standards so dear to both of these [illegible] taskmasters. René Doumic has proved himself worthy of this trust. He is adding new lustre to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—and new subscribers and greater prestige.

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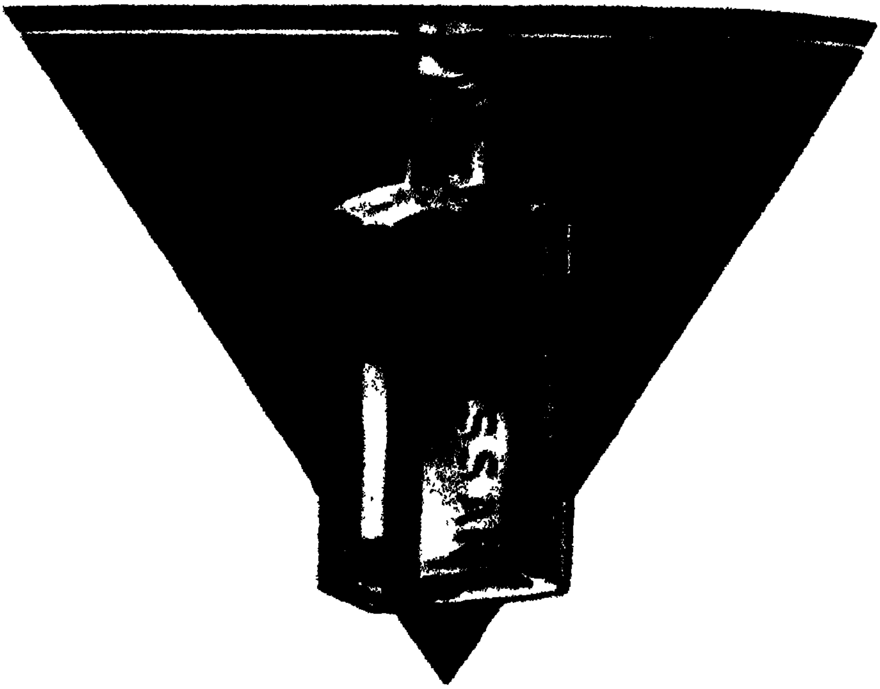
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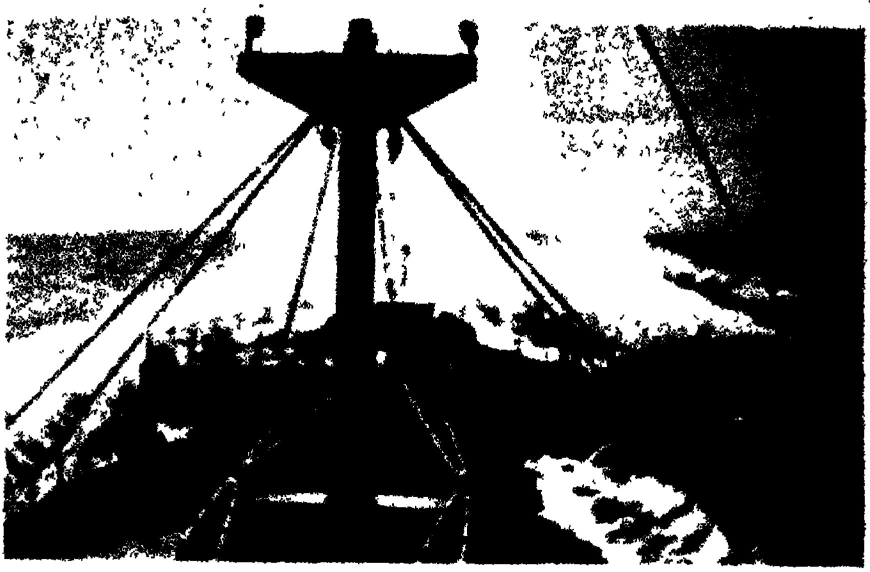
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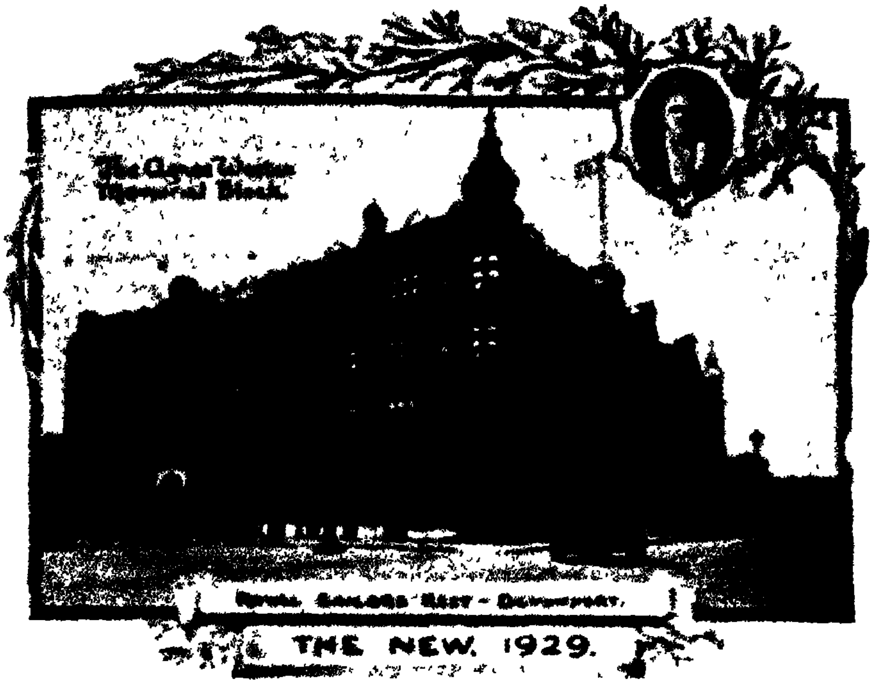
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No DCCXXXIV—December 1929

THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

I. As Viewed from Europe

During the third week in January the London Five-Power Naval Conference is to begin its deliberations. How long these will continue, and what their outcome will be no one can predict with assurance. Both in London and in Washington, but more especially in the American capital, a feeling of optimism appears to prevail, not without some reason. Thanks in part to the spadework performed by the late Unionist Government, and in part to the joint endeavours of Mr Ramsay MacDonald and President Hoover, all serious differences on the naval tonnage question as between the British Empire and the United States have been composed. Save for a minor divergence of opinion as to the number of heavy cruisers to be retained by each, they appear to be in close accord, and since the remaining difference is a matter of two or three ships only, there should be no difficulty in coming to terms across the Conference table.

Japan, from all accounts, is anxious to do her share in making

the Conference a success. She is in sympathy with Anglo-American views as to the postponement of capital ship replacement and the limitation of so-called 'auxiliary' craft—i.e., cruisers, destroyers, and submarines—but has made it clear that she expects preferential treatment in regard to such auxiliary tonnage. Under the Washington Treaty her capital ship strength is restricted to 60 per cent. of the British and the American total, but it has been semi-officially intimated that in any agreement establishing ratios for auxiliary craft she will expect to be granted 70 per cent. Here, again, the difference is not so marked as to rule out the probability of a settlement. Indeed, were the forthcoming Conference limited to the three principal naval Powers, its success would be a foregone conclusion.

For obvious reasons, however, no scheme for the reduction of naval armaments can be of permanent value unless it embraces all the important maritime States. It is to be gathered from Washington despatches that the United States Government, failing a new Five-Power Treaty of limitation, would be satisfied with an Anglo-American-Japanese pact. That may well be so. The only navies that really interest the United States are the British and Japanese; the strength of other fleets is, to her, a matter of comparative indifference. Japan, also, would doubtless be agreeable to a trilateral pact, concerned as she is mainly, if not solely, with the strength of the British and American fleets. Consequently, should it prove impossible to draft a treaty embracing all the five Conference Powers, pressure is likely to be brought to bear on Great Britain, both from Washington and Tokyo, to induce her to enter into a three-Power agreement.

To this, however, there are grave objections. Unlike the United States and Japan, Great Britain lies in close geographical proximity to several countries possessing formidable naval armaments, which must, therefore, be a matter of abiding interest to her. Even if we ignore the Channel and the North Sea, can it be pretended that the balance of power in the Mediterranean is not a subject of vital concern to the whole Empire? There has been talk in Washington—and one regrets to see it echoed in certain quarters at home—of 'safeguarding clauses' which, inserted in a tripartite agreement, would meet these cogent objections from the British point of view. Such clauses would empower us to increase our naval establishment beyond the Treaty limits in the event of a non-signatory State expanding its fleet to any appreciable extent. At first sight this may seem an admirably simple way out of the difficulty. In reality it is not so. Let us suppose, for example, that one of our Continental neighbours embarked on a heavy programme of submarine construction. As a measure of protection we should naturally wish to reinforce our light-

craft flotillas. But before taking any steps it would be necessary to consult the other parties to the Treaty, and, since the negotiations could not be kept secret, we should be advertising to the world our belief that the Continental neighbour in question was a potential enemy. The result would be political friction, inevitably with the State against whom we proposed to build, and probably with our Treaty partners as well, who might demur to modification of the tonnage ratios unless we could prove, which it would be difficult to do, that our national security was really jeopardised by the new development.

The whole question of naval limitation is one of such vital concern to the British peoples that no apology is offered for the frank treatment it receives in this paper. When all is said and done, the Navy remains our first line of defence: if not against overhead attack, at least against the far deadlier menace of famine and social cataclysm. Upon the decisions reached at the London Conference will depend the strength and war readiness of the British Navy for years to come. To such a great national and Imperial issue all party and personal considerations should and must be subordinated. It is an occasion which calls for clear thinking and the straightforward expression of honest conviction. Everything indicates absolute sincerity on the part of the protagonists up to now. Even those to whom our present Prime Minister's political tenets are most repugnant will not have forgotten his service to the Navy in 1924, when in the teeth of his own party he sponsored and piloted through Parliament the cruiser programme of that year. As for President Hoover, most thoughtful Englishmen have made up their minds that he is a friend who, while placing America first and always, is anxious to give Great Britain what one of the greatest of his predecessors called 'a square deal.' In the middle distance stands Japan, for many years our staunch and most loyal ally. To her, as to us, adequate naval power is a *sine qua non* of national existence. If Japan were cut off from the sea her industrial and social system would collapse just as surely, if perhaps more slowly, than would ours under similar conditions. This community of risk is peculiar to Japan and Great Britain. It is not shared in the same degree by any other country. In the background, though obviously cast for a more prominent position when the London Conference opens, are France and Italy. Both are ancient naval Powers, each with its traditions of maritime grandeur and glory. A visitor from Mars, taking a broad view of what a German savant would call the 'world-political-naval' situation, would unhesitatingly adjudge France to be second only to Great Britain in maritime pretensions. Besides a long coast-line fronting two seas she has a vast colonial empire, free access

to the commerce of which have become indispensable to her prosperity in peace and her defence in war.

To bring the French army up to war strength it would be necessary for the white and coloured troops stationed in Northern Africa to be landed in France without delay. But unless the sea routes were reasonably safe the troop convoys from Tunis and Algiers dare not sail. That is why the French military authorities, for the first time in modern history, are strongly supporting a policy of naval expansion. It may be said, indeed, that the French nation as a whole is interested as never before in questions of sea power. Any doubt on that score is removed when one scans the reports of naval debates in the Chamber. In recent years one naval budget after another has been passed by large majorities. It is true that the demands of the Ministry of Marine are often criticised, not, however, because they are too ambitious, but because they are too modest. This is particularly true of the submarine programmes. In no other country does the prestige of the submarine stand so high. To the Gallic imagination the submarine has become the chief symbol of maritime power. The future establishment has been fixed at 115 boats, sixty-seven of which are to be ocean going craft of great cruising endurance, and forty-eight of a smaller type, nominally for coastal defence, but quite capable of operating on the high seas. The submarine service is now the *corps d'élite* of the navy. By some mental twist difficult to reconcile with the logical working of the French mind it has become a fixed idea that submarines are the most potent factor in the defence of the trans-Mediterranean routes. It is possible that this thought has been deliberately implanted in the public mind by the naval authorities, whose own conception of the prime function of the submarine may be reflected more faithfully in the writings of Rear-Admiral Castex, the author of the much-discussed *Synthesis of Submarine Warfare*.

Be that as it may, France is of all nations the patron of the submarine arm in its post-war phase of evolution. There does not appear to be the faintest chance that she will entertain proposals for the abolition of her most cherished naval weapon. On the contrary, judging from semi-official utterances in Paris, she will oppose tooth and nail any suggestion calculated to restrict the development of submarines, whether in size or numerical strength. Since both Great Britain and the United States are apparently determined to introduce such proposals, it is much to be feared that acrimonious and barren controversy on this subject will be a feature of the London Conference, just as it was at Washington eight years ago. Nor is this the only question liable to create friction. The Anglo-American naval accord postulates the drastic reduction and allotment of destroyer

tonnage of vessels based upon the Washington Treaty scale. In French eyes, however, the destroyer is second only to the submarine as a potent and relatively cheap instrument of naval power. Her building programme, due to mature by the year 1942, embraces ninety destroyers, two-thirds of which are to be vessels of such formidable size as almost to come within the light cruiser category. They are ships of approximately 3000 tons, heavily armed, of high speed, and with sea-keeping qualities and a radius of action which would enable them to be employed with effect far out at sea.

For France the impending Naval Conference comes at an unfortunate juncture. The rebuilding of her fleet is in full swing, but the programme which was designed to give her, some twelve years hence, a navy of sufficient power to safeguard her coasts, her principal military and trade routes, and her colonial territories is only half-completed. That she will readily consent to any drastic pruning of this programme, so closely bound up with her general scheme of national defence, is exceedingly improbable. When M. Briand was at the Washington Conference as chief French delegate his foreign colleagues admired the way in which he upheld the interests of his country. Beyond accepting the principle of parity with Italy—which he could not have refused without, in all probability, wrecking the Conference and putting France into a most unenviable position—he made no concessions whatever. He stoutly refused to agree to the limitation of submarines except at a figure three times as large as the then existing French tonnage total, and maintained his attitude in face of the most earnest, even bitter, expostulations from the British and American delegates, who pointed out that the whole plan of restricting auxiliary tonnage would collapse unless France agreed to a smaller quota of submarines. That plan did, in fact, collapse, and when M. Briand returned he told the Chamber, with absolute truth, that 'the French point of view has, after all, triumphed.' France was left free to develop without restraint the naval weapons to which she attached most importance. Yet M. Briand's reward was to be accused of having played traitor to his country. Feeling ran so high that for many months the French Government hesitated to submit the Washington Naval Treaty for ratification. When, after a long delay, it was laid before the Chambers, it passed by a slender majority, but only after the most positive assurances had been given by M. Briand and other Ministers that the ratification of this instrument would in no wise hamper the projected development of the new fleet.

Since all the most contentious issues left open at Washington, notably the banning of submarines, or, alternatively, their

restriction in size and number, and the limitation of light cruisers and destroyers, are to head the agenda of the London Conference, the proceedings bid fair to be somewhat lively. There is no reason to suppose that France will be in a more pliant mood than she was at Washington. All indications point in the contrary direction. Eight years ago she had to bargain with assets that existed mainly on paper. To-day she has scores of powerful ships actually afloat or on the stocks. Not only has a new fleet been created, but French public opinion has become much more alive to the value of sea power, and, consequently, more inclined to be resentful of outside attempts to interfere with the growth of the national navy. So far as France is concerned we shall find ourselves on delicate ground at the coming Conference, and need to walk warily. American approbation is, no doubt, very desirable, and we have already made great sacrifices to secure it. But if it is only to be purchased at the cost of estranging France, many thoughtful Englishmen will consider the bargain too one-sided.

Italy represents another factor of cardinal importance in the problem of naval reduction. As regards the limitation of submarines and light craft she will probably take the same line as France. The two Powers are already conferring on this subject, and if the initial difficulty as to parity can be overcome they are likely to present a united front at the Conference. It will not have escaped notice that the Italian Government, in accepting the invitation to the Conference, took occasion to refer to its note verbale addressed to Great Britain on October 6, 1928, in connexion with the abortive Anglo-French naval compromise. The gist of that note was that Italy, while sympathising in principle with the disarmament movement, felt herself unable to dissociate naval armaments from those of the land and the air. Further, she considered that 'the most suitable means for the application of this principle, from the naval aspect, would be by the adoption of the formula of global limitation of tonnage, rather than the application of the formula of limitation by categories.' The note also reiterated the demand for naval equality with France in the following unmistakable terms:

As regards land, naval, and aerial disarmament, the Italian Government repeat at this point the declaration already made elsewhere, to the effect that they are disposed *à priori* to accept as the basis of their own armaments any figures, however low they may be, provided that they are not exceeded by any other European Continental Power.

Finally, the note gave the following clear definition of the conditions which govern Italian naval policy:

Italy has only three lines of communication with the rest of the world, three compulsory channels for her supplies—Port Said, Gibraltar, or the

Dardanelles. Italy has an extremely long coast line, heavily populated cities and vital centres on its coast or within a short distance of it, and two large islands, in addition to the Dodecanese, which are connected with the peninsula by vital lines of traffic. Italy cannot ignore other nations which touch, or may touch, the Mediterranean, and which are particularly favoured by their geographical position on essential lines of communication, and which have in construction many units of various types or are in process of elaborating naval programmes of great importance.

The fact that Italy makes specific reference to this *note verbale* of 1928 in her acceptance for the London Conference evidently means that the principles embodied in the note are still valid and will be upheld. Her suggestion of limitation by global tonnage is, of course, diametrically opposed to the Anglo-American plan of restriction by classes, and there are other points in the note which, if pressed, are bound to generate controversy. Italy, like France, is giving concrete expression to her views on the importance of sea power. Within the past eight years she has built and authorized eighty-nine warships, aggregating 192,000 tons, besides developing new fleet bases and expanding her naval air forces on a large scale.

The foregoing facts expose the fallacy in the idea that an understanding between Great Britain and the United States must inevitably usher in a new era of universal naval limitation. This notion is, however, being fostered by a great part of the American Press and by certain British organs, which seem to regard the success of the London Conference as something that is assured in advance. That is a dangerous delusion. Except in the improbable event of France and Italy both experiencing a complete change of heart between now and the third week in January, it is difficult to see how an agreement can be reached on terms jointly acceptable to this country and the United States. Assuming, as is not unreasonable, that the two Latin Powers hold fast to the doctrines they have preached, and practised, up to now, the prospects of negotiating a Five-Power Treaty which provided for a sweeping reduction in current programmes of submarines and light craft construction seem infinitely remote. Yet only by such a reduction would the Anglo-American limitation scheme become practicable.

Great Britain, for patent reasons, could not bind herself to a fixed quota of light surface tonnage if the great Continental Powers remained at liberty to build submarines without stint. If, on the other hand, France and Italy could be persuaded to accept maximum tonnage allotments for under-water and light surface craft, it is to be feared that their maxima would not err on the side of moderation, since they would be sure to bear some relation to the building programmes already in train. Great

Britain in that event would be compelled, by the same overriding principle of national defence, to hold out for a higher proportion of cruiser and destroyer tonnage than might be acceptable to the United States, whose avowed aim, let us not forget, is reduction rather than limitation.

The possibilities of a deadlock at the Conference are only too obvious. If it does occur we shall almost certainly be invited by the United States and Japan to join with them in a trilateral compact. The objections to this have already been stated. It would leave us in a most ambiguous position, it would contain the seeds of future controversy both with our Treaty partners and the non-signatory Powers, and would, in short, be a thoroughly unwise expedient from our point of view. But what, it may pertinently be asked, is the alternative? If France and Italy find themselves unable to join the other three Powers in a new agreement, are we to wash our hands of the whole business of naval disarmament? Every student of contemporary affairs knows that to be out of the question. For good or ill we are committed to the thesis of naval equality with the United States. But a political thesis must be founded on common sense if it is to endure. British statesmen of all parties have not only proclaimed their adherence to the principle of parity, but have given the most convincing proofs of their sincerity in the matter. But the safety of the country and the Empire must override all other considerations. It would be easy enough to end the deadlock here foreshadowed provided there exists between the British and American Governments and peoples that spirit of friendship and mutual sympathy which we have been assured by the leading men of both countries does indeed exist. We must therefore proceed on the assumption that America recognises our naval policy to be purely defensive and in no sense directed against herself.

So much being granted, it follows, in view of our economic situation and the trend of political currents in Great Britain, that we are not likely to lay down a single ship of war over and above the bedrock minimum required for security. To forestall a possible criticism, there is no possibility of the Admiralty's forcing any Government of the day to sponsor a naval building programme in excess of positive requirements. Of all the departments of the State none, in recent years, has shown more regard for the public interest than the Admiralty. The Board of 1921 put no obstacle in the way when America, at the Washington Conference, proposed what amounted to a revolutionary change in our traditional naval policy. Three years later, in deference to the Labour Cabinet's wishes, the Board agreed to drastic cuts being made in the cruiser programme approved by the

[illegible]. The Board of 1927 did its utmost to ensure the success of the Geneva Three-Power Conference, and, as has since been discovered, no blame for the failure of the Conference rests at its door. During the latest negotiations the Board of Admiralty, as the Prime Minister has repeatedly acknowledged, has given most loyal co-operation. With a full sense of the risks involved it agreed to reduce its original cruiser demand from seventy vessels to fifty, thus bridging the gap which hitherto had divided British and American views on limitation. Apart from these outstanding services the Admiralty has effected economies of which the full extent is known only to those in constant and intimate touch with the Navy. The recital of these facts should satisfy all reasonable people, abroad as well as at home, that no scheme of naval reduction not demonstrably below the safety mark will be obstructed by the British Admiralty.

Should co-operation with France and Italy prove to be impossible, the difficulty could be met by a 'gentlemen's agreement' between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. These Powers might enter into a compact—not necessarily a document signed and sealed—not to go beyond an agreed tonnage ratio in each class of vessel as long as the balance of power at sea remained fairly stable. Each, however, would reserve the right to raise its quota of cruisers, destroyers, or submarines, as the case might be, in the event of a non-signatory Power starting to build considerably above its existing establishment. The other two parties to the 'gentlemen's agreement' would naturally be free to effect a *pari passu* enlargement of their navies if they considered such action necessary or desirable. What is proposed is, in fact, an unwritten agreement between the three strongest naval Powers which would have all the moral force of a written treaty without its disadvantages. No written treaty would be acceptable—to this country, at least—which did not embody safeguarding clauses, the weighty objections to which have been explained.

There is good reason to believe that Japan would gladly enter into a 'gentlemen's agreement' on the lines indicated, and her past record in diplomatic affairs is in itself an assurance that she would scrupulously observe the spirit of such an engagement. What of the United States? That country, as chief protagonist, in the academic sense, of naval disarmament, should be the last to reject a compromise which may prove to be the only feasible method of averting future naval competition, the ominous possibilities of which were clearly set forth in President Coolidge's message to Congress on February 10, 1927. 'The American Government and people,' said the President, 'are convinced that

[illegible] are intended eventually to lead to war.

It is true that President Hoover and the greater part of his people have set their hearts on a formal treaty which would establish a graded scale of relative strength for all the great navies over an indefinite period of time. But the attainment of that ideal depends, as we have seen, on the acquiescence of all the Powers concerned, which may or may not be forthcoming. In any case, the outcome of the London Conference is sufficiently problematic not merely to warrant but to demand an exploration beforehand of all possible alternatives to a Five-Power Treaty. If, however, the London meeting fails to produce such a treaty, considerable difficulty may be experienced in inducing America to enter into an informal pact of fleet limitation. This is because American public opinion has for several years past been exposed to a well-organised, widespread, and most ingenious campaign of propaganda, promoted by interests which, from divers motives, are antagonistic to an Anglo-American *rapprochement* on naval or any other questions. Thanks to this campaign, nine Americans out of ten appear to hold stereotyped views on the naval situation in general. These views may be summarised as follows.

In 1921 the United States had in hand a naval building programme of such magnitude that when completed it would have given her unassailable supremacy on the seas. The sixteen capital ships then under construction, being of unprecedented size and power, would have rendered obsolete the 'Dreadnought' squadrons of all other nations. Yet, at a moment when the trident was within her very grasp, America decided to make a noble gesture of renunciation. Instead of aiming at naval primacy she resolved to content herself with parity, and to this end summoned the Washington Conference in November 1921. There she announced her readiness to scrap the great battleship programme on condition that Britain agreed to a fifty-fifty division of naval strength, Japan to a three-fifths percentage, and France and Italy to much lower percentages. This dramatic offer was accepted, America's proposals were duly embodied in a treaty, and on the face of things it looked as though her aim had been achieved. But in her simple honesty she had reckoned without the innate Machiavellianism of Old World statecraft. In sacrificing her unique fleet of super-'Dreadnoughts' she had counted on gaining mathematical parity, not only in capital ships, but in all other types of fighting craft. Owing, however, to the Anglo-French squabble over submarines, from which the American delegates held aloof, no agreement was reached

as to the rationing of cruisers and smaller vessels. Even so, America believed—or has since professed to have believed—that the other Powers would voluntarily extend the Washington Treaty battleship ratios to all naval craft.

Sad to relate, however, the ink on the Treaty was hardly dry when first Britain, then Japan, and subsequently France and Italy, started a new building race in cruisers, submarines, and other types not expressly restricted by treaty. The consequence was that America soon found her relative naval position steadily deteriorating, and realised too late that in sacrificing her great fleet of battleships, and with them naval supremacy, she had been shamefully hoodwinked—'tricked,' 'cheated,' 'swindled' being the words usually employed in this connexion by the leading service organ published in Washington.

While it may seem incredible that such a gross travesty of the facts should impose on intelligent Americans, one has to remember that the American public as a whole, not being deeply interested in external affairs, has but a vague idea of the antecedents of the naval disarmament movement, and is therefore susceptible to false impressions. These have been sedulously cultivated by the agencies upon which the American public has to rely for its information on naval affairs. The Washington Treaty was from the first exceedingly unwelcome to all who have a stake, whether direct or otherwise, in American naval aggrandisement. No good purpose would be served by analysing their motives, which are very diverse in character. Suffice it to say that the Treaty, almost from its inception, was violently attacked in various American quarters on the grounds that it robbed the United States of adequate naval defence and gave an unfair advantage to foreign Powers, particularly Great Britain, who was, it was alleged, the secret instigator of the Treaty.

So persistently has this legend been broadcast that it is now accepted as truth by the greater part of the American nation. While it is, perhaps, rather late in the day to attempt to explode the myth, the rebutting evidence is so clear and conclusive that it should carry instant conviction to minds not sealed up by prejudice. It will be convenient to deal seriatim with the main propositions advanced by the 'big navy' interests in the United States.

Proposition (1). Completion of the warships that were being built at the date of the Washington Conference would have given the United States a clear margin of supremacy over all other fleets.

Answer. The ships in question were sixteen capital units, admittedly larger and more powerful than earlier foreign types. But at the same date Great Britain and Japan had under con-

capital ships that were superior to the American vessels. In 1921 Great Britain had ordered four battle cruisers of 48,000 tons. They were over 4000 tons larger than the American battle cruisers then building, and had a heavier armament. The British programme for 1922 was to have included four battleships which in tonnage and gun power wholly eclipsed the new American battleships. These eight vessels alone, reinforced by our numerous fleet of older but still effective ships, would have given the British Navy a decided preponderance over the American, even when the latter had completed its sixteen new units. In 1921 Japan was building eight ships, all individually equal, and some superior, to the contemporary American vessels, and had legislated for the construction of eight still larger and more powerful units. Eventually, therefore, Japan would have possessed sixteen post-Jutland ships, or exactly the same number as the United States, but the Japanese ships as a group would have been far superior in fighting power. It should be added that since both the British and Japanese designs of 1921-22 provided for 18-inch armaments, while America was mounting nothing heavier than 16-inch guns, the American ships would to some extent have been obsolete within a year or two of completion. These facts, it is submitted, entirely disprove the claim that when America scrapped her 1921 building programme she voluntarily gave up naval supremacy. She was, moreover, very weak in modern cruisers, having only ten, whereas Great Britain had about eighty and Japan twenty-six.

Proposition (2). The Washington Conference and the resulting Treaty were instigated and forced upon the guileless American nation by Great Britain, with the object of thwarting the necessary and legitimate development of American sea power.

Answer. There is positive evidence that the Washington Conference was convoked by the American Government under irresistible pressure from American public opinion. Work on several of the sixteen capital ships then being built had already been virtually stopped, owing to the refusal of Congress to vote the necessary funds. Speaking at a public meeting four years ago, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, United States Secretary of State in 1921, declared that, 'even if the Washington Conference had never met, it is extremely doubtful whether we should ever have completed all of these ships.' In June 1921 the Republican National Committee warned its leaders that the party might come to grief at the next elections if naval expenditure were not reduced. The only inference to be drawn from this evidence is that the Washington Conference idea originated in America, and that the American proposals for a wholesale scrapping of our battleship tonnage were a blend of economy and virtue.

Proposition (9). Of all the Powers at the Conference the United States made the worst bargain, since she was tricked into surrendering naval primacy and gained nothing in return.

Answer. As has been shown, there never was any question of America's achieving naval primacy on the strength of her existing programme. With the possible exception of Japan, America derived more benefit from the Conference than any other participant. Without having to spend another dollar on battleships she gained equality with the British Navy and a two-fifths superiority over the Japanese navy. Neither of these advantages would have accrued from the completion of her programme. History affords no parallel to the amazing diplomatic victory which the United States won at the Washington Conference. Further, she was spared the outlay of enormous sums of money. In March 1924 the chairman of the sub-committee on appropriations stated in the Lower House of Congress:

> The Washington Treaty, referring to the navy alone and omitting fortification programmes in the Philippines and Guam, not only meant a saving to the American people of approximately $90,000,000 for the construction of eleven capital ships, but an annual saving in the maintenance of the fleet of from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000.

In the light of these facts and figures the suggestion that America gained nothing from the Washington Conference is seen to be false and even grotesque.

Some further relevant comments may be offered. The United States, as a self-contained and economically autonomous community, practically invulnerable to naval attack through her geographical situation, is of all nations the one best qualified to set an example in the retrenchment of naval armament. It might even be added that a certain moral obligation rests upon her to further this cause by every means in her power, since the resumption of competitive naval shipbuilding after the war was unquestionably due to American action. This statement is made deliberately, and as it may be challenged the following figures must be given. Between the Armistice and the convocation of the Washington Conference in November 1921, a period of only three years, the United States began the construction of 133 warships, namely, sixteen capital ships, ten cruisers, seventy-seven destroyers, thirty submarines. During the same period Great Britain began the construction of five warships, namely, four capital ships and one submarine. Comment on these statistics would be superfluous.

Once the mephitic vapours of propaganda have been dispersed by an honest breeze, no serious obstacles will be discerned in the path leading to a rational policy of naval disarmament as between

Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. With these three Powers working together in harmony the future could be faced without misgiving. Even in the realm of Realpolitik moral example remains one of the imponderabilia to be reckoned with. The spectacle of the three greatest naval Powers collaborating in the cause of naval limitation might well prove the most effectual deterrent to competitive building in other quarters.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

II. As Viewed from Japan

Time was when Japan's navy took on an appearance of an aggressive instrument as distinguished from the weapon of defence. She had adopted an ambitious building plan known as the '8 : 8' programme, involving eighteen capital ships and a proportionate number of auxiliary craft. Naturally America saw a plethora of alarmists, and a hundred William Baldwin Shearers (whose name all Englishmen should bless!) joined in the chorus of hate to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars bulging the coffers of 'patriotic' shipbuilders and of 'self-sacrificing' munitions manufacturers and oil magnates. Thus the two nations merrily ventured upon a building competition, their traditional friendship for the time gone, and they were brought at times perilously close to the verge of conflict. Such was the unhappy situation during the few years immediately preceding the Washington Conference of 1921–22.

And yet the Japanese navy had never, nor has since, been intended to be a tool of offence. It would, perhaps, serve no good purpose at this time to try to fix the blame for the mad rivalry of the pre-Washington days. In the interest of historical accuracy, however, it is well to remember that America was the nation which set the pace—which flung down the gauntlet.

In 1916, four years before the adoption of the 8 : 8 programme by Japan, the United States had inaugurated a gigantic building plan including sixteen capital ships, ten cruisers, fifty destroyers, and nine ocean-going submarines. In addition, appropriations amounting to some $310,000,000 were actually made for the speedy completion of the ships then already under construction, for the improvement of the navy yards, for the increase of naval ordnance and the fitting of merchantmen, and so forth. These measures, so far as they were meant to meet the exigencies of the World War, were entirely justifiable. But the 1916 building programme, especially the plan for the sixteen capital ships, was not put into execution until after the Armistice. It was, indeed, during the Peace Conference at Paris that Congress

at Washington, in compliance with a [illegible] President Wilson, [illegible] [illegible] for new ships which were in addition to those mentioned above. Although this new plan, for reasons which need not be discussed here, was not acted upon, the sixteen capital ships of the original 1916 programme were all laid down between 1919 and 1921. By August 1919 the main squadrons of the American navy had been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Synchronously, ambitious plans were formulated for the development of the fortifications and naval bases in the Philippines and at Guam, Samoa, and Pearl Harbour.

True, the 1916 plan, as originally conceived, was not aimed at Japan; rather it had in view the enforcement of American neutrality in the World War, and was in that sense directed chiefly against Britannia's traditional 'rule of the waves,' as witness the following utterance in President Wilson's address by which he launched the 1916 programme: 'There are cargoes of cotton on the seas, there are cargoes of wheat on the seas, there are cargoes of manufactured articles on the seas, and every one of those cargoes may be the point of ignition, because every cargo goes into the field of fire, goes where there are flames which no man can control.'

Between the Armistice and 1922 America laid down 116 ships, including the sixteen battleships noted above. Having embarked upon such a great building programme, America, when the Versailles Treaty ended the World War, had to find a new imaginary enemy to justify her naval plans. Forthwith Japan was painted in dark colours as a menace to the Philippines, to Hawaii, to the Pacific coast of continental United States. Whatever the American reason, Japan accepted the American naval activities as a challenge, as a threat to her national existence, and she replied to it with the 8–8 programme. The rivalry that followed was at once tragic and fatuous. 'Before the country [America],' says Mr Frederick Moore in his *America's Naval Challenge*, 'recovered its normal good judgment the Government had spent perhaps half a billion dollars upon the construction of new ships which were later sunk in the sea; we had caused Japan, a comparatively poor country, to spend hundreds of millions of yen, and we had brought about suspicions and counter-suspicions that were by no means warranted.'

Then came the Washington Conference, where the new Republican Administration under President Harding proposed to end the naval competition on the basis of 10:10:6 ratio as regards the American, British, and Japanese capital ships. Japan, remembering the American gesture so lately thrown down before her eyes, did not readily accept the proposed ratio, but sought to obtain a ratio of 7 for her capital ships as against America's

[illegible] In making this counter proposal Japan took into consideration the American project of converting Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines into the Pacific counterparts of Gibraltar and Malta, which, if completed, would be a constant menace to her.

When Japan's claim for a larger capital ship ratio was not conceded, she insisted upon the alternative of maintaining the *status quo* of the fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific. This new proposal was so obviously reasonable that both the American and British delegations could not but countenance it. Yet it was no easy task to arrive at agreement on this apparently simple matter. No doubt Japan would have had Hawaii and Singapore included in the zone where work on fortifications and naval bases was to cease, but neither the United States nor Britain would have listened to such a plan. Then there was the question whether the Bonin Islands, a Japanese group, should be included in the said zone. America insisting upon their inclusion, Japan upon their exclusion. The Japanese contention in this respect had a certain element of justice, for the Bonin group was but 500 miles from Yokohama, and was administratively a part of Japan proper. If the United States was justified in reserving the right to augment without restriction the fortifications and naval bases of the Hawaiian Islands, 2100 miles from San Francisco, could not Japan claim with greater justification the same right in regard to the Bonin Islands? Nevertheless Japan was obliged to give in before America's adamantine attitude. By the resultant agreement Japan relinquished the right to increase the fortifications and improve the naval bases of the Bonin Islands, the Kurile Islands, Amami-Oshima, Loochoo Islands, Formosa and Pescadores, while the United States did likewise in regard to Guam and the Philippines. As for Great Britain, she agreed to maintain the *status quo* at Hongkong, but excluded from the restricted zone Singapore and, of course, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, with their adjacent possessions.

The maintenance of the *status quo* in regard to Pacific fortifications and naval bases was Japan's great contribution toward lasting peace, although its full significance did not then dawn upon the world. But for that agreement Japan would have constantly felt the American menace, and would have gone ahead building powerful cruisers and ocean-going submarines to prepare herself against that menace. America, on her part, would have found in this Japanese act a fresh impetus and excuse for augmenting her building plan. Had this come to pass, a collision would have been only a matter of time. Happily, by stopping further work on Pacific bases and fortifications, this potential naval competition was forestalled. Mr. Hector C.

[illegible] the Japanese [illegible]

The value of this compact as a deterrent to war far outweighs the reduction of battleship tonnage. So long as it remains operative the potential war harbours at Guam, Cavite and Port Lloyd (in the Bonin Islands) cannot be built. This means that the American and Japanese battle fleets are again divided by a vast stretch of ocean, which in the absence of friendly bases neither can traverse under war conditions. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the Washington negotiations probably saved the United States from a great war and its attendant tribulations.

Now we may return to our main theme—that Japan's navy is essentially, one might almost say solely, an instrument of defence. This characteristic is evident in the policy which she is reported to be prepared to advance at the coming Naval Conference. Although no official statement of a concrete nature has as yet been forthcoming, enough has been published in the Japanese Press to enable us to make what we consider a fairly accurate inference. What, then, is that policy?

First, in regard to the battleship Japan is favourably inclined toward the postponement of building for replacement, which, if the Washington Treaty is followed, will commence in November 1931. She will also support extension of replacement age and limitation of the maximum tonnage of individual battleships to something between 25,000 and 30,000 tons.

Secondly, Japan wants for her cruisers, especially eight-inch gun cruisers, a ratio somewhat larger than was allotted to her capital ships at the Washington Conference—possibly seven as compared with ten for America and Great Britain. At the same time, she is in favour of restricting the maximum size of cruisers to about 8,000 tons, believing, evidently, that such small cruisers are essentially defensive in character.

Thirdly, Japan hopes that the total cruiser tonnage agreed upon between President Hoover and Mr Ramsay MacDonald—[illegible] tons for England and [illegible] for the United States—will be considerably scaled down, so that she will not, in the event of the adoption of the 10 : 7 ratio likely to be advanced by her, be obliged to increase her building plan now in effect. In the language of Mr. Hoover, Japan hopes for 'reduction,' not 'limitation.'

Fourthly, Japan cannot see her way clear to favour the abolition of the submarine, and will probably insist upon maintaining her existing strength, which is between [illegible] tons. In this respect she fully sympathizes with [illegible] France, but feels that [illegible]

[illegible] and industrial conditions compel her to maintain submarines in considerable numbers. She looks upon the submarine as a small nation's weapon of defence, as it can be produced at comparatively small cost and in comparatively short time even in industrial establishments of limited capacity. At the same time, Japan thinks that the size of submarines should be restricted so as to accentuate their defensive nature.

Fifthly, in destroyers, too, Japan will probably want to keep her existing strength, which is between 90,000 and 100,000 tons.

Presuming that the above assumption is close to the mark, the conclusion seems justified that the Japanese navy considers itself a defensive institution. Japan seems to think, and rightly, that the surest way to keep peace is to convert all navies into instruments of defence, thus making them incapable of carrying offensive naval operations into each other's territorial waters.

The defensive character and defensive purpose of Japan's navy is further seen in the fact that outside her own waters she has no naval base anywhere in the world. Nor does she maintain any naval force overseas, except on the Yangtse River, where most foreign Powers station gunboats or destroyers to safeguard their respective nationals against China's chronic civil warfare. This is an important factor which should be kept in view in any consideration of Japan's naval armament in its relations to the American and British navies. Discussing this factor, Mr. Bywater has this to say:

> From whatever angle Japanese naval policy is surveyed, the dominating influence of the base factor is always obvious. Equally manifest is the defensive character of that policy. Leaving aside the ex-German islands (Pelew, Mariana, Caroline and Marshall groups) the use of which for naval or military purposes is prohibited by the terms of the mandate, Japan is found to possess no naval stations outside her own waters, since Formosa may reasonably be included in this zone. Moreover, the only occasion on which she has conducted naval operations at any great distance from her shores was during the Great War, when, at the invitation of her Allies, she sent ships to join in the hunt for Von Spee and also to perform escort duty in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Her naval history was made in the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, which, together with the line of the Pacific from Saghalien to Formosa, still constitute her maritime frontiers.
>
> Another circumstance to be noted is that Japan is the only one of the great sea Powers which maintains no naval force in distant waters. With the exception of a gunboat flotilla on the Yangtse, not a single ship is commissioned for foreign service. The only Japanese men-of-war ever seen abroad are the old armoured cruisers which serve as training ships. Japan's naval power is thus regional and highly concentrated. It is formidable in the Western Pacific, but nowhere else. No doubt the large cruisers and the ocean-going submarines now being built would be capable

[illegible]

[illegible] Under existing conditions the Japanese navy [illegible] admittedly tied to the home waters of the Pacific.

When Mr. Bywater made the above statement he knew, of course, that Japan's cruiser strength was about seven as compared with America's ten. Yet he was convinced that the Japanese navy was so entirely defensive in character that it could never launch anything like an effective attack against Hawaii or Alaska, let alone the Pacific coast of the United States. Such sporadic forays as might be staged by fugitive and unorganized Japanese submarines or cruisers certainly would have no effect upon the decision of the fortunes of the combatants if war between America and Japan, unthinkable as it is, should occur. Japanese strategists, no less than Japanese statesmen, are fully aware of the futility and foolhardiness of any attempt at aggressive war against any Power, but especially the United States. Japan, it may be safely and definitely stated, will never fight America unless she is deliberately provoked to do so, and there is no reason to believe that America, the sponsor of the Peace Pact, will ever play the unenviable *rôle* of *provocateur*. Japan by favouring the reduction of the size of combatant ships of all types, evidently means to emphasize the defensive nature and the pacific intentions of her navy.

The main function of the Japanese navy is to protect the routes of her supplies of foodstuffs and of the essential raw materials of industry for which Japan is largely dependent upon overseas countries. As an indication of Japan's economic dependence upon foreign sources we may name some of her indispensable imports, with percentage of each commodity, as follows: Cotton, wool, rubber, nickel, 100 per cent.; sugar, 95; lead, 95; zinc, 80; fuel oil, 75; dyes and chemicals, 75; fertilizers, 60; wheat, 55; beans, 50; steel, 35; machinery, 35; iron, 45; rice, 13. Commander Ichiro Sato, a Japanese officer, writing in *Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual* for 1927, makes these observations:

> The security of the East China Sea is not in itself enough. At present only one-half of our imported foodstuffs is drawn from Chosen (Korea) and the Chinese mainland. In time of war, with the protection of Manchuria and the Yangtze Valley to secure communication, we might manage the supply of cereals, but there are many other articles of prime necessity which are not produced in these parts. The importance of these waters is not only in that they combine the Japanese communications with the Asiatic mainland, but also in that over these [illegible]

[illegible] of Japan is drawn from the Dutch Indies, and the [illegible] will be absolutely necessary for her power of [illegible]. The control of the routes in the China Sea is of great value to Japan, too, for the supply of rubber, clothing materials, and metals. The protection of trade in these waters is, therefore, a charge against the Japanese navy almost as essential as its first duty.

For the performance of such defensive functions as indicated in the above statement Japan thinks she must have in adequate numbers submarines, destroyers, and cruisers of the smaller type. Vice-Admiral G. A. Ballard, formerly Assistant Director of Naval Intelligence and Director of the Operations Division of the British Admiralty War Staff, goes even so far as to think it advisable for Japan to use for submarines the greater part of the money she has been expending on the larger types of warships. 'With a couple of hundred of these craft as a defence,' he says, 'no foreign battle squadron would ever be likely to approach her coasts or attempt to enter the Yellow Sea' for 'Japanese waters are particularly well suited to the operations of that type of vessel on account of their great depth, which precludes the possibility of submarines being "mined in" as they were in the North Sea.'

The Japanese navy, though inadequate as an offensive weapon, is formidable as an instrument of defence in Japan's own and adjacent waters. Aided by great natural advantages due to her geographical position and having seen to it that no Western Power shall be permitted to build new naval bases and fortifications in her part of the world, she has entrenched herself in an almost impregnable position. From Europe she is separated by 10,000 miles of water; between her and America lies the Pacific, almost 5000 miles wide. On the Asian continent, across the Japan and Yellow Seas, there is at present no nation capable of challenging Japan. Japan, then, is supreme in her quarter of the globe. She has no nation to fear save 'Red' Russia, and that only on account of such disruptive propaganda as it may spread in China, in Manchuria, in Korea, and perhaps even within her own confines. To quote Vice-Admiral Ballard once more,

for any attack on Japan as matters now stand the enemy must be in possession of a fleet about three times as powerful as that of the defence, because no other country has a fully-equipped modern naval base and arsenal in the Western Pacific capable of docking two or three of the largest battleships simultaneously, or of removing guns 100 tons in weight; or of manufacturing wholesale supplies of heavy-calibre ammunition; or, lastly, of storing the millions of tons of oil fuel required by a twentieth-century fleet in war. Without such a base in easy reach a large proportion of the attacking fleet—probably a third—must constantly be at some distance from the theatre of operations; while the force actually on the spot must always be twice as strong as the defence if any effective watch

[illegible]

[illegible] ... in defence of her own coasts ...

Admitting that Japan's position is so secure, one may ask why she should want a ratio of 7, instead of 6, for her cruiser strength. The answer is that, roughly speaking, 7 happens to be her existing cruiser ratio as compared with America's existing cruiser strength including the ships she is now building. In other words, Japan merely wants to preserve the status quo, which she considers her minimum defence requirements. This, therefore, does not seem a difficult or unreasonable proposal as between Japan and the United States. The difficulty lies in the application of the same proposal to British cruiser strength, compared with which Japan's existing strength is, of course, much less than 7. Unless England agrees to reduce her cruisers to a considerably smaller tonnage than has been agreed upon between Mr Hoover and Mr MacDonald, the proposal cannot be translated into treaty. How Japan hopes to surmount this obstacle it is difficult to see.

If we confine our consideration to American and Japanese cruisers, the "legalisation"—that is, writing into treaty—of the ratio of 10 : 7 which has for some years actually obtained should meet with no objection on the part of the Americans. So complacently have the Americans acquiesced in the actual ratio that for the last several years Japan has, in their eyes, faded from the picture as a menace. Even the unscrupulous naval propagandists of the Shearer type have been unable to rouse American fear of Japan. Nor is this to be wondered at. America's position in the Eastern Pacific is as impregnable as Japan's is in the Western Pacific. In spite of occasional fire-eaters trying to conjure up the bogey of Japanese menace, the American public knows that the Japanese navy is all too small to disturb its peace of mind. As far as American security is concerned, then, it matters little whether Japan's cruiser ratio be 6 or 7. In his heart of hearts the American is sure that Japan, with such a small navy, would never take it into her head to carry an offensive war into American waters, let alone American territories.

Apart from the much improved diplomatic situation between the two nations, considerations of strategical difficulty also preclude the possibility of such a misadventure on Japan's part. She has only ten capital ships, and even this strength she is willing to reduce should other Powers agree to do likewise. Presuming, however, that these battleships are preserved under the 10 : 6 ratio of the Washington Treaty, none of them, if lost, could be replaced for three years. For this reason it is to the last degree unlikely that she should risk these ships by sending them far

[illegible] to Hawaii, which is not only admirably defended, but is situated only 2100 miles from the mainland of America. To transport an army strong enough to accomplish anything tangible so far afield Japan must have not only a fighting fleet of much greater strength than she actually has, but a merchant marine several times the tonnage now at her disposal. Japan has only thirty-one merchant ships with a speed of fifteen knots or more, as against America's 153 and Great Britain's 416. Remember that a steamer can carry only fifty soldiers per 100 tons of displacement. Handicapped by a train of auxiliary ships and transports, the expeditionary force would have to proceed slowly and laboriously, and would as they came nearer Hawaii be harassed by American submarines and aircraft. By the time it reached its objective, if it could reach it at all, it would find the bunkers of its ships depleted and itself helpless before the defending forces.

We have seen that so slight an increase in Japan's cruiser ratio as she is likely to ask will add little or nothing to the offensive power of her navy. (The word 'increase' here is not correctly used, since Japan's aim is to maintain the *status quo* as to her cruisers.) On the other hand, even so small a margin, when utilized for defensive purposes in the comparatively narrow circles of her own quarters, will undoubtedly prove of considerable value. This, no doubt, is what Japan has in view.

Strategically considered, then, Japan's desire to establish the ratio of 10 : 10 : 7 should cause no misgiving to her associates at the coming Conference. But if we view the matter from the standpoint of diplomacy and of Japan's domestic condition, we are, perhaps, justified in advancing more or less adverse criticism. Diplomatically, Japan's horizon is bright, and there seems to be nothing in store which will cast a shadow upon it in the conceivable future. She is friendly with all the major Powers, and they with her. As for the immigration issue, both Japan and America hope and trust that time, that solvent of all ills, will set it aright. True, there are China and Soviet Russia, which are chronically disturbing factors; but Japan need not on this account maintain a large navy, for neither China nor Russia will for some decades to come be able to develop a naval or military strength of a nature to threaten her safety.

Internally the reason is even greater why Japan should exercise the greatest possible economy in naval armament, for she is passing through a period of serious financial and economic readjustment. Such a course of retrenchment, if pursued by the navy, will oblige the army to follow suit—a *desideratum* sought by all far-seeing, clear-thinking civilians.

In view of Japan's present conditions, internal and external,

[illegible] Japan should insist on the [illegible]; that she should then firmly insist in urging upon England the cancellation of the Singapore naval base programme; that she should insist upon fixing the maximum tonnage of all navies so low that they could carry no aggressive war into each other's territorial waters; that she should work with America and England for the abolition of battleships. By taking such a courageous stand she may, the idealists think, assume moral leadership in the world movement for peace and disarmament.

To the naval experts such an idea is a chimera—a dream of the visionary. They concede that if the British would give up the Singapore base, and if England and America would agree to such a low maximum tonnage as would satisfy the idealist, then Japan could safely adopt the idealist programme. But they are sure that England will never abandon Singapore, and that neither the United States nor Great Britain will accept so low a maximum tonnage as would satisfy the idealist. They point out that President Hoover, backed with all the great prestige, influence, wealth and prowess inherent in his country, has parleyed with the British for months and has succeeded only in bringing down the British cruiser tonnage to so high a level as 339,000 tons. How can Japan, they ask, with no such prestige, nor wealth nor prowess, hope to accomplish what the United States has found it impossible to achieve? Should Japan insist upon the idealist programme she would simply prove herself an *enfant terrible*, and, besides, would have to take the onus of breaking up the Conference. From the naval expert's standpoint, then, the only practicable course for Japan lies in her acquiescence in a reasonable limitation acceptable to the major naval Powers, securing for herself, at the same time, such naval strength as will safeguard her position. Such, in brief, is the view taken by the experts, and it is evidently the view accepted by the Cabinet and by the majority of the people.

Nor is it surprising that the navalist view should prevail. Under our system of government the Minister of the Army is always a general and the Minister of the Navy an admiral, both in active service. True, there is no constitutional provision which gives explicit sanction to this arrangement. But the arrangement has been in effect ever since the inauguration of the General Staff in 1878, and inasmuch as the Constitution itself contained no article for its abolition, no effort has been made to change the long-established usage. Technically, or constitutionally, our Army and Navy Ministers, so far as they deal with military and naval matters, are not responsible to the Prime Minister or even to the Cabinet—they are responsible directly to

the [illegible]. They may, therefore, ask for imperial audience and lay their views before the throne directly and not through the Prime Minister, as is required of other ministers, provided, of course, they confine themselves to military or naval matters. In the last ten years or so the Army and Navy Ministers, in deference to growing popular objection, have been less and less inclined to invoke this prerogative, but as long as the prerogative remains unabolished the two ministers are more or less independent of the civilian orbit of the Cabinet of which they are members, thus enjoying a power and authority not subject to the control of the Prime Minister.

In such circumstances one can well imagine the difficulty which confronts the Cabinet when it is called upon to deal with the problems of national defence. It is, of course, impossible that the Prime Minister and the civilian end of his Cabinet should allow the Ministers of the Army and of the Navy anything like a *carte blanche*, no matter what may be the latter's technical or theoretical status. They must consider the nation's finances as well as its various needs other than armament, and they will take into account the changed and changing condition of international relations as a determining factor in national defence. Naturally their views are often at variance with those of the Army and Navy Ministers and when civilian views clash with military the latter, as a rule, seem to prevail. Exceptions, of course, there have been, but the two institutions of our national defence, by reason of their time-honoured prerogative and their technical independence from the Cabinet, are in a position to exercise a preponderating influence whenever a policy of armament is discussed.

The naval problem is essentially technical. Though its ultimate solution must devolve upon statesmanship, it can never be dissociated from complicated technical considerations. This being the case, the public—the man in the street—usually takes for granted whatever information may be given out by the naval authorities on problems which they consider peculiarly their own. Because of this public ignorance or indifference, naval propaganda usually has smooth sailing.

Ever since the Washington Conference allotted to Japan a battleship ratio of 6 as against America's and England's 10, her naval experts and naval authorities, real, would-be, and so-called, have told the public that she was impelled to acquiesce in that small ratio for the sake of the harmonious termination of the Conference, but at the expense of her national security. They have argued that the same ratio can never be applied to her auxiliary ships without jeopardizing her national defence. No doubt they are sincere and are actuated by the best of motives.

[illegible] that to accept a ratio of 6 for Japan's auxiliary ships would be a national calamity. Thus our naval authorities have put themselves in a position from which they cannot retreat without stultifying themselves and without appearing to have deceived the public, even if the new light of wisdom and statesmanship should dawn upon them.

Whatever be the motives and factors back of the Japanese policy at the coming Conference, that policy will not be unreasonable. Japan comes to London with a sincere desire to contribute towards international harmony and accord. If the Conference fails to arrive at agreement, it will not be because of any act of commission or omission on Japan's part. Japan, in short, will be conciliatory and be always open to reason.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

SOUTH AFRICA

I. The Poor White Problem

'Poor white' is a peculiarly South African term for people of European descent who work the ground of other farmers upon various sorts of tenant arrangements. The system seems to have sapped their spirit of independence; they are poor and thriftless, seeming unable to help themselves—in general a problem and an expense. The whole European population of South Africa does not total 2,000,000, and when it is realised that the officially accepted estimate of the number of poor whites is between 100,000 and 150,000, it is evident that there are more of such people than South African conditions merit.

For long the problem was neglected, but determined efforts are now being made to relieve it, if not to find a solution. The consensus of opinion seems to be that until the poor white, or bywoner, is placed on the land with a definite contractual status, he will not achieve independence. All frankly charitable schemes must fail. The bywoner's conditions of service should be outlined clearly, making him a contracted workman entitled in some degree to what improvements he effects. Only on these conditions can any idea of convenience or charity be removed and the poor white placed on the road to working out his salvation. And the accomplishment of this is uphill work. With the bywoner indigency is hereditary. The evil has existed for well over 200 years.

The two South African Government departments tackling this question are those of Labour and Lands, both having labour colonies and settlements in various parts of the country where bywoners are taught the better ways of farming and encouraged to develop the habit of labour. The biggest area devoted to this work is north of the Hartebeestepoort Dam, in the Transvaal. The land here has been cleared by bywoners and planted with maize, tobacco and other crops, and a region once consisting of the handful of buildings of Brits dorp and a few scattered farms converted into a thickly populated and prosperous district. One can travel through miles of country laid out with excellent motor roads. On either side lie the fertile fields, with well-made irrig-

[illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] and other [illegible] villages. [illegible] within three years. The land had to be cleared of bush, the ground laid out and planted, and the various farm buildings erected. All the work was done by poor whites under expert supervision.

[illegible] is one of the villages formed under the Government's rehabilitation scheme. Here untrained men undergo the first part of the process. These 250 men are regarded as ordinary farm labourers; they perform various unskilled jobs under supervision. By proving satisfactory here, they are eligible for advancement to what is known as the three-morgen stage. In this they are given plots of these dimensions, which they work under a share system which may be explained later. From here they step to the eight-morgen plots, where considerable scope for individual effort and initiative is allowed before the trainees are settled in some part of South Africa to work lots on their own account.

The townships of [illegible] and Sonop consist mainly of [illegible] two- or three-roomed [illegible] cottages, which are fitted with stove, water-tank, and a few other necessities before occupation. Little lots are attached to these dwellings, so that the wives of poor whites may take up vegetable growing, flower growing or poultry farming. From personal interests fostered in this way the promoters of the scheme go on to develop community feeling. In the halls at both villages lectures and concerts are usual; at various periods cinema shows and amateur dramatic entertainments are given here, but dances are barred rigidly. The younger generation is being catered for through the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and through games like football, cricket, hockey and tennis. Considering the stock from which these children have sprung, it is not to be expected that they are of the best types, but educational and welfare methods here have led to notable improvements of mind and body even in instances where mental development was much below the general average. When these boys and girls have completed the ordinary school course the former are sent to the [illegible] Agricultural School and the latter to the [illegible] Domestic Science School. These institutions are under the control of the Department of Education, which now is also interesting itself in the problem. The agricultural school began work early in [illegible] with twenty-five boys, but the number is to be brought up to fifty, which is also the total number the domestic science school can deal with at a time. This institution was opened in February [illegible], and is now [illegible] by [illegible] teachers and two assistants.

[illegible] is probably the largest communal farm in

[illegible] ground has yet to be cleared and cultivated, but [illegible] well over 7000 acres have been put under crops. Modern methods are employed. The steam plough and motor tractors in use accomplish much more work than could be obtained from scores of oxen, and without grazing difficulties. One mechanical plough breaks up on an average eighteen acres a day, while the steam wagon used for transport is estimated to equal the haulage capacity of 160 oxen. Here it is being proved that machinery in agriculture is economically sound, especially in a country like South Africa, where large-scale farming is the rule. The average annual cut from the wheat fields now totals about 20,000 bags, which at current prices should return about 20,000*l*. The income from the tobacco fields is about 2000*l*. a year, while products like hay, lucerne, milk, and vegetables bring up the income of the farm to nearly 30,000*l*. There is up to 100 head of good Friesland cattle, which are housed in clean and well-arranged sheds; a clever fly-trap outside these buildings keeps them clear of this dairy pest. Trainees here are taught to keep milk and butter-fat records, and in other ways to go about the work scientifically. This part of the farm is almost self-supporting and the same may be said of the poultry farm, where up to 6000 chickens are run. It is yet too soon to expect returns from the orchards, but the 2000 trees planted are prospering.

There are three settlements here for poor whites who have reached the stage termed tenant-farmer, when they are allowed to take over eight-morgen plots. These settlements are Geluk, with 100 families, Zanddrift, with 95 families, and Uitvalgrond, with 35 families. Geluk is a part of Losperfontein, but the dwellings upon this portion are of wood and iron, and were erected at an average rate of two houses a day. Although most of the men here were originally of the ordinary South African bywoner type, they have learnt their lesson at Losperfontein, and farm according to improved methods foreign to those who have never left estates on which they are dependent. Zanddrift was never part of Losperfontein; it is a farm leased by the Labour Department, but with most of the ground unworked. Poor whites drafted here had to cut their own irrigation furrows, put up their own fences, clean, stump and plough the ground, and carry out other improvements. Here most of the houses were built by settlers, who manufactured their own bricks and obtained much of the iron and wood needed from the temporary structures. These substantial four-roomed houses were thus built at a total cost of about [illegible] 10s. each. At the same time the settlers built tobacco sheds, flue curing barns, stables and storage rooms, in addition to [illegible] the cellars. Tobacco has proved an excellent crop here. Although over 40,000*l*. has been spent on this settlement,

[illegible] a profit, [illegible] was [illegible].

In the first year of the [illegible] scheme the Lands Department spent 18,976l. in laying down roads, 22,000l. in clearing land, 12,000l. on fencing, 5,673l. on sheds, 22,693l. on houses, 22,679l. on other stock and equipment, and 5,691l. on ploughing. Irrigation, planting, cost of seeds, and other requirements were also responsible for large expenditure. Approximately 245,000l. has been sunk in the Labour Department farm at Losperfontein, but the land already cultivated now has an estimated value of 220,000l., while the houses, farm buildings and other improvements represent a further 40,000l. During the first few years the total profits from the scheme were only 19,000l., but it is now expected that these settlements will return at least 50,000l. a year to the Treasury. Great though the area broken up may be, much more has yet to be dealt with; thus there is not likely to be any considerable decrease of expenditure but, against this, increased revenue can confidently be anticipated.

The pupil trainee system, as worked here, is also designed to entice farmers driven from the land by drought, pests, and other troubles to take up their old work again. To this end a different system from that followed at Losperfontein and Swamp is in force. These trainees are adopted by established farmers, who are allowed up to 150l. for material, implements, cattle, seed, etc. for each trainee accepted. Over 60,000l. has been loaned in this way. Most recruits for the training farms, however, are drawn from the afforestation settlements, which generally serve to prove a worker's ability and desire to succeed. At Losperfontein he is graded as a trainee and has to work on the communal farm under the direction of the manager. He is allowed 5s. 6d. a day, free housing and fuel, medical attention, and schooling for his children.

After eighteen months he may be considered suitable for employment under the three-morgen plot scheme. The daily wage remains as before, and he is still under the supervision of the manager, who directs in the use of two-thirds of the plot, while allowing him to cultivate the remainder as he pleases. The produce of this ground is marketed by the department, which deducts from the profit advances for wages, implements, seed and other items, and credits him with the remainder. Those who succeed here are considered ready for employment under the pupil trainee scheme. The pupil trainee extension scheme [illegible] a later development; in this the Government [illegible] the [illegible]-farmer, and, after the deduction of expenses, the trainee is credited with his profits. When trainees are [illegible] with established farmers these rarely take sufficient interest in their

to [illegible] out on their own, which is the ideal of the system.

It has been said that the bywoner would make more progress if he were given freehold land; but there are many reasons why this should not be done, although such donations are the only obvious way to a real solution. In many cases undisputed ownership of several acres puts even the poor white on his mettle; the property sense will compel him to work as hard as he can to retain what he has, and pride of ownership will inspire him to improvements not restricted by the imposition of a maximum valuation, as at Kakamas. While, however, this may be true of the enterprising bywoner, it has been proved that the granting of freehold land to such men is a grave step. Where tentative experiments have been made, it was found that within four years as much as 70 per cent. of freehold land held by poor whites had, by exchange or barter, passed into the hands of shrewd-minded business men. These undisputable facts bring the poor white problem into the realm of practical psychology. Until the self-respect and general dependence of the bywoner is raised, no more land schemes can have the success they deserve. All experiments have so far proved that, while the poor white can rely upon a definite backing from the Government or some body like the Dutch Reformed Church, he can work steadily and with a varying degree of skill; once he has to sail on his own, he is in danger of sinking.

At Kakamas, the Dutch Reformed Church settlement, the poor whites must be protected by excluding the ordinary trader and encouraging the use of the colony stores. They are not forced to deal with these stores, but, impelled by that all-powerful desire for security, they consider it advisable to do so: in fact often, without the long credit given by these four stores, many of the poorer erf-holders would not, in unfavourable seasons, be able to exist. The very fact that, in almost any circumstances, the stores can be depended upon for assistance, and that the repayment of debts can be postponed from year to year, tends to satisfy the average individual with doing as little as possible. Stores do not play the same part in Government colonies, but there is the same feeling that, whatever happens, the nation owes a competence.

The various labour colonies have proved that it is wrong to argue that the poor white lacks ambition; what he lacks is the incentive to raise himself above his dependent condition. Given a definite incentive, these men will work hard; they will save steadily, deny themselves everything but essentials to win independence. Over 2000*l.* was saved in one year by 200 bywoners of the better type on a Government labour colony. The Government experiment, too, of allowing a number of these

[illegible]

[illegible] part of them wanting, but it is doubtful whether the ... as a whole has been advanced towards ... Where ... colonies have functioned as schools of agriculture, giving the p... while the responsibility of learning within a definite time how ... maintain himself comfortably on the land, better results ha... attended. This introduces the factor of personal effort; of t... figures available it is found that up to 60 per cent. of men ... trained have made good on the land on which they were settl... subsequently. But it remains for the future to show wheth... the effect will be lasting.

Kakamas, on the banks of the Orange River, was found... soon after the rinderpest outbreak of 1896, when thousands ... head of cattle were carried off and farmers turned to their chur... for help. The Rev. B. P. Marchand, whose seven years amon... the Knysna woodcutters had given him an idea of the difficultie... was committed, he decided that a settlement for these peopl... was the only way out of the trouble. The Rev. Mr. Schroede... of Upington, first superintendent of the labour colony, dre... attention to Kakamas, an almost unknown spot some 55 mile... down the Orange River. This land being reported suitable fo... settlement by poor whites, it was chosen; two years after th... rinderpest outbreak a number of poor farmers, remunerated at the rate of 3s. per day, had begun work on the farms laid out on either side of the river. They were promised the first holdings, a fact that made them push on; and considerable rough furrowing was completed.

The South African War delayed the work of settling the colony to 1903, when the first rough survey was made. In the beginning this colony received a Government loan of 43,000l., of which about 30,000l. has been repaid. About 150,000l. has been spent on the colony; this is well secured, only a small debt now remaining to be paid off. The money was used with good purpose. The 27 miles of the north furrow, with its flume of water 12 feet by 2 feet, and its two tunnels through the toughest parts of the ground, cost a sum equal to the original Government loan. The region this waters supports about 250 families. The south furrow is 10 miles shorter, while its flume of water is 10 feet by 18 inches; it cost 17,000l. and supports 200 families.

Kakamas has not been spared criticism, but it has succeeded. Its main drawback is that saturation point has been reached. In fact, eighteen years ago it was full; to-day the only way a poor white can obtain a holding is by replacing one who has decided to leave. This is a weakness in all such labour colonies; only by extension of furrows can new ground be opened up. ... present some families of [illegible] are squatting in the colony ...

[illegible] ground may be granted them. Limited [illegible] prove a grave stumbling block. Con[illegible] by the Transvaal and other provinces were once opposed to labour colonies, the principal argument against them being that, instead of solving the problem, they aggravated it, the percentage benefiting not demanding consideration.

As the scheme of an independent body like the Dutch Reformed Church, Kakamas cannot have the authority it would if entirely under the control of the Government, and this poor white problem demands definite State action, it is essential for the future prosperity of South Africa that the Government devise some powerful method whereby these labour colonies become streams sending a steady flow of 'emancipated' bywoners on to holdings in various parts of the country rather than dams where they accumulate until saturation point is reached. This must be the ideal at which all such schemes should aim.

Kakamas, for all its faults, has so far proved the most successful experiment, but here the bywoner is enabled to gain security at the expense of independence, and it is independence rather than a sense of security which all labour colony schemes must promote. If a man remains at Kakamas twenty years, putting all his energies into his holding and erecting buildings and completing other improvements, he cannot, if he intends to leave the settlement, claim above the maximum sum of 200l. In theory this is a deterrent; in practice it is too, but not to the degree popularly supposed. Many buildings and improvements added by erf-holders are in excess of this sum, but against this must be set the fact that these men have settled complacently here for life. They are content to carry out sufficient work to ensure comfort.

Poor white schemes must encourage initiative and offer the bywoner a chance of becoming a landowner, even if only in a small way. In the authoritive words of the 1906–8 Transvaal Indigency Commission, 'Relief should not stop short of providing the indigents with the necessaries of life; its object should also be their moral and economic regeneration.' Kakamas has always had this aim in view, but from a training ground or school for indigent farmers it has become a permanent dorp, with all the features of the average South African village; this is one way in which the experiment has failed. If the old plan had been carried out grave injustice would have been done to the older men who gave so many years to developing the place. It hardly seemed right to take from them the little farms upon which they had lavished so much attention and which had become an important part in their lives.

But Kakamas does try to educate its children and fit them for [illegible] in the outside world. They are taught industry and

[illegible]

[illegible] ... explain why the industrial school opened some years ago had to be closed down, but, now that ... has been established, this experiment would be worth trying again. The village has seven minor schools and one high school, the attendance at all being well over 1000 children.

The policy of the officials governing the colony is to prevent settlers becoming indebted to traders outside Kakamas, for which reason long credit is given by the colony stores. It is difficult for a man to pledge his right to his holding, and this has made Kakamas unpopular with the ordinary traders. The settlers dispose of their produce to these stores at fixed prices, while the credit allowed the poorer settlers is so long that some have been indebted for amounts varying between 20l. and 60l. for the last ten years, without prospect of accounts being squared in the immediate future. Perfect freedom of trade is allowed here, however. Settlers may buy and sell with whom they please, which is contrary to the rule in most Government colonies. The failures at Kakamas are generally heavily in debt, and they are the only ones who surrender holdings here. These plots are generally of little value, having few improvements and a general appearance of neglect. The sum allowed for the holder's interest is often only sufficient to meet his debts; that such plots can be worked successfully is proved by men who are later settled upon them.

In conclusion a word might be said of what is being done for the older people. South Africa now has its old-age pension scheme, but, apart from this, Leeuwfontein contains about 150 old and unfit men who are given various light jobs like tree planting. About forty-five of these men became eligible for old-age pensions this year. The Transvaal Provincial Council allows the Department of Labour 25s. a month for each of these men, who are paid at the rate of 5s. a day for the work they do. Many of the attractive avenues on the estate have been planted by them. Later on a model aloe village may be established here; the old people will be enabled to spend their declining years in gardening and other light pastoral pursuits.

W. L. [illegible]

Cape Town.

SOUTH AFRICA

II. Economic Native Policy

There is a feeling in South Africa that people in Europe have very little conception of the actual position in the Union with regard to native affairs. Most of the articles which appear in the Press are written by well-educated negrophobists, and the other side is not put forward because it is mainly understood by the old colonists and the farmers, whose education in most cases does not permit the writing of the literary article acceptable to leading periodicals across the water. In this connexion General Hertzog's attitude has been very much misunderstood. It is being gradually recognised in South Africa that our Prime Minister is a statesman of the first grade, and his recent speech at Bloemfontein on October 16 last [1] shows that he is a wise and far-seeing man. He is making an honest attempt to be fair to both the white and black population, and it is the prayer of all good South Africans that his efforts may be successful. Our troubles over here are mainly economic. The great question before us to-day is the absorption of the towns by natives. If this continues it must result in the total eclipse of our civilisation and eventually in the ruin of the natives themselves.

There is no settled native policy in Africa. In the far north we have what may be termed the Brazilian system, favoured by the French and the Belgians, which makes no differentiation between the races. We then come to the West Coast, where the policy of the British Government is to create purely native States guided by intelligent white men. There is a great deal to be said for this owing to the nature of the climate and the unsuitability of the territories for permanent white occupation. Then we have the Eastern Protectorate system, as exemplified in the Hilton Young Report. This practically recommends the Rhodes formula, 'Equal rights for all civilised men.' There is no doubt that the tangled skein of politics in Kenya will eventually be settled somewhat on these lines; but a new motto is

[1] On the occasion of the Free State Nationalist Congress, when he declared [illegible] propaganda, and the appointment of a South African [illegible]

[illegible] in European fashion, and yet [illegible] according to the dictionary he has only to be a member of a civilised State; whereas an intelligent man must have the capacity to know, understand, and be able to exercise the highest mental functions. "The benevolent autocracy of the intelligentsia" is the formula which Africa requires to insure her success, as against the Bolshevist and Communistic foreword, "The autocracy of the proletariat." You may say, What has this to do with the economic question? Well, it affects it in this way. Through the natives doing all the unskilled work in the towns there is no room for the white youth of the country, and as a consequence within measurable time there will be very little room for white civilisation in this continent. The natives, if things continue as they are, will later on naturally claim municipal and franchise rights on the ground that they are civilised. These aspirations can be confined to the country if the towns are segregated, as we hope they will be under the Urban Areas Bill.

The whites in South Africa have lost the opportunity of segregating the native races as a whole, but they can still do this in the towns and urban areas. To the native morally our present situation leads to nothing but despair; by leaving all unskilled labour to them we ruin our youth. The latter have forgotten what the dignity of labour is; they have no opportunity of starting at the "bottom of the ladder" and their only salvation under present conditions is to emigrate. Our townspeople have largely been accustomed to this order of life, forgetting that all over the world the urban residents can get on very well without cheap coloured labour; with the use of mechanical transport and electrical labour-saving appliances they are more fortunate than their country friends.

In 1921 we had in the urban areas of the Union [illegible] natives, of whom [illegible] were males—a most unhealthy state of affairs. We have, of course, our coloured and Indian problems; these have been created by ourselves, and we must stand by the consequences. We have only one remedy for this difficulty, and that is to insist that their standard of living and ours must be raised to the highest level.

The great trouble in South Africa is that the primary industries have to pay for everything. The towns are [illegible], and to this the primary industries have no objection provided the money goes into the pockets of the white population [illegible] the natives are employed where they are needed, in [illegible] and agriculture. This would build up the white [illegible] and the native, who is fast succumbing to the evil influences [illegible]

[illegible] insanitary conditions, often surrounded by [illegible] to take drink merely to pander to the [illegible].

It is [illegible] that many natives will object to leaving the towns, but those of us who know the native feel there is only one place for these 'children,' and that is the country or the compound, where they can be protected. Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, and Bloemfontein are to-day huge native locations, and the numbers of white and black inhabitants of towns in the Transvaal are practically equal. The natives say that they should have more ground, and the right of leasing from the farmers. This is a matter which might still be considered, and would not be too heavy a price to pay for the evacuation of the towns by the greater part of the native population. In 1921 the natives in Johannesburg numbered 115,353. The presence of this huge congregation of natives is a continual source of danger to the white community.

Let us consider the position as regards native crime. In 1927 in the Witwatersrand area alone the number of native prosecutions amounted to the stupendous total of 120,090, and the convictions for serious crime were 2770, while for whites the number was only 894. Colonel Truter, late commissioner of police, stated in his last report that 1927 was marked by terrible crimes of violence. An army of police and officials has to be maintained to deal with native crime. These native criminals are manufactured because the natives remain permanently in the towns.

They are an easy prey to the low-class agitator, whose continual cry for higher wages and equal rights, which has a great deal of justification, will lead to trouble. Why not remove this cry of economic inequality by separating the spheres of labour? All well-meaning people wish the native to advance, as he can on the land. This would double and treble the production of the Union, and thereby greatly increase our white population. There is nothing unjust or unfair to the native in proposing that he should be gradually repatriated to the country. A few cases of hardship may occur, but just as Khama would not allow the white man into his territory except one or two traders, and Basutoland is still so reserved, so the white people in the towns have every right to move in the matter.

This question is not so difficult as it appears on the face of it. It is mainly a question of policy to be applied by the Native Affairs Department of the Union. Over a period of, say, ten years the towns could be comparatively white, and for the [illegible], under contract to act as domestic servants, would be allowed to remain, provided repatriation took place at

[illegible]

The [illegible] are [illegible] to [illegible] wanted [illegible] in townships. To encourage the natives to own their own property amongst the whites is fatal. South Africa will face a grave crisis if the present economic conditions endure.

In the towns the native is parasitic; in agriculture, mining and industry he becomes a primary and secondary producer. Our mines require 30,000 additional men shortly; our farms and industries are chronically short of labour, and yet we cannot find employment for our children. With highly organised white communities in our cities we can guide this new and large army of producers.

Colour is not the ground on which we fight: it is the native's own welfare. The whole future of the country lies in the position of the white child—what its future is to be, as to whether the intermingling of the races on present lines is not going to result in the utter degradation of the whites, with the eventual formation of a Chaka and a relapse into savagery. It is the native who will suffer eventually, as surely as he did when previous African civilisations disappeared, as General Smuts put it in 1917 in London, "under the quicksands of the African native flood." The white man will disappear if our present policy continues. It is only a matter of time.

It is contended that the conditions of country life are unattractive to the native; this is not so. It is the easy money and the ease with which the natives can obtain drink in cities like Johannesburg which attract them. There are, of course, exceptions, but a life of leisure appeals to many young people everywhere, and the Bantu is no exception. The happiest natives in South Africa reside in the country. They are a pastoral people, and they are at their best on the farm of the intelligent white man. The old natives are in despair at the large influx of [illegible] (youths) and [illegible] into the towns, who come mostly without their parents' or their chief's consent, and die [illegible], liquor, and venereal disease.

Some people say that the town employer will not consent to be deprived of his native labour. The Pretoria Chamber of Commerce has taken a different view. At a recent meeting the following resolution was put forward by me and adopted:

"That the welfare and prosperity of the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] under the compound system while serving [illegible]

[illegible] also been passed by the Transvaal Agricultural Union, and has been placed on the agenda of the South African Agricultural Union and also the South African Associated Chambers of Commerce, thus showing that it is realised to be the one great problem before the Union. With the native absent from the towns the same conditions will obtain as in Australia and New Zealand, where they have also had coloured races to deal with.

Our juvenile advisory boards, which deal with occupations for young people, have the greatest difficulty in getting employment for the children leaving school. The European is not averse from what is known as 'kaffir jobs' in unskilled work if he gets the opportunity: 17,000 people have taken up this class of occupation on the South African Railways, and double the number could be obtained if required.

Another fallacy is that the natives have not enough ground reserved for them. The problem is not so much land as the fact that under the Lobola system—by which the native hands over cattle to his wife's family when he marries—a very large number of cattle have to be kept by the natives. If the custom can be changed to cash, or a smaller number of cattle of a higher grade, the land difficulty would largely disappear. Agricultural production of the native is remarkably small owing to the cattle problem. It is not to be denied that in one or two cases there is overcrowding, but General Hertzog has made provision in his Native Bills for removing any grievances of that kind. By establishing a labour bureau under the control of the mining, industrial, and agricultural authorities, in conjunction with the Native Affairs Department of the Union, the supply of native labour to urban areas would be gradually contracted until it ultimately vanished. Everybody must admit that both races consist of human beings, and therefore entitled to equal opportunities for self-development, but not necessarily in the same economic sphere. By the removal of the native to the country or the compound he will be freed from evil influences, and get an opportunity of developing on his own. Then he will be able, in security, to develop soul and body and make use of his reason, for the true end of the State is labour. But in his pre-adolescent days he must be guided by the white man, and he, on the other hand, may preserve the white man's civilisation by giving up his grip on the towns, which will eventually destroy him and his white brother.

It is along the lines of this article that our native policy is [illegible] in the Union; and we hope we shall receive the

[illegible] problems.

The argument summarized:

1. The natives of Africa are becoming more [illegible] and will soon claim and exercise very much greater powers over the [illegible].

2. Owing to the agitation of Communists and others in the towns the position is rapidly becoming dangerous to the welfare of both the white and native races.

3. The native health and criminal statistics are very unfavourable in the urban areas, and his morals are rapidly being undermined.

4. The mines, agriculture, and industries are short of labour.

5. The work of the natives in the towns is, in most cases, unnecessary and parasitic.

6. Owing to this misuse, unsuitable work of a proper sort has to be found (and paid for by the State) for white people. This would be largely unnecessary if the labour spheres were adjusted.

7. The proper economic use of our native and white labour would enable us to carry a much larger white population.

H. R. Abercrombie.

AN INDIAN VIEW OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

A RECENT issue of a South Indian periodical is devoted from cover to cover to an examination of the personality and the ideals of Mr. Gandhi. He is hailed as a national deliverer, as a great moral reformer, and above all as the tenth *Avatar* (incarnation) of the supreme deity Vishnu. The occasion of his sixtieth birthday, which has just been celebrated, is welcomed as the opportunity for establishing him more securely than ever before in the position of a national dictator, whose commands shall be obeyed implicitly by his fellow-countrymen, not because of any material force which he may wield, but because of the moral authority with which his services to India have invested him.

Such ideas are extremely characteristic of the best elements in modern India. The ancient ideal of the *sannyasi*, the renouncer, as endowed with the highest dignity and authority, still persists; and Mr. Gandhi is looked upon as the perfect *sannyasi*. There are many thousands of educated Hindus who believe that the only hope for their country is that she should be led by this man, who eschews all the appurtenances of greatness, rejects wealth and material power as legitimate factors in national regeneration, deliberately plans to turn back the clock with regard to the Westernisation of Indian society and Indian industry, and makes binding upon his followers the duty of devoting a considerable portion of each day to the manufacture of homespun cloth.

Mr. Gandhi has recently published in his journal, *Young India*, a terrifying account, written by an American, of the pressure of competitive industry in the United States—the desperate plottings to gain control of markets, the insecurity of employees, the pernicious effects of the hire-purchase system, the risks of widespread financial catastrophe, and so forth. The moral intended to be drawn from such things is this, that the Western organisation of economic relationships is radically faulty; that it leads to ever-increasing strain; that it inevitably thrusts the weakest to the wall; and that it is heading directly towards ultimate disaster. The breakdown in the English coal trade and the conditions of distress obtaining in South Wales (where in

[illegible] industry [illegible] is [illegible] to [illegible]. The experiments made in Soviet Russia for the establishment of a different economic system are regarded with the very greatest interest, especially in view of the rapid spread of Communistic doctrines in the great Indian industrial cities. But the fact that the new Russian economic system is based upon the class war appears to most thinking Indians a fatal objection against its applicability to Indian conditions, since from time immemorial the Indian ideal for society has been one in which each section performs its own distinctive service in its own distinctive way for the good of the whole.

The profound dissatisfaction with the Western organization of social and economic life, which had been coming into existence in India since the beginning of the century, came to a head during the war. The conflict which rent the peoples of Europe asunder, and drew even India herself into its orbit, did not appear to thinking people in India to be merely an unfortunate incident disturbing for a brief space the orderly current of Western progress. It was, they believed, the inevitable outcome of what they regarded as an acquisitive society, organized throughout for the purposes of exploitation rather than of service, and prepared to achieve its ends by means of force. At that time, from all parts of India, there began to be heard voices expressing the conviction that the gigantic process of mutual destruction going forward in Europe was the only result which could be expected from a mode of life essentially competitive and grasping, in economic relationships, in international relationships, and in interracial relationships. In consequence, the demand became more and more insistent that at all costs India should be saved from participation in this mode of life. Swaraj began to be thought of, not merely as a winning of India's right to control her own affairs, and not merely as the fulfilment of nationalistic aspirations which are after all a very new development in the long history of India, but as the only possible method of saving India from the destruction which had fallen upon Europe. The thinking Hindu became convinced that Western civilization is rotten to the core, because it had led to the war, and because the war was the inevitable outcome of its fundamental assumptions. If this civilization should ever get a thorough grip upon India, whether through economic exploitation or through a long-continued political domination, there was, to his mind, a [illegible] [illegible] country [illegible]. Swaraj became a [illegible] [illegible] is the case of any [illegible].

[illegible] the only method of preserving a non-[illegible] from the onset of a disease which would [illegible] that culture as it was already destroying [illegible].

Such views were no doubt exaggerated; and there is now fair hope that Western civilization will survive the disease of war, which twelve years ago seemed to have struck it a death-blow; but the educated Hindu does not feel that the future is secure; and Swaraj is still demanded as the means of preserving Indian culture from corruption and death. He believes that the West has merely succeeded in effecting a superficial and incomplete cure of the wounds left by the war, without going to the root of the disease which caused those wounds. He holds that the motives of acquisitiveness, of competition, of exploitation, and therefore of conflict, still control the springs of action in the West, and therefore that disaster is bound to come again. The success which has attended this superficial process of healing fills him with alarm rather than with admiration; for he believes that it will distract attention from the real roots of mischief and lead to a false sense of well-being and security. He is more than ever convinced that India must gain the power and right to cut herself off from the whole process of Western civilization, because it is so successful in skinning over wounds and in ignoring the real causes of past catastrophe. The West is so able, so efficient, so intrusive, and at the same time so frivolously superficial in ignoring the real psychological causes of decay, that the only hope for India is a severance as complete as possible from all contact with the West.

Thus it comes about that a representative Indian, such as Mr. Gandhi, is prepared to sacrifice with a glad heart all the material benefits of Western connexion, from the Famine Code and the railways down to hospitals and drainage systems, if only India can gain the power not to lose her own soul.

This leads us on to the exceedingly important observation that the modern movement of Swaraj in India is profoundly religious in its outlook. In the first place, during the past generation the rising tide of Indian national patriotism has been accompanied by the development of a variety of new national cults. Most important of these is the worship which is paid to Mother India as a goddess. Thirty or forty years ago such a cult would have been impossible, simply because the physical prerequisites for its development did not exist. The country had not yet been sufficiently bound together by modern means of communication; and a sufficiently large intelligentsia had not yet been built up by the new English education. But to-day the cult of Mother India is an immensely powerful factor in the

[illegible] by many [illegible] of the [illegible], as an incarnation of the Supreme Being; but India herself is worshipped as a beneficent mother-goddess. The Westerner may be inclined to smile at the naïve condition of mind which makes a picture of India as the mother-goddess the most precious of the Indian student's possessions; but religion is not a thing to smile at in a land where at any moment bloodshed may break out in the streets as a result of the differing religious convictions held by Hindus and Mussalmans. The fanatical adoration which is paid nowadays, especially by the student class, to Mother India, and (though with a less marked nationalist significance) to such deities as Saraswati and Ganpati, is a factor of the very greatest importance in the national life. It gives a driving force, an intensity of conviction, a sensitiveness, to the national movement in India which is lacking in other countries. It makes the intelligentsia look upon the political subjection of their country as an insult to their religion. Mother India is spoken of as enslaved and degraded, and such sentiments, which to the Westerner would appear the commonplaces of nationalist rhetoric, gain a dangerously inflammatory significance in India owing to the intensity with which religious convictions are held.

But the modern Swarajist movement is based upon religion in another and far deeper sense. From time immemorial every detail of the pious Hindu's life, from cradle to grave, has been ruled by religious sanctions. The manner in which he cooks and eats his food, the cut of his clothes and the fashion in which they are worn, the way in which he washes his teeth are all dictated by religion. Above all, the manner in which he earns his living is an affair of religion. The economic basis of the caste system is widely recognised in the West, but the religious significance behind the fact that caste directs livelihood is often overlooked. A man's caste duty is his *dharma*, the function which he must perform, in the spirit of a religious service, for God and man. As he works in this spirit at the hereditary task which his position in the caste system assigns to him, he becomes capable of realising not only communion with God, but also the entire detachment of mind which alone can bring him salvation, viz., liberation from the necessity of rebirth.

But if he is to attain to this communion, and this liberation, the pious Hindu must perform his caste livelihood, i.e., earn his living, without the constant shadow of that "desire for the fruits of action" whose presence in his soul immediately and automatically checks the soul's progress towards liberation, and annuls such progress as has already been [illegible]

[illegible] state, and none for what it may bring [illegible] be content to work steadily in his allotted [illegible] without repining at its narrowness and without [illegible] reward, in any sense, from his activity. He [illegible] to keep in mind that the thing which matters is not [wh]at he gets out of his work in the way of money or credit, but [th]e spirit in which he does the work itself. He is to have a habit [of] mind which is always instinctively applying a forward [re]ference; for every action is to be looked upon in the light of [it]s 'eternal' significance, i.e., in its bearing upon a possible [en]dless series of reincarnations (if it is done in the wrong spirit), [or] a possible speedy release into God-realisation (if it is done in [th]e right spirit).

Such a scheme of ideas is of course a whole universe asunder [fro]m the scheme of ideas which underlies our modern life in the [W]est, with its insistence upon efficiency, progress, the application [of] scientific method; and its constant stimulus to ambition and [th]e widening of the individual's wants. The thoughtful Hindu [re]gards with amazement and horror all this psychological back[gro]und of Western civilisation. Not only does it seem to him [dia]metrically opposite to his own conviction that 'desire' of [an]y kind is fatal both to individual and to corporate life, but it all [see]ms to him appallingly superficial and aimless. What is [eff]iciency designed ultimately to effect? Presumably something [be]tter than the increase of wealth in the hands of individuals. [W]hat then? The raising of standards of living for the com[mu]nity as a whole? But where is such a process to stop? [He] believes that it will lead inevitably to corporate selfishness, [th]e desire to cling at all costs to what has already been gained, [an]d hence (*inter alia*) to the denying of life to the next genera[tio]n, in order that the present generation may enjoy what it [ha]s gained without the necessity for sharing it with expensive [ch]ildren. He looks upon the heavy falling off in the European [bir]th rates, which has occurred during the past forty years, as [th]e necessary result of the Western clamour for efficiency and [for] the raising of the standards of life. The spirit behind these [mo]vements is, he believes, wrong. It is a spirit of selfishness, not [of] the main of genuine service, and so it will lead directly to [dis]aster, if not through war, then through the more gradual but [no] less certain process of race suicide.

Again, with reference to the Western conception of 'progress,' [th]e Hindu instinctively asks, 'Progress towards what?' If it [is] progress merely towards more wealth and more efficiency—even [if i]t is progress towards more happiness and comfort—he asks, [illegible] to all end?' And again he believes that, the motive [illegible] 'progress' being in the main one of selfishness, the

[illegible] out of political theory. The motive behind the thing he believes to be unsound. It is genuinely unselfish, devoid of individual "desire for the fruits of action." But in the main the motivation of Western "progress" appears to him to be the attainment by individual or community of more and more wealth, happiness (in a low sense), and power. Any movement based on such a spirit must, he is fundamentally convinced, lead ultimately to disaster. The imposing edifice of Western life is merely an empty façade. Behind it lies warfare, class conflict, and race suicide. It may endure for a brief time. But it is destined inevitably to pass away, either by some great act of self-destruction, or by the slow undermining of race suicide. Man, he believes, cannot be permanently selfish. The selfishness destroys the will to live, and the race fails, as the Roman race failed. In this respect the Hindu would echo the sombre words of Spengler, and would declare that they are being proved true before his eyes in the decline shown by the vital statistics of Western nations.

> The last man of the world-city no longer wants to live as a type. Children do not happen, not because children have become impossible, but because intelligence at the peak of intensity can no longer find any reason for their existence. . . . When the ordinary thought of a highly cultivated people begins to regard "having children" as a question of pro's and con's, the great turning-point has come.[1]

The Hindu makes a very similar criticism regarding the Western application of the scientific method, especially to industry. He asks at once, "What is the motive behind it all?" If the motive is in any sense selfish, he declares that the result must in the long run be suffering and disaster. So also with that stimulus to ambition, to a quick advance at the expense of other men, which underlies so much of Western thought regarding education and the launching of the rising generation upon life. Here, also, the Hindu believes that a civilization built on such motives can by no conceivable possibility be permanent, at least in the manner in which (he assumes) his own civilization has been permanent, endured as it has been with the power to survive at least a thousand appalling shocks and catastrophes.

The Hindu studies Western theories of economics in one of the [illegible] institutions of Western learning [illegible] where [illegible] the best minds of India are becoming more and more [illegible] hold that national prosperity must depend upon [illegible]

1 Decline of the West, Vol. II, p. [illegible]

of [illegible] upon constantly increasing demand for [illegible] and comforts, even (in practice) [illegible] his mind is filled with suspicion and doubt [illegible] characteristics of Western thought. He belongs to an ancient system of life which has endured unshaken for millennia, just because it has had an exactly opposite psychological basis. It has been founded on the belief, instilled from early childhood into every rightly brought-up Hindu, that wants are exactly what must not be widened, at peril of eternal loss; that demands must not be increased; that comforts, and especially luxuries, will entrap the soul in delusion, and bind it closely upon the wheel of reincarnation. He does not believe that the history of Western civilisation justifies Hindu civilisation in throwing overboard, in the short span of time constituted (from the view-point of the Hindu) by a generation—or a century, for the matter of that,—those convictions and principles whose application in untold millions of obscure lives has held Hindu society solid and stable for so long. Wars, class conflict, race suicide, these seem to the Hindu the most characteristic fruits of Western civilisation; and they are exactly the fruits which his religion teaches him to expect from a way of life, whether for individual or community, founded upon 'desire for the fruits of action.'

The Hindu is fully aware of the defects of his own system: its static and unprogressive character (but here, again, he must be assured of the end towards which progress is tending before he feels progress to be an adequate objective in itself): its conservatism: the fact that it binds a man down to a narrow hereditary sphere of work: the fact that it splits society into a great number of more or less watertight compartments: above all, the fatal readiness with which it tends to perpetuate such cruel social abuses as untouchability and child-marriage. With regard to such abuses, the modern educated Hindu is often exceedingly anxious that they should be swept away; but he does not for a moment hold the view concerning them which some Englishmen hold, namely, that the only way to correct them is to destroy the Hindu social system as a whole. He can see nothing but disloyalty to the past, and infinite tragedy for the future, in such a policy. He believes increasingly strongly in reform, but it must be (and nowadays very largely is) reform from within. It must purge Hindu society from its glaring evils, but must leave its psychological basis intact—*i.e.*, the practical faith held by every true Hindu that work done for the sake of the reward of action is worthless, and that all industrial functions are to be performed as a service rendered to God and to the community as a whole.

Psychology is largely a new science in the West; but for ages the Hindu has been an exceedingly acute practical psychologist. He is extraordinarily skilled, for instance, in summing up, even after a very brief acquaintance, the character of any stranger with whom he may become acquainted. And in relation to the fundamental problems of human society he has for twenty centuries and more recognised what we in the West are only just beginning to recognise, that these problems are all in reality problems of psychology. It was demonstrated in the war on a vast scale that the ultimate factor in national success and survival is the factor of morale. The Hindu has known this, and has organised his society on the knowledge, for 2000 years. We realised also in the war how essential it is to keep the sentiment of the people as a whole canalised in such a fashion that the national will may be a will of enthusiastic patriotism, to the exclusion of all other considerations. In the long run, it was clearly perceived, victory would depend upon the strength and endurance of purely psychological factors—morale and the sentiment of patriotism. Industry was for a brief while organised under the dictates of this conviction, with extraordinary success. But for twenty centuries, again, the Hindu has known, and applied the knowledge, that not only industry but every detail of life, both for individual and community, must be organised along the right psychological lines, so that morale may be assured, and the sentiment of religious devotion duly dominant in all human concerns.

On the whole the Hindu scheme of life, thus founded upon a skilled estimate and application of psychological forces, has been amazingly strong and successful. From time to time, under the stress of some exceptionally grave disaster, Hindu society (i.e. the caste dharma) may break down. During his sixteen years of service in India the present writer has seen this happen on two occasions, once during the influenza epidemic of 1918, when the district in which he was working lost some 8 or 9 per cent. of its population in a few weeks; and once (on a purely local scale) during an exceptionally severe epidemic of cholera following on a famine. But at such times, though the social structure is tottering around him, the Hindu dies amazingly well. There is none of that lawlessness which tends to break loose in the West when the social bond is relaxed. Nor especially in time of famine there is none of that darkest horror which appears during really severe famines in other parts of the world, the outbreak of cannibalism. The Hindu population may at such times be somewhat inert and despairing, but they die cleanly and courageously.

Society in India recovers with extraordinary speed and effectiveness from such catastrophes. Even where the population

of an area has been virtually wiped out, the caste system enables the scheme of life to be readily recreated as soon as immigrants begin to flow in from other districts. Everyone knows his own function under caste *dharma*, and is qualified to begin performing it immediately. No one is afflicted by the ambition to seize the opportunity of raising himself in the social scale. The inflowing population settles down at once, among the residue of that which has been decimated, and each individual begins to practise his caste handicraft, with the result that stability soon returns.

This is why, in the past, Hindu society has been able to survive, apparently unscathed, such appalling tragedies as the invasions of Timur, the misgovernment of some of the Afghan kings, and a recurring series of great famines.

When he looks at our own country to-day, the Hindu will feel that social disaster is continually threatening, and is only precariously staved off by means of the unemployment dole, a method inherently demoralising and altogether incomprehensible to one trained to believe that psychological considerations—the factors of morale—are of vastly preponderating importance in all social and economic relationships.

It is of course true that the Hindu way of life, which sets the motive for industry always beyond the individual, and definitely forbids any selfish desiring of the rewards of activity, is uncompromisingly idealistic. Its very existence assumes that it is possible for great bodies of uneducated men, over long epochs of time, to comprehend and to follow such an altruistic idealism as that of the extinction of desire. To the criticism, however, that such an idealism is out of place in the thrusting modern world, and is other-worldly and unpractical, the Hindu replies that it is far more practical than our Western methods of thought and life. It has endured unshaken for millennia, whereas the Western organisation of industry has only endured for a century and a half, and is showing ominous signs of disrepair in most western communities. He points out that the very people who in his own country are the mainstay of practical caste *dharma*, the men who work with their own hands, are in the West the most irreconcilable critics of the existing system, and in vast numbers are committed to a speedy ending of that system.

It is true also that the Hindu organisation of industry through the caste system is inherently conservative. It forces the average man, under threat of a thing much more dreaded in the East than the West, namely, social boycott, to follow his father's trade or handicraft. It automatically separates the whole Hindu community into a variety of social-economic groups. The Westerner is apt to regard such a phenomenon with horror. He demands above all social and economic freedom, the career

open to the talents, the widest possible opportunity to rise in the social scale and to found a fortune. The Hindu also admires, and demands, freedom; but the ideal of freedom to which his allegiance is given is a different ideal. From time immemorial he has been oppressed by the sense of infinite pain and futility inevitably accompanying the life of man on the earth. He yearns for emancipation from the burden of existence, and therefore from "desire," which (he is unshakably convinced) perpetuates existence. What, to him, is the prospect of a rise in the social scale, or of increased wealth, in comparison with the certainty that the insurgent desire for these things, and the ambitious, acquisitive, grasping type of mind created by such desire, will bind him or his fellow-countrymen ever more surely upon the wheel of existence? Better, in his view, a denial in the brief present life of opportunities which are bound to bring instability upon society as a whole and suffering upon the individual, than the certainty of a universal spreading and following of wrong motives. Such a point of view is startlingly un-European. It is austerely idealistic. It may even be called (by those who have not lived in contact with the type of character bred by the following of such ideals) negative and pessimistic. But, the Hindu maintains, it works. His civilisation has proved that men in huge numbers and over long epochs of time can be idealistic, unselfish, other-worldly. He believes, strenuously, that the caste system can, and should, be reformed, that its rigidities should be lessened, that the social abuses which it has sheltered should be swept away, that human values which have been inadequately recognised under some of its institutions (for example in the case of the untouchables, and of child-widows) should be reasserted. But he does not believe that the caste system should be swept away wholesale. Such an event would, in his opinion, be entirely disastrous for India. It would deprive mankind of a contribution which India may make to the solving of world-wide problems, and which may prove to be of applicability and of value to society everywhere.

For the modern educated Hindu has begun to think in terms wider than those of India alone. He believes, not indeed that the details of the characteristically Hindu method of social and economic organisation are applicable to other lands, but that the psychological framework behind that organisation is universal to all mankind, and can only be ignored at the very gravest peril of social disruption and of ultimate social annihilation. He believes it to be universally true that to make acquisitiveness the basis of industry is *ipso facto* to build the social and economic structure of humanity upon the sand. A building so founded may be great and imposing. It may show signs of unlimited

'progress'; but it will be unsafe and unstable. It will contain within itself, deep down at its base, the cause of what at any moment may become irreparable disaster. In every sphere, the Hindu believes, this criticism of the psychological motivation behind Western industry holds good. In regard to the individual, it is ultimately fatal to train him up in a habit of mind which leads him to demand and to strive after 'glittering prizes' for himself. In regard to the industrial unit, whether this is a small private business, a company, or a great trust, it is ultimately fatal that this unit should always be striving after greater profits at the expense of competitors. In regard to nations and empires, it is ultimately fatal that they should have as a fundamental motive the grasping desire to gain fresh markets, to exploit new avenues of commerce. He regards these things as fatal, not, as the Socialist does, because of any doctrinaire theory concerning a reorganisation of industry (though the Hindu criticism of existing conditions coincides to a certain extent with the Socialist criticism), but because of certain perfectly simple beliefs imbibed into the Hindu mind through long ages, concerning the psychological basis of all human activity and of all human institutions.

The Hindu, after a visit to the scurrying West, with its headlong 'progress' on the one hand, and its unemployment, its class cleavage, its great armaments on the other, returns to that slender volume, the *Bhagavadgita*,* wherein (as he believes) is contained for all time, and ultimately for all mankind, the supreme truth regarding the motivation which must underlie all human activity if it is not to end in delusion and catastrophe. He reads there, repeated over and over again, the injunction that action must be undertaken, not for the sake of personal advantage, but in the spirit of service for God and for the human community. He turns from his reading to the typical Hindu scene, the village or the small country town, where the handicraftsmen work patiently and contentedly at this task or that, as their caste may direct. He recognises abuses in the system, but he believes these may be purged away. He recognises pressing questions of adjustment, especially in view of the impact of Western civilisation upon his country; but he believes these problems can be solved and solved without the root and branch destruction of this ancient system of caste industry.

If such a Hindu has been trained (as is frequently the case) in some missionary institution, his beliefs regarding the fundamental rightness of the Hindu motivation of industry and society are greatly strengthened. For in the New Testament he has found teaching which he regards as essentially the same as the teaching of the Gita. He has read there the authoritative commands given by Christ to His disciples that they shall have no care at all for the

* There is a good translation in the Temple Classics.

material appurtenances of this life; that they shall forsake all in order to follow Him; that they shall have no anxiety about the supply of food or clothing; that they shall believe in a God who understands their need and will give them all that is needful if only they will trust Him as children trust a father. He reads of blessings pronounced upon the poor, and of stern words of warning addressed to the rich. He finds over and over again in the teachings of Christ the familiar insistence upon the supreme importance of psychology: men's motive must be right; their hearts must be pure and simple; they must set their will and ambition, not upon selfish advancement in wealth and power, but upon the service of God and man.

Many Hindus have spent ten years, during the most formative period of their lives, in drinking in this kind of teaching at a mission school or college. These men are to-day the spearhead of the movement for the rejection of Western influence in India. They are profoundly convinced, not only that the West is un-Christian (this the war taught them very effectually), but that the West has not even begun to comprehend, much less apply, the fundamental psychological principles of the religion which it professes. A society built upon acquisitiveness, competition, the urge to grasp more and ever more wealth, and to retain at all costs what has already been grasped, is—such a Hindu feels—fundamentally and radically un-Christian society. He holds the Hindu society, in spite of appalling blemishes, is almost out of all comparison more Christian than so-called Christian society, because the motive of *dharma*—the performance of a man's work in life in the spirit of religion and service—has always been kept in the forefront.

The Hindu may give an exaggerated emphasis both to the shortcomings of Western civilisation in this respect, and to the completeness with which the *dharma* ideal has been lived out in his own civilisation. It is remarkable, however, that even quite small Hindu boys are perfectly acquainted with the simple yet deep-reaching root principle of their religion, that actions must be performed without desire for the fruits of action, without selfishness, since otherwise it will lead to disaster; and the typical Hindu, of all ages, in the midst of poverty and care, preserves deep in his mentality an extraordinary other-worldliness, a spirit of detachment from material things, which is the fruit of a character built up on the life-long conviction not to defeat himself by working for the "fruits of action."

This type of unselfishness, in the inmost sanctuary of the self, means everything to the devout Hindu who is striving to live by the teaching of the Gita in fact and practice; and many millions do so strive to live.

Not only does the thinking Hindu believe that Christ is on his side in this matter, especially in view of such sayings as 'If a man forsake not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.' He believes also that the greatest and most discerning minds of the West have through the ages been on his side. He is immensely impressed and attracted by a character of complete detachment from the world, such as that of Saint Francis. A man like this, he feels instinctively, was indeed a saint, whereas many of the modern representatives of Christianity seem to him a pathetic parody of spirituality, because of the manifold appurtenances which they hang around their lives, and because of their forgetfulness of their Master's primary instructions regarding the good things of this world. The teachings of Tolstoy have a very great appeal to a devout Hindu, and in the case of Mr Gandhi have been of major importance in the development of his outlook upon life. Moreover, the Hindu believes that it is not only the great saints and renouncers of Christianity who are upon his side, but the thinkers also who have seen deepest into the tendencies of modern civilisation and into the effect of those tendencies upon the human mind. The Hindu knows that Spengler, for example, sees no great hope for the survival of Western civilisation. He reads a judgment such as this: 'There is neither hope nor refuge in a civilisation wounded almost to death, and waiting, in helpless apathy, for its *coup de grace*'[1]; or this, from the pen of one who is both philosopher and philanthropist[2]:

> We Westerners dream of a theory of the Universe which corresponds to our impulse to action and at the same time satisfies it. We have not been able to formulate such a theory. . . . And so we wander hither and thither in the gathering dusk formed by lack of any definite theory, like homeless dreamers over meadows, and enlist indifferently in the service of the common and of the great without distinguishing between them.

More important still than such judgments are felt to be those of the great forerunner and prophet of modern psychology, for the psychologist speaks with great authority to a people who have from time immemorial recognised so thoroughly the fundamental importance of psychology.

> A deeper contrast is scarcely to be found than between the view of life which thinks of it primarily as possessive and that which looks on it as creative; between the state of mind which is set on acquisition and that in which life means the adventure of man's soul in the universe[3];

or again:

> As for me, my bed is made: I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and with the invisible molecular forces that work from individual

[1] Wingfield-Stratford, *The Reconstruction of Life*.
[2] Dr. Schweitzer.
[3] William James, *Talks to Teachers*, p. 206.

individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time. I am against all big organisations as such, national ones first and foremost; against all big successes and big results; and in favour of the eternal forces of truth which always work in the individual and immediately unsuccessful way, under-dogs always, till history comes, after they are long dead, and puts them on the top.*

In such words, and many others like them, the Hindu believes that the most far-sighted of Western thinkers show quite plainly that they are upon his side in regard to the criticism of the psychological basis beneath Western civilisation. He believes, indeed, that the message of Christ regarding the necessity for purity of heart, for putting first as personal motive the things of the Kingdom of God, and for the abandonment of all selfish desires, has not completely been forgotten, but still lives in the minds of the best men of the West, though indeed it has proved incapable of influencing the general trend of Western life.

True Christianity he is willing to recognise, as not an affair of Church organisation or of creeds and ceremonial, still less of that undiscriminating support too often given by ecclesiastical Christianity to an acquisitive economic system or to national warfare. He can discern behind these external elements, which he cannot but regard as essentially unspiritual, a still surviving spiritual Christianity which seeks to rediscover and to apply the inmost mind of Christ. Such a Christianity will, he believes, inevitably prove to be the ally of his own Hinduism in protesting against the spirit of acquisitiveness, of domination and of exploitation, and in witnessing to the necessity for a return to the standards of unselfishness and of service in all the relations of life, and especially in economic and international connexions. The *Gita* and the Gospel are to unite forces in striving to conserve, or to create anew, a scheme of life where every man shall do his everyday work in the right psychological attitude, abandoning selfish desire and seeking to serve his fellowmen rather than to exploit them.

Such ideals may seem visionary in the extreme. But it is to be remembered that the conception of life inculcated in the *Gita* has been applied with astonishing success for more than 2000 years in India. Such idealism cannot be called unpractical. The fact, so often insisted on by the modern Hindu, that the Christian idealism has failed to work in practice, at any rate in the organisation of industry and in international affairs, too often seems to the Hindu to mean that Christianity is a visionary religion, without the power to translate ideals into practice, at any rate on a

* William James, *Letters*, II. [illegible]

wide scale. But it is felt that the East may have a message to the West in this respect; and may even be able to infuse into the West something of that stark and ruthless logicality which underlies the Hindu economic system, and which, in another sphere, makes the Hindu apply his idealism so thoroughly that, since he believes in the sacredness of all life, he will not take the life even of a cobra or a mad dog.

In other words, it is believed that the East may even yet be able to win back the West to the Christ whom she has forgotten—India may even yet teach England what is meant by a religion which bids the offended party turn the other cheek, and orders its adherents to lay up no treasure upon earth, and to take no thought for the morrow. What the Hindu regards as the appalling impotence of Western idealism may yet be galvanised into life by a fresh impulse from the East, that ancient mother of religions, where the man who renounces everything is still looked upon as supremely great and good, and where the admonition of the *Gita*, that duty must be done in the spirit of service and not of selfishness, has worked.

The present demand for Swaraj in India is only rightly to be comprehended in view of the considerations set forth above. Western methods of economic and social organisation are influencing India more and more powerfully every year. The population has begun to shift very rapidly from the country to the towns. In the great new industrial cities which are springing up the indigent peasants who have left their country villages are crowded together under conditions which are often exceedingly bad from the point of view of health and sanitation; but those conditions are infinitely worse from the point of view of the survival of the characteristic Indian social structure. The caste bond is inevitably relaxed in the industrial city. This means that the very real, although not perhaps very high, standards of behaviour and morality fostered by the caste system cease to be enforced by their previous sanctions. A well-informed observer has recorded the fact that amongst the millhands in the industrial cities a large proportion of the women are united by no definite or lasting bond of marriage to the men with whom they are living. Inevitably the consequences upon the children are disastrous. With the disappearance of caste goes also a demoralising loss of social security, of fellowship, of the mutual stability and support which is given throughout India, where the caste organisation still endures, by the sense of being a unit in a small and compact social group, whose members will give at any rate some degree of assistance and moral support to anyone of the group who may happen to be in difficulties.

In addition, the migration of the poverty-stricken peasantry

from village to city carries with it detachment from the soil, and the loss of that very definite feeling of stability that comes in the case of the peasant cultivator, by a position on the land and in the village community. As is well known, one of the main planks in the Swarajists' platform is a nation-wide campaign to check this rush to the cities, by making it possible for the peasants to earn at home, in their abundant spare time, that small additional income which will make all the difference between destitution and modest comfort in the ancestral environment. This is the rationale behind the Swarajists' movement for the establishment of a vast cottage industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving throughout the country. That movement has been wonderfully successful. It has the very great advantage of supplying every patriotic worker, however idealistic and emotional, with something hard, monotonous and eminently practical, to which he must turn his hand here and now if his love for his country is not to be regarded as a self-evident sham. Mr Gandhi's unwavering insistence that this campaign for cottage industry must be set in the forefront of the nationalist movement is perhaps the greatest single sign of his statesmanship. To every thinking Indian it appears obvious that the Westernisation of industry, if it is allowed to proceed much further, will inevitably destroy the Hindu caste organisation of industry, and will bring in the Western spirit of acquisitiveness and competition in place of the ancient Indian ideal of all industry as unselfish service. The process of Westernisation can only be checked by preventing the rush to the cities, and therefore by enabling the peasants to supplement their meagre income from the land by means of cottage industry. The product of such industry will moreover render India economically independent of the West in respect to the greatest single article of importation.

The political aspects of Swaraj are to be understood in a similar manner. India is demanding the right to control her own destinies not primarily because a small percentage of her young men have imbibed the heady doctrines of Western revolutionary nationalism, but because she feels instinctively that the existing Western domination is so pervasive, so efficient in the following of its own ideals and ends, that unless it is denied the opportunity it will destroy the Indian way of life, and replace it by Western culture and Western ideals. Such a development India would regard as disastrous in the last degree. Not only is she deeply attached to her own ancient culture, for reasons of sentiment and affection. But, as has already been pointed out, she believes the Western way of life to be inherently subversive and suicidal. She can see no hope for an India organised on Western lines as a vast acquisitive society, with unlimited competition fortified by all the resources

of modern science, with the ancient caste grouping of industry as service superseded by an immense increase of factories and slums, and with the *Gita* ideal—the relinquishment of desire for the fruits of action—forgotten in the interests of a philosophy of 'get rich quick.'

Swaraj is far more than a merely national movement. It is a desperate, eleventh-hour attempt to salvage a whole ancient culture, to rescue a practical world view, which—the Hindu feels—is threatened with extinction by the West. The civilisation of Peru was murdered by a few score Westerners 400 years ago. We are now gradually realising how great and valuable a thing was then light-heartedly destroyed. The Hindu is resolved that, if he can help it, a similar tragedy, on a far vaster scale, shall not occur again. He holds that his culture is spiritually based, *i.e.*, that it is effectively built upon the *Gita* idealism of industry as service. He believes that such a basis is the only possible foundation for an enduring state of society; and that the West, being founded on a materialistic psychology enjoining individual and corporate acquisitiveness, will inevitably crash. He wishes to save his own culture from sharing in that disaster.

Last, but not least, the Hindu believes that all men, everywhere, need the Indian teaching that selfish desire must be extinguished, and everyday work organised on a basis of service, if mankind is to be permanently happy. He knows that this was the idealism of Christ; and though the West seems to him to have forgotten Christ, he believes that India, if only she can be preserved from Westernisation through the gaining of true Swaraj, may be able, by a revival of this idealism, to bring back the West to the feet of Christ.

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

FINANCIAL INQUIRY

Those who read my article on 'The Problem of Financing Consumption' in the June number of *The Nineteenth Century* may recollect that I joined my voice to those of a great many others in calling for an exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of the modern relation between finance and industry. I added that the utility of such an inquiry must depend entirely on the personnel and terms of reference of the committee appointed. Since then Mr Snowden's Committee of Inquiry into Finance and Industry has actually come into being, and it will be observed that certain fears expressed in the article were not unfounded, inasmuch as the interest of the consumer is neither represented in the personnel of the Committee nor explicitly included in its terms of reference. This makes me uneasy. In spite of a genuine desire to prejudge nothing, I cannot help wondering if this is to be one more of those wonderful bureaucratic 'inquiries' described by Lord Hewart in his recent book,[1] in which, as he says, 'one of the parties is absent, there is no hearing, the decision is given by the opposite party, and there is no appeal.'

The terms of reference are 'to inquire into banking, finance, and credit . . . and to make recommendations calculated to enable these agencies to promote the development of trade and commerce *and the employment of labour*.' Now in the same article, speaking of Mr Lloyd George's election scheme, I went so far as to detect 'a fundamental dishonesty behind a policy which keeps people's attention fixed on the problem of distributing employment when the real problem is that of distributing goods—and leisure'! Yet the terms are commendably wide in that they do not absolutely exclude a re-examination of first principles. And one rather gathers that the saner elements in the Press of this country would welcome such a re-examination, as being likely to show that the numerous current attempts to lay the blame for industrial depression on the banks arise from ignorance of these principles. Let us hope that Mr Snowden's Committee will take the hint and say everything it can to justify the financial system.

[1] *The New Despotism.*

In the previous article I tried to show that the meaning (that is, the meaning to-day) of such terms as 'money,' 'inflation,' 'loan' has to be pretty closely defined before very much but waste of breath can come of discussing them, and in the case of the first two terms I endeavoured to go into the matter of the definition at greater length. Of the loan, however, there was not space to say much, beyond pointing out that the interest on a funded loan is very often paid with money borrowed from the same source as the principal. Since therefore, this question of the nature and working of the system of loan or credit finance is one which may shortly be before the public, I may perhaps be excused for offering a few more reflections on it.

In the first place there is one particular kind of loan of which the importance can scarcely be exaggerated. I refer to loans made by the banks, and in particular (in this country) by the Bank of England. Their importance lies in the fact that they are not simply a means, but *the only means*, by which the total aggregate of money in the country can be increased. This is universally accepted. For example in *British Finance, 1914–21*,[1] we can read: 'An important point ever to bear in mind, under modern conditions of credit, is that, taking the banks collectively as one unit, they do not make loans out of deposits but create deposits by making loans.' The Right Hon. Reginald McKenna, who is himself a member of Mr Snowden's Committee, has often put this more emphatically:

> Under the system which prevails in our country there is only one method by which we can add to or diminish the aggregate amount of our money. Gold coin is no longer minted, and additional paper currency is not issued except to meet the demands of the public. When the public require more currency, they draw it from the banks and deposits are reduced as currency in circulation is increased. The amount of money in existence varies only with the action of the banks in increasing or diminishing deposits. We know how this is effected. Every bank loan and every bank purchase of securities creates a deposit, and every repayment of a bank loan and every bank sale destroys one."[2]

And on another occasion:

> Apart from the action of a bank, the public in practice are powerless to increase or diminish permanently the total of money, except by destroying their notes or sending them out of the country. They may buy or sell, borrow or lend, spend or save; the quantity of money in the country will be unchanged.[2]

There is no need here to go into details of the way in which the power of the ordinary joint stock bank to issue credit is limited by its balance at the Bank of England; for this balance

[1] Co-ordinated by A. H. Gibson for the British Association, being the result of investigations and materials collected by one of its committees.

[2] *Post-War Banking Policy*, by the Right Hon. Reginald McKenna.

itself varies with the quantity of bills discounted, loans made or recalled, and securities bought or sold by the Bank of England. What is important is to pause for a moment and to dwell on the fact itself. If fact it be (and we have the authority of the British Association for supposing that it is), we ought at any rate to be clear about it. At present it is remarkable that although the truth of the proposition is practically a commonplace among the instructed, yet nine-tenths of the articles that are written and the speeches that are made on trade recovery base their whole argument on a tacit assumption that industrial prosperity, a favourable balance of trade, and so forth, may *of themselves* bring forth money with which in some miraculous way the present burden of debt is to be reduced.

The importance of this question concerning loans only assumes its true proportions when we awake—and some new section of the public is being awakened nearly every day—to the fact that almost the whole of the civilised world, not even excluding America, conducts even its day-to-day transactions with money which must be described in the technical sense as 'borrowed.' Thus, a few weeks ago the ratepayers of Wakefield were rudely awakened by the Hatry crisis. Before that it was the Lancashire cotton spinners; to-day it is the American investor tottering uneasily on his vast superstructure of deferred payments. Hundreds of German municipalities would go bankrupt if the American investor were to insist on a repayment of his loans, and another step in the same direction would bankrupt the whole nation. [illegible] these examples, more or less at random, of a phenomenon that is practically universal. In [illegible] it is sometimes convenient, for the purposes of demonstration, to begin by drawing attention to the morbid aspect, and the above are instanced only as the nature of [illegible] of the whole credit finance system under which we live. It would still be true that we are all living on borrowed money, though none of these unpleasant symptoms were visible. We have only to consider the enormous development of the joint stock system and its corollary private investment; we have only to consider our elaborately graded hierarchy of securities—the fact that, for instance, trustees are negligent if they *fail* to invest! Add to this the fact that the only method of creating money is the making of loans by banks (in this country by the Bank of England), and then the proposition that we all live on borrowed money begins to look less sensational and more like a sober and not very important truth.

At this point it will be as well to prevent anyone who objects to what has been said from going off the track into elaborate discussions concerning gold-cover, cash reserves, the [illegible]

[illegible] This can best be done by referring him again to the first quotation from Mr. McKenna.[4] In any case, all that can be said on that head would affect only that portion of our available money which is represented by metal and currency notes—in this country something between ½ and 1 per cent. of the whole, the remaining 99 per cent. taking the form of cheques.

A more plausible objection would be to impute a kind of wilful ingenuousness. Oh yes, it might be said, I can see you are going to put it all in simple terms in order to make it sound silly; but really every man of the world understands perfectly well what is meant. It is simply childish to speak of, say, the National Debt as though it were on a par with the loan of half-a-crown from one schoolboy to another. And as to the banks, you have said yourself that bank loans create deposits, that is to say, *are* deposits; why not look at them from that side? Or, to put the objection in a nutshell: there are circumstances in which a loan is not a loan.

Now this is just the very point I want to tackle. For, whatever the truth may be, we ought at least, as I say, to be clear about it; whereas the existing confusion of thought on the subject is simply astounding. 'The term "funded,"' writes the author of the article 'National Debt' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition), 'as applied to a loan which has been recognized as at least quasi-permanent. . . .' I ask the reader to close his eyes and in all humility to seek for whatever meaning there may be in the phrase 'at least quasi-permanent.' I should be the last person to press a too nice adherence to the good old logical principle that contradictories cannot both be true. The trouble is that, if we are to take the term 'permanent' as meaning also 'not permanent,' or if we are to take the loans which underlie our whole system of credit finance as being also 'not loans,' we are then faced with certain other difficulties. What, for instance, becomes of the old fashioned obligation to repay? Of the necessity for finding interest? What justifica-

[4] *I.e.*, the question whether we are to have coin or notes or a cheque is, in fact, to-day simply the cashier's question 'What will you have it in?' Someone may, of course, still object that there is actually a certain sum of money which exists, irrespective of the action of the Bank, which does not need to be [illegible] and which cannot be destroyed except by sending it out of the country or melting it down. But this sum of money cannot be greater than the face value of the total number of gold sovereigns at present in the country. In fact it is [illegible] sovereigns. I do not know the exact proportion, but if it were put into circulation this gold currency could hardly represent more than 1 per cent. of the aggregate of money available and can therefore safely be ignored for the purposes of the present argument. 'No part of the net increase in commercial bank deposits since 1914 has been due to an excess deposit over withdrawal of gold tendered by customers' (*British Finance*, p. [illegible]).

due to them for the lenders' consent of [illegible] [illegible]? We have, in fact, to examine on what grounds the whole concept of obligation from debtor to creditor could in such a case be based.

In the case of an ordinary loan it has, of course, long been customary for the law itself to compel the debtor either to repay the sum borrowed, or in default of that to surrender to the creditor the control, formerly of his person, now of some part of his property. The origin and development of the law on this subject can be traced from Roman times, and we owe our very word obligation to the earliest Roman custom, by which the defaulting debtor was delivered bound into the hands of his creditor, to be his slave. How does this tradition, and the ethic with which it is associated, apply to these modern loans which are also not loans? This, in substance, would be my reply to anyone who objected naively to the previous part of the argument.

It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the custom of what is called 'funding' a debt (i.e., borrowing without any serious expectation of repaying) first arose. In 1694 the Bank of England was founded with a loan to the Government by a group of City men of 1,200,000*l.* at 8 per cent. This was the beginning of the 'National Debt,' which has, of course, never been repaid in full and now stands at about 6,500,000,000*l.** The interest was guaranteed by the product of a special tax, and the regular income, by enabling the Bank to discount bills and issue its own notes, expanded credit with such effect as to produce a boom in speculation which culminated and burst in the South Sea Bubble of 1720. I quote here the ordinary economic textbook. The Bank of England was then, and is now, an entirely private institution.

The important thing is to grasp the world of difference between the situation as it then stood and the situation as it is to-day. No doubt the original 1,200,000*l.* was actually the property of the gentlemen who lent it. It was probably paid in bullion, and the creditors were presumably 1,200,000*l.* poorer when the money had changed hands. To-day it is a very different matter. To-day the Bank lends, not money which it already possesses, but money which it creates, virtually out of nothing, for the purpose. What, then, is the relation between the two? How would our 'creditors' themselves explain it? Let us for a moment imagine a director of the Bank of England sitting, not on, but before, Mr Somebody's Committee—sitting, in fact, in the witness-box. I do not for a moment suppose that he would

* Actually the figure is higher; but throughout this article I am considering the Internal Debt only.

him on behalf of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as their own absolute property, or that of their shareholders, the sums of money which they create from time to time by making loans and buying securities. I fancy he would speak something as follows. The term 'loan,' he would say, is in our use analogous to what is known in another sphere as a legal fiction. In practical matters of this kind it is impossible that men's ideas should keep pace with their changing practice. And the continued use of the old word (loan) with the new meaning is useful for many reasons. For instance, it enables necessary changes of procedure to be introduced without the necessity of first explaining them to the man in the street, who would have the greatest difficulty in understanding them and would probably, through ignorance, obstruct his own best interests. Still more, by its implied attribution of ownership it enables us to exercise with greater ease and less disputation our true function, which is that of stewards of the nation's credit appointed to guide it by means of our expert knowledge into those channels which will most surely lead us all to prosperity. We do not create credit. The nation itself does that with its brain and brawn. We only create, as and when necessary, the means of distributing that credit in the form of purchasing power.

Whether he answered in this way, or whether he made the *prima facie* preposterous claim that every increment to the quantity of money in the country is the private property of a small body of shareholders, a further question arises, which I certainly think the Committee ought to consider in all its bearings. In one of a Cambridge series of economic text-books Mr. D. H. Robertson points out that the rise of the joint stock system has produced what he calls a *divorce of ownership from control*. And this is a characteristic not only of the joint stock and limited liability companies, but of credit finance as a whole—as, indeed, the author seems to imply when he goes on to speak, in more general terms, of a consequent 'division of function between those who take decisions about saving and those who undergo the abstention from present enjoyment which saving involves.' The full implications of this, adds Mr. Robertson, 'have not yet been fully grasped.' Finding myself in cordial agreement with him on this point, I can only trust once more that the Committee of Inquiry will take the hint by attempting to grasp them more fully.

Here one might remark in passing that it is this same 'divorce between ownership and control' which puts both doctrinaire Socialism and doctrinaire Capitalism, and indeed all who go on speaking of the 'capitalist' and the 'employer' as if they were one and the same person, so hopelessly out of date. It may have

bank money has ceased to speak in this way [illegible] than [illegible]; to-day anyone with [illegible] ought to have discovered long ago that you have only to [illegible] a capitalist in order to find a debtor. This, however, is a side-issue. My purpose, then, is not at all to suggest that the Bank has not [illegible] honestly tried to act in the best interests of the public. It is simply to inquire whether it is mathematically possible to continue working indefinitely a system under which nearly all financial operations, and all increases in the volume of money, have to be brought about by means of "loans" bearing interest and carrying with them the obligation to repay.

For convenience debts may be divided into three classes—private, public, and commercial. The private debt may, for our present purpose, be ignored. In this country the outstanding public debt is, of course, the National Debt, the interest on which at present absorbs approximately one half of the annual revenue, income tax standing at 4s. in the pound. The intricate system of commercial debts underlies, like an enormous rabbit-warren, the whole of our civilisation. In this country, as follows from the proposition identifying loans with deposits, the whole system takes the form of a sort of inverted pyramid balanced, upon its apex, on debts to the Bank of England. (The National Debt is itself, of course, commercial, in so far as the State plays the part of entrepreneur.) The two together, commercial and public debts, may be taken as comprising a sort of "total of national indebtedness." It is this total in which I am principally interested, and it should be clearly recognised that, whether this total be a good thing or a bad one, there is only one possible way of reducing it, and that is by destroying money. Secondly, there are only two possible ways of maintaining the total of interest payments—one by destroying money, and the other by borrowing more from the same source.

This may at first sight look startling, but if we reflect what happens when, for example, portions of the National Debt are apparently "repaid" by being redeemed from private holders at Government cost, we shall be able to see how it works out. If I receive money from the Government in return for my War Loan certificates, I must either withdraw the money altogether from the circle of the economic system (destroy it), or I must put it on deposit or reinvest it. And in both the last two cases I have simply transferred national into commercial debt.* Thus, while the

* In point of fact, a very large proportion of the [illegible] National Debt was created during the last war as a direct creation by the banks, without even the formality of putting it through [illegible] accounts in the form of a loan. All "repayments" on the part of the State represent an [illegible] of money, and we are at present witnessing [illegible]

tional Debt can be reduced in two ways, by destroying money d by transferring it to commercial debt, the total of indebted-ss can only be reduced by destroying money. It follows that e total of interest payments can only be maintained either by stroying money or by borrowing more The widely prevalent tion that these totals can be reduced or even maintained at their esent level merely by a revival of trade is an exceedingly rnicious myth.

Now the destruction of money (generally known as 'deflation') anything like a large scale may be ruled out of the sphere of actical possibilities Everybody knows that the effect of such policy on prices would complete the ruin of industry Nor would e consumer benefit, since his pocket must necessarily be lighter the precise amount by which prices had been reduced The esent situation would appear therefore to be as follows Start-g from the not wholly unreasonable assumptions (1) that money either borrowed or not borrowed and (2) that if it is borrowed, ere is an obligation to find interest and ultimately to repay it, may say (1) As a community we are loaded with an immense rden of debt, and (2) it is impossible to sustain that burden cept by borrowing still more One is reminded of the egregious ron Munchausen, who in order to escape from an awkward predicament, was obliged to lift himself off the ground with his own boot-straps.

It will, of course, be objected that at any rate as far as the commercial debt is concerned there is no particular need to reduce it, that it is no burden since the loans are mostly reciprocal I reply that the debt is ultimately as demonstrated by Mr McKenna and others, a debt to the Bank of England and that it is a very serious burden for the following reason It was shown in my previous articles that any solution of the problems of trade stagnation and unemployment must involve an increase of the community's purchasing power - that is, an increase in the average value of the fraction $\frac{\text{Quantity of money}}{\text{Prices}}$ *Now these loans and the interest charges on them form a large part of the costs of every pro-*

cent Conversion Loan, one of the established compromises by which such repayments are in practice avoided

the available purchasing power of the public increased by roughly £ 588,000,000 or 116 per cent during the period July 1 1914 December 31 1919 ... it is obvious that the great increase in the total available purchasing power of the community during the six years ending December 31 1919 was mainly due to increase in bank deposits The abnormal increase in bank deposits during this period was mainly due to bank subscriptions to various forms of War Loans and to increased advances to customers, particularly from the date of the Armistice in the case of the latter ' (*British Finance*, pp. 174 5) (It should be noted that ' purchasing power ' is here used in a strictly inaccurate sense as equivalent to ' money.')

dence. And since every producer is obliged for the sake of solvency to recover all his costs in the prices he charges for his goods, it follows that it is only possible to reduce the value of the precious by reducing in some way the general burden of debt. But this has been proved to be impossible. Therefore, whatever we do, work or play, produce more or produce less, save or spend, invent new machines or destroy the old ones, the real cost of living (relation of price level to incomes) is bound in the long run to rise steadily higher and higher!

Does not this seem to imply that, as I suggested before, not merely the practice, but the principles of current industrial finance, need some re-examination? I think that is putting it mildly. I think we can say definitely that, just as in the previous article it was pointed out that some method will have to be found of distributing money in other forms besides the ordinary one of wages, so will a method have to be found of creating money other wise than in the form of loans. And I venture to add that there is a marked difference between statements such as these and any abstract scheme evolved in the [illegible] of a benevolent head [illegible] ing on the welfare of humanity. For what is here proposed is so necessary that it is already beginning to happen of its own accord. The subconscious influences which determine the general trend of social change without waiting for the professors of political economy are actually bringing it about—only, of course, for lack of guidance, they are bringing it about in the wrong way. And in a way that causes terrible and unnecessary suffering. Money is being distributed otherwise than as a reward for labour: it is being distributed as the so-called 'dole.' Money is being created otherwise than in the form of loans, for the loans are not being repaid. Anyone who has eyes can see it going on all round him. There is, for instance, an annual deficit of some [illegible] in the Unemployment Fund itself, a deficit which is presumably recognised in official quarters as at least quasi-permanent. Mr. E. C. Ash pointed out in the November number of *The Nineteenth Century* that

> farmers all over the country are heavily involved in debt, and are only able to continue in occupation because of the leniency of their creditors. At one time creditors collected these claims and farmers in great numbers were ruined. Creditors found that it was not to their advantage. The reduction in the number of reported bankruptcies therefore does not necessarily imply . . . that things are better in rural England.

One certainly need not hunt far for examples. The weekly periodical the *New Age* is always full of them. Indeed, it is only because of the 'leniency' of our creditors that we can exist at all. We are kept alive by bad debts and bankruptcies. The rules are so out of date that we must live on the exceptions.

I would suggest, then, to the members of the Committee of Inquiry into Finance and Industry that they should not be afraid of letting a little healthy naivety into their lucubrations. Even naivety has its uses. It is, after all, the opposite force to that by which 'legal fictions' come into being, and it operates to destroy these fictions. One need have nothing against legal fictions as such. Undoubtedly they often serve a good and necessary purpose. Nevertheless it follows from their very nature that a time must eventually come when the old bottle will no longer hold the new wine. It may be that with the financial system that time is already at hand. It will be a general recrudescence of naive realism [illegible] just what will cause its ultimate downfall, the [illegible] that proved so infectious in the celebrated case of the Emperor's New Clothes.

"But he has nothing on," [illegible]

"Just hear what that innocent [illegible] and one whispered [illegible]

"But he has nothing on," [illegible] That touched the Emperor [illegible] but he thought within himself [illegible] And the chamberlains held on tighter [illegible] which did not exist at all.

In the regular series of crises which have occurred in this country approximately [illegible] each time obliging the Government [illegible] the suspension of specie payments [illegible] premonitory symptoms of this [illegible] realism. Will not the Committee [illegible] the same quality in advance? It may save [illegible]

I know that many are opposed [illegible] arguments, and indeed to all discussions of this kind, on the ground that they tend to disturb confidence. They say [illegible] that in a system of credit finance everything depends on [illegible] therefore to let the least breath of doubt or misgiving in is to play with fire. The return to the gold standard was based largely on such arguments. I can only say that I do not for a moment believe it. Everything tends to show that we have reached the stage at which our equilibrium (I would not venture to call it security) is based, not on confidence, but on its opposite, fear. And fear is a demon which can only be dealt with by attacking. Moreover, the theory is one which automatically defeats its own ends by becoming generally diffused. When everybody knows that what is said is said, not because it is believed to be true, but in order to 'create confidence,' what confidence is there left? Thus at the beginning of the Wall Street crash the papers were full of authoritative statements to the effect that everything was all

right, statements which nobody, not even the papers themselves, believed.

It was formerly believed that, in the case of one particular demon (the Gorgon), in order to kill it, one must carefully avoid looking at it. I would recommend anyone who is affected by the kind of timidity which I have just indicated to try the same plan. If we firmly remove our eyes from the wavering tentacles of the financial polypus, take them right away from money of all sorts and fix them, instead, as firmly on goods, then I think the resulting vision of the Goddess Nature, of the bounteous lady with the cornucopia, which will arise in our hearts will be of such a kind as to steel us to the task of attacking and slaying—whatever may need to be slain. In the sphere of practical reason every man is a naive realist who would avoid disaster. In the sphere of practical reason goods are realities.

One word more. When it had been universally held for centuries, on the authority of Aristotle, that a heavy body falls quicker than a light one, an attack of naive realism took Galileo up to the top of the leaning tower of Pisa and induced him to drop two objects of different weight. They clanged together on the pavement beneath. To-day there are believed about money, quite as universally and on unquestionably orthodox authority, things which will as little stand the empirical test. When one finds, for instance, Professor Cannan stating, in his little book *Wealth*—which has gone through many editions and is accepted by the authorities of London University as one of their text-books—'Experience has gradually taught us that a sufficiency of money will always be found where a sound currency is established,' there one can only gasp. And when one reads of the Chancellor of the Exchequer referring, in a speech before the International Congress on Thrift, to 'a time like the present, when saving was never more necessary'—well, then one has no breath left to gasp; one has to weep. These two remarks resemble each other in two respects: they are both *ipse dixits* unsupported by any kind of argument or demonstration, and they are both not merely untrue, but the exact opposite of the truth.

A. O. BARFIELD.

EUROPEAN UNITY

It is unfortunate that the Briand ideal of a United States of Europe, in diverting the gaze of men to the Republic across the Atlantic, should have hypnotized them into accepting as a model to be imitated what is probably the most unsuitable country for such a purpose. For not merely is the United States of America no parallel at all to our Europe of today, but also by reason of its present condition of [illegible] it can be and will be a positively evil example. Apart from the accident of its area, the comparison between a United States of Europe and America breaks down at every [illegible] point, and if a European analogy for America is to be sought at all one between America and a great [illegible] State such as Hungary, would be more to the point. In both cases there is a homogeneous standardized population, in the one by means of nationalistic education, in the other by [illegible] a common language, in both cases an exaggerated national feeling sharpened by the war and by high tariff walls, and finally in both cases a strong desire to expand, in the one case [illegible] world commerce, in the other racially into lost territories. The fact that America is a federation is, today at least, chiefly a result of size, and is racially less important than in the case of Switzerland.

It is true that something more than area alone has called the comparison into being, and it cannot be denied that Western Europeans, when face to face with America, do to some extent, in spite of their national divisions, feel that they possess something which America does not possess, and which, in view of the ever-encroaching power of that State, they are beginning to fear more and more to lose. This something is a common European feeling or tradition, and, although it has to a large extent been weakened since the advent of what may be called Romantic nationalism, its roots are, notwithstanding, so deep in the European past that even now it has not altogether perished. Since the war, in spite of the intense nationalism prevalent in most parts of Europe, this feeling has been refanned into life by the discovery that, outside Europe, large and important groups of human beings have come into existence even more different from Europeans

than Europeans are from each other, and who seem well on the way to assert themselves and their standard of values on an equal footing with ourselves. The shock which this discovery has caused, being felt now for the first time, bids well to galvanise a dead European feeling into life and to remind Europeans that in addition to the qualities that divide them there are also qualities which bind them together.

Now the true comparison which should be made, if ever a United States of Europe is to be more than an idle dream, is not with the nationalistic federation across the Atlantic—which is little more than a European colony writ large—but with the international Europe which once was and which some day may well be again, the background of a true internationalism. [illegible] European tradition, as we may call it, goes back to the [illegible] Romans and even further back to the Greeks from whom [illegible] derived it, and was developed first of all in the Greek civilisation of the fifth century B.C. [illegible] many ages and [illegible] many vicissitudes, [illegible] and extended by the force and [illegible] of the Roman Empire [illegible] and has [illegible] to survive in a certain sense [illegible] the present day [illegible] is not so dead that it cannot [illegible] of a dream [illegible] so should arise [illegible]

The tradition of which we speak [illegible] from the present writer [illegible] the sum of the [illegible] qualities [illegible] where they have [illegible] birth, [illegible] another. [illegible] on pure humanity [illegible] the [illegible] which a modern [illegible] reading the [illegible] of [illegible] the works of [illegible] of Shakespeare and [illegible] in more modern [illegible] qualities which [illegible] These qualities are not [illegible] in works such as the Egyptian [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] (although it is not denied that they can be found there also), and it may be asserted with a certain degree of accuracy that the Greeks and the Romans [illegible] them, and [illegible] them, moreover, in magnificent and enduring works of art.

Now in considering the literature of Rome, which, as we know, was formed in imitation of Greek models, the point to be emphasised is that the Romans caught the spirit of universal pure humanity in Greek literature and used it to express their own individuality, so that the Roman imitation, while being the first 'event' in European comparative literature, became also a model itself in that direction and a source of inspiration for future times. The Romans, in fact, turned their back on their own

literary past and origins, and perceiving what was higher and better in Greek literature, they seized upon it and rose, or attempted to rise, to its level. To a great extent they adopted the Greek attitude towards life, and found, above all in the Greek cosmopolitan Stoic philosophy, something that was not alien in spirit to their own native character. Roman and local at first, they became Greek and cosmopolitan, and developed a civilisation and literature which, with all its faults, still has elements which excite our admiration, and which has stood the test of centuries of criticism. In particular, from the point of view now at issue, we must note that however nationalistic they may have been in their early days—and this is a difficult point to decide, because the concept Roman was as much a [illegible] as a nationalistic term—they ended by accepting all nations as their equals and by finding something that could be Roman everywhere. In their case a successful career of conquest [illegible] and [illegible] administration, led to a relaxation of such race feeling as they had, and the subordinate position which the city of Rome [illegible] accepted in later days, when other cities [illegible] Ravenna, were held to be the Roman capital [illegible] the [illegible] which they made between the [illegible] mankind. The last triumph of Roman [illegible], as Lord Bryce has pointed out, was the [illegible] Roman to Christian, an assimilation so complete [illegible] that the poet Dante centuries afterwards could regard the [illegible] products of the divine Providence. [illegible] in fact of a united Christendom and [illegible] continued to dominate European thought [illegible] barbarian invasions, and for more than [illegible] a barrier against [illegible] of the [illegible].

The ideal of a Europe which was both Roman and Christian was transmitted through the Middle Ages in the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire with Pope and Emperor as the twin heads of the religious and secular order respectively, and it is this conception of Europe which at the time included the European [illegible] world (the Greek schism being regarded as an anomaly which would one day be removed)—which it behoves the modern European to call once more, with suitable qualification, into being. Yet before proceeding further a warning may be thrown out against accepting the mediaeval empire as anything more than it claimed to be itself, and against falling into the too facile error of a Voltaire. His bitter gibe, 'neither holy nor Roman nor an Empire,' was the fruit of his own unhistorical sense, and in reality was a gibe which turned against himself. In the sense attached to the words the mediaeval empire was holy, was Roman and was an empire—'holy' because it recognised the pope as titular

head of spiritual affairs, 'Roman' because Christendom was one country ('heathenness,' as Chaucer called it, was another), and an 'empire' because every European potentate, if faced (and they never were faced) with the question, would have recognised, if only to the extent of giving precedence at a banquet, the emperor as his feudal superior. The error of Voltaire lay in projecting into the past ideas which belonged to a more recent age, and in endowing words with meanings they had not possessed in earlier times.

Now the salient feature of the outlook of mediaeval States towards each other bears a certain resemblance to that of the ancient Romans to the Greeks. As far as they were able to do it they laid stress on the elements which they had in common with each other, and in common also with their mother Rome rather than on their own national or native elements; and with great inconsistency as it may seem to the modern observer judging by modern emotional standards, they asserted a theoretical unity in face of what seemed to Voltaire at least an evident diversity. This unity applied even to countries which had not formed part of ancient Rome and which had never overthrown it, such as Germany and Scandinavia; but here again it must be borne in mind that Germany and Scandinavia each was a daughter of Rome in respect of whatever civilisation or religion she latterly possessed. Persistently through long centuries Europe kept its face towards its common centre and steadily ignored, or tried to ignore, the elements within her which would have made and which later did actually make her disintegrate into national and also antagonistic groups. There was in fact not a European empire, but what is really more desirable, a common European feeling, and a feeling moreover which, in spite of the Crusades, arose less out of hostility to the opposing group of 'heathenness' than out of a European habit of assuming things European. The West of Europe as a whole was satisfied in its educational scheme with the Latin learning which had survived from antiquity, and it was on that learning as a basis that it had built up its Europeanism. By virtue of it the same books were read and the same language spoken throughout Europe, and by virtue of it the traveller to a foreign country, unlike the modern tourist, was educated up to looking for the things which were the same everywhere rather than the things which were different. Beneath this European mentality there was a certain amount of race feeling, and there was also a vernacular literature in the new tongues; but between the two poles of feeling, individual and universal, a certain balance was kept. It was characteristic of the age that the first man to write a vernacular work of supreme excellence, the Italian Dante, knew the *Aeneid* by heart, and in the course of writing his *Divine Comedy* in the Tuscan tongue

actually became less and less Tuscan. Beginning as a Florentine democrat, he ended by becoming a complete European, and gives us in some sort the first parallel to the last great vernacular writer, Goethe, who likewise passed, in the course of a lifetime, from German local feeling to complete Europeanism.

The first attack on this Europeanism was the religious reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which effectually destroyed the idea of an Holy Roman Empire and split Europe, on the religious question, into two opposing camps. Yet from the educational point of view it seems to have had no great effect, and, beyond adding to a Latin education which had now become more classical the Greek which had been restored by the Renaissance, this epoch in history did not destroy by any means the European feeling we are discussing. In several successive Renaissance waves, beginning with Italy and passing through France, England and Germany (the real German Renaissance being, as Walter Pater pointed out, that of 1800 and of Goethe), the still lake of mediaeval Europe was stirred by tides sweeping down from antiquity, and in even succession the vernaculars continued to produce great works of art. At the beginning of this Renaissance stands Dante, as we have seen, and at the end of it Goethe, who himself was a contemporary of the dying classical and rising Romantic movements. The date of the final dissolution of the long effete mediaeval empire (1806) is in very truth also the date of the beginnings of modern nationalism as we know it to-day; and Napoleon, the great Romantic nationalist, and the Austrian emperor who resigned his Roman crown, are human symbols of the old and the new. For in reality the eighteenth century had still possessed a very strong feeling of international solidarity, and had little acquaintance with our modern nationalism. The leading statesmen and rulers, like their mediaeval forbears, were men who had been brought up on the same books (generally Horace), speaking the same language (generally French) and not ashamed to look at things in the same way. The 'balance of power' had superseded the mediaeval empire as the ideal of European polity, but its stability was based, of necessity, on the assumption that a balance was possible and that national feeling would never be roused to the extent of turning war into a massacre of nations. War in the eighteenth century was played as a sort of diplomatic game in which here and there from time to time pawns were yielded, but in which a definite desire always remained not to upset the board of European feeling.[1] It is true that populations were exchanged with little regard for

[1] Lord Acton [illegible] that old regime 'committed its one sin and upset the board' by the partition of Poland, and thereby weakened the [illegible] prestige

[illegible] but it is [illegible] of these [illegible] could [illegible] the [illegible] to outweigh the gains. A neglected aspect of seventeenth and early eighteenth century habits in this respect has lately been pointed out by M. Julien Benda in his book *La Trahison des Clercs*, where it is noticed that Louis XIV., in annexing Strasbourg from the Empire, made no attempt to interfere with its language or customs, an attitude of restraint which has not been characteristic of the last and the present century.

Of the two movements which have divided Europe since the Middle Ages, the Reformation and the Romantic movement, we can say with some truth, so far as present conditions are concerned,* that it is the latter which has produced the present divisions of Europe and the nationalism which is the *pierre d'achoppement* in the way of peace. Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century in various countries, and finding a spokesman of supreme genius in Rousseau, a movement arose which found the source of true culture, not in a union of the individual [illegible] with the universal [illegible] as the Romans had found it when they came into contact with the Greeks, but in the individual [illegible] calls itself [illegible] and which turned for inspiration, not to [illegible] masterpieces of a universal kind, but to products of the individual and national genius. In so far as this movement began as a revolt against the pseudo-classical and formalistic culture of the eighteenth century which tended to stifle the legitimate feeling of the individual, it was justifiable; but in so far as it overthrew true classicism along with the pseudo-classical culture, and turned from man's ends to man's origins, it was wrong and has led to pernicious results.

We have seen how the Romans, when coming into contact with the Greeks, adopted the Greek universal forms as a means of self-expression, and how they actually succeeded in producing a literature of a genuinely Roman kind without sacrifice of originality. We have seen, too, how Western Europe from Dante to Goethe followed the same principle, which is in truth nothing more than the art of seeing the universal in the particular. From art and literature to nationality is only a step further than this, and a consideration of the political side of the same period will throw light on the question of nationality and its alliance with the Romantic movement. Now it is true that nationality was not absent in the period between Dante and Goethe, and its appearance and disappearance in Dante and Goethe has been mentioned, to which might be added that it appears in Shakespeare also. Yet in none of these can it be said to be of the

* The Romantic development of nationalism continues as [illegible] than the religious. The Reformation did, of course, have a nationalistic aspect.

modern [illegible] kind, and even in the last manifestations in the full blossoming of Renaissance England, it is rather a love of England for her smallness * than for her bigness which appears and which depends not at all (as, for example, in Kipling) on contempt for the qualities of other nations. The reason is that throughout the period Dante to Voltaire the nationalistic element was tempered by the influence of classical education and the classical outlook, by the Latin of the Middle Ages and the Latin and Greek of the Renaissance, both of which continuously prevented national feeling from becoming too national and from neglecting the universal element. Since Voltaire, whose name forms a convenient *point d'appui*, the tendency has been in the reverse direction, i.e. away from the universal to the particular. As regards historical feeling this has meant in actual fact the return of each nation to its own [illegible] achievements, while as regards literary and artistic feeling it has meant the emphasising of national literature, very often in its [illegible] and least universal forms. The effect [illegible] of the enormous spread of educational facilities in Europe has been to produce intense national feeling not only in large but also in small groups, until since the war we have the spectacle of various small nations frantically resurrecting from the [illegible] of the past what is left of their primitive languages or [illegible]. They feel they must be different at any cost, and in this hectic determination to have something of their own the elements which were once held in common are being lost.

To what extent the historical [illegible] has narrowed in the educational sphere [illegible] a closer examination of the movement [illegible] the eighteenth century of Voltaire and [illegible]. At that time patriotism and good citizenship were taught through the medium of events such as Thermopylae and Cannae, [illegible] of Europe could and did take a justifiable pride without experiencing emotional reactions of the nationalistic type. Yet at the same time the rather restricted eighteenth century classical outlook, with its contempt for the unenlightened Middle Ages, as exemplified in the Voltairean and Gibbonian cynicism, led to a lack of historical feeling which itself finally caused a reaction. The problem was to add to the cosmopolitan attitude the historical feeling which it lacked without destroying the international background which was its main advantage. Unfortunately what actually occurred when Romanticism began to make its force felt was first a violent reaction in favour of the Middle Ages because of their alleged primitive virtues and then a further reaction in favour of private

* 'This little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea.'

national pasts and origins. Of these two successive movements the first still retained enough of the eighteenth century point of view to regard the Middle Ages as a cosmopolitan whole, but owing to the fact that its predominant element was feeling, it led naturally to the second and finally to the historical school of the John Richard Green and Treitschkean type. Instead of Marathon, which had aroused the nationalistic feelings of so[illegible] modern people, the nations began to take pride, not unnaturally, in their own achievements, and as a result we have the spectacle of an event such as Waterloo being taught in three quite different ways in three countries, to the obvious advantage of patriotism and national feeling, but to the equally obvious detriment of that wider feeling which should act as a break on nationalism. The difficulty is that European feeling can only be based on the exaltation of events which all Europe admires with equal sincerity, and no nation can be expected to teach patriotism, or anything else, on the basis of their own defeats or on the victories of other nations. This is the difficulty [illegible]

Now, as regards the post-war world, it is interesting to see that in Germany (which lost the war) some disillusionment has been felt with regard to the validity of the Treitschkean method, and in some of its schools at least an attempt has been made to stifle completely the nationalistic emotional element by a new method. This consists of teaching history by means of historical charts which state merely the bare facts of history and refrain completely from making any emotional comments at all. How far this method will be successful it is difficult to say at the moment, but it would surely seem doomed to failure by reason of its own inherent fallacies. The true remedy for emotional nationalistic history is not emotional negation of such an attitude towards events (if possible at all) but a proper combination of national and international feeling, or in other words, the creation of a background of European feeling behind the very necessary national feeling. Otherwise we are liable to fall into the parallel error of resenting all emotion, and [illegible] to the [illegible] opponent, and the final result is a state of mind as lacking in proportion as the disease it set out to cure. Meanwhile the German Republic is an exception in this respect, and it must be admitted that the Treitschkean view is still rife in many parts of Europe. It has, moreover, taken a new turn since the war, and one of a sinister kind. No longer content with ignoring the common past and dwelling on the private past, the new nationalism consists in particular of seizing the whole or some part of the common heritage and appropriating it to a nationalistic end. Italy, for example, has lately annexed the Roman Empire as its private patrimony; and France, to judge

by a recent French school history book,[4] has decided to rename Gothic architecture '*Le Style français*.' We recall that Goethe renamed it 'German architecture' 150 years ago, but he, like a true European, thought better of his action and turned later in life to a wider view. As a final example among many which might be chosen, it is worth noting how strong the tendency has been for the nations who took part in the recent war to annex it as their war under the several rubrics 'our war,' 'notre guerre,' 'nostra guerra,' with the exception, of course, of the nations who lost. They prefer, on the whole, to forget. It would be illuminating to ask whether this was the usage after the Crusades, and whether they were referred to by the nations who won or lost them as 'our Crusades.'

On the side of language and literature the situation is very similar, and there is little doubt that the fostering of national literature has a great deal to do with the growth of national feeling. The old classical tradition is weakening everywhere, and in face of modern needs it is natural that it should weaken, but the problem is none the less urgent to find something to put in its place which will fulfil the same function and will operate towards forming the mentality which is the one required. As conditions are at present, where classics are not taught it does not necessarily follow that the right modern languages are being taught in their stead, or that they are being taught to the right end, while in most cases it must be confessed that classical studies have given way not to modern humanities but to natural sciences and other non-cultural studies. Where modern languages are taught it will often be found that they are taught for commercial reasons[5] rather than cultural, and moreover that the particular ones adopted vary considerably with the region in which a country lies. Whereas in Western and Southern Europe French is widespread, German tends to supplant it in the Balkans, while in Germany[6] and Scandinavia English holds the first place, the quality of the English being fairly accurately gauged by the type of Tauchnitz novel which is read there.

This state of affairs does not help Europe to attain the mental unity upon which its future depends, and in reality confirms and increases the atomistic condition in which it has found itself since the Great War. The fact that there is a League of Nations at one end hardly counterbalances the Tower of Babel at the other, and truth seems to be that the nations have decided to have a League to hold the ring for them while they gaily continue to indulge in nationalistic excess. This, for example, was the

[4] Malet, *Le Moyen Age*.
[5] In England Spanish now tends to compete with German on this score.
[6] Since the war.

attitude for several years of the late dictator of Lithuania, M. Valdemaras, who used the League as a buffer to fall back on whenever he had annoyed his neighbours sufficiently. The inference is that nations in former ages felt less need of a League because they could be trusted, and could trust each other, to control themselves sufficiently not to let things proceed too far.

As an attempt at a solution to these historical and literary difficulties we could do worse than adopt the principle of Professor Irving Babbitt, that the true human attitude consists in seeing the universal in the individual and, applying it to national life, lay down the principle that nations should see in their own past what they have in common with other nations. They should, in other words, adopt a twofold attitude towards history by means of a synthesis of their own individualism and the internationalism which is common to all. In history this synthesis could be attained by teaching English history, not as the history of a [illegible] invaded by Britons, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Normans with emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon [illegible], but as the history of a group of people of mixed [illegible] with a civilisation of Mediterranean origin [illegible] superior at first to its own; further, that [illegible] Roman and Holy Roman [illegible] this group definitely [illegible] Mediterranean civilisation; and finally that [illegible] as the Renaissance it received a [illegible] and produced a literature without equal, or at least [illegible] in the world, and in which the human beings portrayed are as much Europeans as they are English. [illegible] the synthesis [illegible]. This method, [illegible] the historical plan, would be better than the [illegible] international [illegible] and, indeed, with a method [illegible], and it would also be better than the [illegible] which takes a piece of soil called England and traces its [illegible] down the centuries. It is said that in Italy [illegible] history is taught till the fall of the empire and then in the third school year the 'Great War'[1] is treated in detail in order that the pupil may look [illegible] continuously to [illegible] the Roman and Italian generals and [illegible] to look upon Mussolini as a successor of the Caesars. Yet Italy more than most countries would be able to take a just pride in the outcome of the [illegible] scheme we have outlined above.

In literature and language, in spite of the Romantic movement, Latin is still firmly entrenched in the curriculum of most European secondary schools and it may yet form a basis for a European mentality. Even to-day it occurs from time to time at Geneva that conferences and lectures have to be given in

[1] Peter Kellermann, *The Effect of the World War on European Education*.

Latin owing to lack of any other common medium and, as in the Middle Ages, this language, particularly in its mediaeval form (now once more in repute), may become a means of intercourse among the nations. In the first place (and this is an enormous advantage), it is still taught more universally than any other language, and, secondly, the fact that it is difficult to learn is obviated by the other fact that the people who will need to use it, as in the Middle Ages, need not include the totality of a nation. The alternatives, a living speech, such as English or French, are either unsuitable [illegible] or, as in the case of Esperanto and artificial [illegible] of the same kind, are unsuitable for reasons which [illegible] understand.

Finally, in matters of the [illegible] curriculum, it should not be [illegible] authorities in the West to agree upon some [illegible] literature of the kind required to [illegible]. Without any hesitation, it may be [illegible] greatly, and that they are not as a [illegible]. Among many we may quote the [illegible] England, Corneille and Racine for France [illegible] and Dante for Italy, the last [illegible] of European citizenship. [illegible] national, they bear the stamp of the [illegible] while portraying the people of the native [illegible] the European much has behind. There [illegible] as of national hatred; there [illegible] and regional variations, and they [illegible] many modern novels or plays. [illegible] Matthew Arnold said of the Greek [illegible] who saw life steadily and saw it whole [illegible] the state of mind which is needed [illegible] the state of mind of men who shall see Europe steadily and see it whole while firmly entrenched, if need be, behind the [illegible] of their national homes. In conclusion, we [illegible] that it is only by laying stress on the [illegible] that humanity as a whole, and not merely Europe, will at last find its unity. In the preceding pages no attempt has been made to cut Europe off from other continents, and no such attempt ought to be made. The time is coming, perhaps, when the same common human elements which in Europe are traced [illegible] may be traced in China to Confucius and in India to Buddha, and so a final world synthesis be made. But the right way to learn in order to feel in common with the world is to learn to feel in common with our neighbours, and the way for Europe to achieve this lies through the European past.

F. M. BACHRAN

THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY PARISH

THERE are few landmarks more generally known than the parish church and the country rectory. Is the latter to share the fate of so many other landmarks and be lost to sight?

It is fairly obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to study the facts that something phenomenal must happen if this is to be averted. The Church cannot continue to bear the loss, without feeling the pinch, of [illegible] clerks in holy orders in one year, by death or retirement, while only ordaining [illegible]: these are the actual figures recorded in the last issue of *Crockford*. The latest returns issued by the Publications Board of the Church Assembly show a decrease of no less than [illegible] since 1914. Such figures carry a warning. It may be of course that the tide has now turned, but even so we are very far from the pre-war establishment. On the other hand, there is every indication that the supply of ordinands of the right type will tend to diminish rather than to increase. The first effect of this shortage has already been felt in the towns; most men prefer a sphere of independence, and consequently it is the number of assistant priests which shows the most marked decrease. But as time goes on the scarcity of men will be reflected in the country, and patrons will find it increasingly difficult to make a suitable appointment as livings become vacant.

The shortage of clergy is being met already by the Union of Benefices, a system which has been greatly facilitated by the passing of the Union of Benefices Measure in 1923. In this way it is possible to link up two parishes, putting them in the charge of one incumbent, and at once economise man power, augment the salary of the incumbent, and provide additional work in those cases where the care of souls in an individual parish did not appear to merit the services of a whole-time parson.

Such a remedy is inevitable, and its simplicity and apparent soundness not infrequently disguise the real objections which lie behind it. As an expedient it has no competitor, but as a final solution of the problem of staffing country parishes it will not bear careful investigation.

At present we are accustomed to the parochial system

instituted by Archbishop Theodore in the seventh century and continued to this day. The ideal at which this aims is that every person in the country should have a parish priest to whom he may go to demand the ministrations of the Church and a parish church, where he may join in the services, and in which he may be baptised in childhood, married when he has reached years of discretion, and where finally he may be brought when his work in this world is over. It is obvious that such a system, if it is to develop its possibilities to the full, must centre round a single building and a single person, the parson. In the past that was so. The parish church and the parson were indispensable as the centre of parish life; the services were regular and unaltered from week to week, and the rectory or vicarage was usually near the centre of population. Once a union of benefices is introduced the whole balance is altered. Services must either be curtailed or the times of services changed. In one village or the other the incumbent is no longer resident. These and other matters, trivial in themselves, give rise to discontent. Experience shows that, however much he may have neglected the services of the Church or spurned the good offices of the parson in the past, no one is quicker to resent his withdrawal than the average English parishioner. Union of benefices is then taken as a palliative, but it is far from being satisfactory as a final solution of the problem of how best to staff the Church in the country.

The work of the country parson is manifold. He is the officer of the Church ordained to administer her sacraments; he is the teacher licensed to preach in her pulpits; he is the pastor, charged with the duty of visiting sick and whole alike, and by both public and private monitions and exhortations, not only to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word, but to see that those entrusted to his care take no hurt nor hindrance by reason of his negligence. In addition to these duties laid upon him at ordination there have in the past collected round his office many other duties. He has been unofficial relieving officer and unpaid legal adviser. His advice has been asked on questions so far divided as matrimony and macadam, the education of small children and the establishment of small holdings, the allotment of pensions and the provision of allotments. He was probably a member, and possibly the chairman, of the parish council; on him depended the management of the village school, the arrangement of socials, the organisation of lectures, and countless other things which have in the past served to enliven village life.

But times change. To-day there are very few of the old type of country parson left who have either the inclination or the ability to meet such varied calls; also (and this is even more

significant) such calls upon their wisdom or ingenuity are far less frequently made. Social service has made rapid strides in the present century. The national scheme of insurance, improved administration of the Poor Law, infant welfare centres, nursing associations, and many other organisations of various kinds now do efficiently much of the work that the old-time parson had to attempt to organise as best he could; and paid officials now work serenely where in bygone days volunteers somehow 'muddled through'! Whether this change is for the better or not need not be here discussed, but one result is certain: it does affect the scope of the rectory activities.

There is in some quarters an idea that at all costs certain country benefices ought to be retained, where aged incumbents, who have given their best to the service of the Church in towns, might spend their declining years in ease and comfort, surrounded by the delights of the country and supported by a reasonable competence. To one whose first interest is the country such a system seems entirely [illegible]. Let it be granted that such men do, by their character and influence, very frequently bring great spiritual benefit to the village in which they live; nevertheless, to divert endowments given solely for the maintenance of the Church's agent in that place and to use them as a substitute for the Church Pensions scheme seems a highly improper proceeding. If a man is too old to carry on satisfactorily in a town he is certainly too old to fulfil his obligations in the country. The failure, or refusal, to recognise this fact has been productive of much trouble in the past.

In a town there are various organisations, possessing usually energetic secretaries, who have undertaken that particular work because they are interested in it. Such men or women will not leave their vicar dormant. They are constantly [illegible] of the claims of these parties that [illegible] control or [illegible]; and the vicar's task is not to instigate work, but so to control and guide the various bodies subsidiary to the Church that the whole life moves forward with the minimum of friction and the maximum of efficiency. Such work requires special gifts of insight, patience, judgment and discretion—the gifts of the mature.

In direct contrast to this, the countryman is seldom endowed with much initiative. He is ready enough to help if the way is pointed out to him, but slow to start on any new course of action. In his heart he is constantly conservative. And here, to [illegible] the [illegible], is needed the rector with ideas; the driving force must be his—he has to initiate and to inspire. Often he will be disappointed, often he will give of his best and get no apparent response, but he must go on infusing new life, high ideals, or

times using revolutionary methods, if he is to lift his parishioners out of the rut of convention. Again, special gifts are needed: vigour, idealism, initiative—what the French call *élan*; such are the attributes of youth. It is a mistaken idea that men can serve their apprenticeship, devote the best of their manhood and wear out their vitality in the town, and then be qualified for a living in the country.

On the other hand, one is bound to confess that, in modern conditions, a country cure of a few hundred (perhaps a very few hundred) people does not occupy a man's whole energy. Or perhaps it would be truer to say that, in the existing state of the Church's resources, she cannot afford to allow any considerable number of her priests to occupy their time with one small village. The authorities of the Church view the situation as a whole; it seems absurd to have one man ministering to 16,000 in the Diocese of Manchester and another occupied with 160 in the Diocese of Chichester. But the [illegible] down any precise limits as to the number of parishioners [illegible] whom a priest may faithfully discharge his duties is [illegible] the fact that when dealing with spiritualities the [illegible] cannot be applied. A man's work is not [illegible] by the number of souls committed to his care nor [illegible] by the number of his Easter communicants. The handful who meet at 8 o'clock in the village [illegible] has as much right to the ministrations of the [illegible] gathered at the Choral Eucharist in the Abbey of Westminster. The Church must do her part [illegible].

We find, then, that at the present time there are not enough men to staff all parishes [illegible]; that the shortage [illegible] only partially and unsatisfactorily [illegible] by uniting certain of the smaller parishes or by [illegible] parishes those who would otherwise be [illegible]; and at the same time that there is a real obligation to provide the spiritual ministrations in every parish. If there is to be a [illegible] effort to cope with the situation in the future, two factors must be seriously considered.

First, the dangers that we are in by our unhappy divisions. The question of reunion has been strenuously debated by earnest men for many years past. It was brought from the realms of theory to the confines of possibility by the magnificent gesture made by the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference in 1920. At the present time our attention is focused on the practical proposals for union between the Anglican Church and certain hitherto non-episcopal Churches in South India. Schemes of this kind for branches of the Church overseas have the great advantage that they are largely free from the prejudice

which is one of the greatest difficulties to similar proposals being brought forward at home.

In the minds of the more fastidious and old-fashioned Church people the chief objection to the Nonconformist minister of fifty years ago was not so much his lack of orders as his supposed lack of aspirates. To-day that objection is removed, but the prejudice that engendered it remains. Among the bulk of the inhabitants of our villages the doctrinal distinction has long ceased to exist. Any parish priest knows the various reasons which determine the choice between church and chapel: the nearness of the Sunday school, the fact that neighbours attend one or the other, the predilection of one of the parties who are 'walking out,' the right and proper respect for what their parents did—these are typical of the practical points which have weight; but the holding or rejection of the theory of the apostolic succession or of adult baptism (the only valid reasons for the continued existence of Methodists, Wesleyans, and Baptists as separate bodies) are practically unknown. In saying this it must be clearly understood that because difficulties are not realised by many they do not therefore cease to exist: for the well-informed these differences are matters of conscience, but for the vast majority they are matters of accident or prejudice or tradition.

There must be real effort on both sides to forgive and forget the past and to make the Church of England truly representative of the people of England, if overlapping is to be avoided and the best use is to be made of those ordained to be lay Ministers.

Secondly, surely the time is ripe for some carefully devised scheme by which men who are fitted for the task may be ordained as voluntary clergy. This name is used because, through the writings of the Rev. Roland Allen and others, it has achieved a technical significance as implying a class of men who, while earning their own living by any legitimate means, are ready to serve the Church as priests without stipend or fee of any kind. Such men should be of mature years and of good reputation, both in the eyes of their neighbours and in the more intimate relationship of family life. They should be of the type who would be readily accepted as leaders of the congregation in each village; and experience shows that such powers of leadership come, not from birth or position or education, but from moral worth. We can all think of countrymen whom we respect who have neither social standing nor scholarly attainment. If men of this type were ordained we should think it fitting to receive Holy Communion at their hands.

There is a pernicious idea current that it is almost impossible to meet for worship without the formality of a sermon being added. Three hundred years ago the weekly discourse was an

doubt a most valuable appanage to divine service. Books were then unobtainable, [illegible] were non-existent, and the spoken word from the pulpit was almost the only opportunity of disseminating knowledge.

The sermon still has its place to-day—there can be no substitute for it—but it must be a sermon of real force and conviction. There are few men who can fulfil these requirements 104 times a year to the same congregation, yet that is what many men in the Church of England actually attempt to do.

There are men among the laity who can and do preach; there are others who, while eminently fitted to administer the Sacraments, have no special vocation to the ministry of the Word. The time has come when it should be recognised that every priest need not necessarily be expected to fulfil all the functions that appertain to the office. Special gifts of varying character are necessary for the administration of the Sacraments, for preaching, and for the direction of individual souls. The first requires simplicity, not scholarship or teaching or intellectual ability, but personal devotion and goodness of life. The laity are not bankrupt of such men. The best of them, in their humility of mind, would be slow to offer themselves, but if they were sought out by the bishops of their diocese and the opportunity were explained to them, [illegible] such a supplementary clergy might be obtained. What a blessing it would be if there was one or more in every parish, prepared to celebrate the Holy Communion and [illegible] at hours convenient to the majority on each Sunday. Some would be licensed to preach, but this would not be a necessary corollary of ordination. The great point achieved would be the restoration of the Sunday service as the family prayers of the parish. It is to attain this ideal that the union of all Christian bodies is so vital.

But worship is not the entire content of the Christian religion. There is need for instruction, and that should be the special work of the greater part of the stipendiary clergy. There is need also to emphasise the fact that true worship issues in service.

In the past Church education has largely failed because it has been disconnected and informative rather than continuous and co-operative. The sermon is often full of good teaching, it is seldom connected with anything that goes before or after, and never provides the opportunity for listeners to discuss it and make their own contributions to the subject. In place of the weekly Sunday sermon something in the nature of a Church tutorial class might be initiated on a week night in every parish. This would give at once opportunity for imparting information, and also for co-operation on the part of the hearers by note-

taking, looking up references, joining in discussion, and other active participation which alone can ensure a lasting value to the mental impressions gained by the audience. The sermon in church, when there was a sermon, should be at once short and well prepared, the distilled product of one who has mounted the pulpit steps with 'something to say,' rather than the diffused vapourings of one who has got up 'to say something.' The pulpit should be kept for those who have a message. It will only be possible to do this when preaching is recognised as an art, and those who have gifts for it are freed from other work in order that they may fully cultivate them. This is largely impossible in present conditions, where the parish priest is expected to be a jack-of-all-trades.

There remains the third function of the parish priest, the pastoral. Here, surely, we need to utilise more fully the services of women. House-to-house visiting could well be undertaken by ladies who have received special training for this work, who would keep in constant touch with those in the village and bring to the notice of the curate (or him to whom the cure of souls is entrusted) those cases where it is desirable that he should pay a visit.

From time to time cases arise where more is needed than the counsel of even the wisest of ordinary parish priests or district visitors. Each deanery should have at least one priest trained in psychology, whose assistance could be obtained in all cases of special difficulty. The direction of souls is too important a matter to be entrusted to any but the most skilled and experienced that the Church can produce.

It must not be inferred from this epitome of the parson's duties that the Church has no concern with the social life and innocent amusements of her members. On the contrary, it is most important that she should be the centre of social life. Especially is this true of the country. Here is a field of ample opportunity for service on the part of her lay members. We should not ignore those who organise dances or whist drives, cricket and tennis clubs, choral and dramatic societies, but encourage them, and help them to run them on proper lines. Such small beginnings often lead to fuller enterprise in the field of social service, and they themselves serve to promote that fellowship without which all church life is but an empty husk. The parson may well share in all that is healthy in sport or pastime, and thereby get to know his people better. But it is not meant that the organisation of such entertainments should be considered part of the duty of a successful parish priest.

Let us attempt a summary. The parish is the backbone—we may say, the whole skeleton—of English church life. It can only

continue as if every parish has its own regular services and at least one priest in its midst. This ideal can only be attained by the ordination of voluntary clergy.

It is probable that in the future the number of men seeking ordination with a view to devoting their whole time to the ministry will be insufficient to provide for the efficient staffing of parishes, even with the help of a voluntary clergy. It is therefore greatly to be desired that a measure of reunion may be found possible with the [illegible] and addition to the priesthood [illegible] which such a step would result.

The main work of the [illegible] clergy [illegible] those who are in receipt of an [illegible] should be the inauguration and maintenance of [illegible] in religious matters by varying methods [illegible] cases where their help is most required. [illegible] will require much time for study and [illegible] therefore be freed entirely from [illegible] are expected to provide entertainments and [illegible] the duty of raising money. Where [illegible] might be arranged so that each [illegible] him at least [illegible] people [illegible] of this kind would need to be [illegible] in rotation. There should be [illegible] drawn from the stipendiary clergy [illegible] through a district. Instruction [illegible] should be given a definite [illegible] Some of them should [illegible]. More of the clergy should receive [illegible].

Regret it as we may, the [illegible] of an establishment. The law of life [illegible]. The Church, guided by the Holy Spirit, [illegible] to the changed conditions of modern life. Four times a year at the [illegible] or Ember Days we pray that our bishops and pastors may be guided to make [illegible] to serve in the ministry of the Church. Prayers are seldom answered quite as we expect. May it not be that the [illegible] shortage of clergy and the apparent apathy of many a country [illegible] we may be forced to take stock of the situation [illegible] man's necessity may prove God's opportunity, and that new vigour may come to country parishes through the pruning of the paid clergy and the consequent development of resources now latent within them?

Perhaps it is for the mother to learn from the children. South India is bringing forward a considered scheme of reunion. South Africa has decided on the experiment of ordaining not more than two voluntary clergymen in each diocese during the next five

years. Where the battle with heathenism is acute the Churc
is learning that she must unite her forces and develop h
resources. In England the fight against selfish materialism
no less acute than that against heathenism abroad. Those wh
believe in Christianity cannot afford to be discomfited in the fa
of the enemy, nor to neglect those reservoirs of spiritual pow
at present largely unused in the faithful laity

Henry E. [illegible]

THE FUTILITY OF STERILISING MENTAL DEFECTIVES

The Report of a Departmental [illegible] determine the amount of mental deficiency [illegible] Wales has been published. It informs us that [illegible] actually 8 per cent of the people [illegible] and that the probable total number of defectives [illegible]

Of the approximate accuracy of the figures there is little doubt; it is the manner of their interpretation which requires correction—if, indeed, that is possible. [illegible] probably accept the report calmly [illegible] who are indifferent or to whom the subject [illegible], and the small body of experts who knew [illegible] what to expect and are not disturbed by it.

There are indications, however, that not a few thoughtful people, appalled by the magnitude [illegible] and its economic and social significance, are [illegible] with the doctrine preached by propagandists both in this country and [illegible] America, that the sterilisation of defectives will eradicate mental defect, or at any rate will materially reduce its amount.

Propaganda has done much to ameliorate many social evils and injustices, and it has been successful in promoting the welfare of the mentally defective; but when it begins to concern itself with the future good of the race rather than with the present good of individuals it tends to become dogmatic and fanatical. The problems of life are biological, not mathematical, and calculations regarding them which may appear plausible enough to-day are able to be falsified to-morrow. The following examples may serve to illustrate this statement.

After the introduction of vaccination, small-pox ceased to be a disease of children. A few years later it occurred to some medical men to investigate the extent of the reduction in infant mortality which they believed had taken place. To their astonishment they found that measles and scarlet fever, previously regarded as mild infections, had assumed a virulence little short of that of small-pox, and that there was no appreciable saving of child life.

Many years ago the inhabitants of a small isolated fishing

community in Scotland was the victim of an inherited incurable and distressing nervous malady known as Huntington's chorea. One in seven of them was affected by it. That it was fostered by inbreeding was clear, for fishing people seldom marry outside the ranks of their own industry. It seemed as if this community were doomed to extinction. Sterilisation, if it had been thought of then, could not have saved them, for it would have been necessary to sterilise them all. Yet the unexpected happened. When trawlers and steam drifters largely replaced the sailing boat and the hand line these people were carried to all parts of the British coasts where they mingled with other fishing communities; the barriers of their sexual isolation were broken down and Huntington's chorea disappeared from their midst.

The next example is pertinent to the subject under consideration. The influence of the differential birth rate is insisted upon by the advocates of sterilisation as one of the main dangers connected with the increase of the mentally unfit. They point to the falling birth rate of the richer and better educated classes and the high birth rate of the poorer and intellectually inferior classes and they argue that the mental status of the nation is thereby menaced. Hardly had the last of these [illegible] been uttered when the following authoritative statement was published:

During the past [illegible] the birth rate [illegible] the poor [illegible] and a shift in progress [illegible] industry. [illegible] The feature has been in progress [illegible] a few years, [illegible] occupational group.*

These three examples may appear trivial compared with the greater problems of mental deficiency, but they teach the necessity for extreme caution in forecasting the eventual results of all biological processes.

Those who advocate biological measures for checking the propagation of the mentally unfit assert:

(1) That mental defect is increasing.

(2) That each defective represents many other outwardly normal individuals, less defective than himself, yet capable of producing mentally defective offspring.

(3) That the upper and middle strata of society which contain the cream of the intelligence of the nation, because of their falling birth rate, are failing to reproduce themselves in sufficient numbers.

(4) That the lower and lowest strata, which possess an inferior type of intelligence and a proportionately larger amount of mental disorder and defect, are increasing twice as rapidly as the upper and middle strata.

* [illegible] The Times, [illegible]

(c) For these reasons the intellectual superiority of the population will deteriorate, and in a comparatively short time the nation will lose its pre-eminence and its prestige.

It would be as easy to affirm that mental defect is decreasing as that it is increasing, but there are no statistics to appeal to. Mental defect has existed in every community of human beings from the beginning of history until now. It is therefore a fair assumption, as the mental capacity of the race has expanded rather than diminished, that there must be compensating checks which have prevented mental defect from extending beyond definite limits. Otherwise the race would [illegible] long ago. We may assume also that in proportion to the population there was the same amount of mental defect a hundred or fifty years ago as there is now.

The reason why mental defect [illegible] the public mind to-day as compared with [illegible] is not that defectives are more numerous, but because we [illegible] more sensitive to their presence and more [illegible].

We are told, however, that [illegible] themselves numerous as they are [illegible] the greatest danger [illegible] is that the [illegible] who are at least four times as [illegible] and who [illegible] the [illegible]. Such a statement [illegible] mental defect as well as the [illegible] mental factors which contribute towards [illegible]. It confuses the categories [illegible] that there is a necessary connection between [illegible] on the one hand and [illegible] on the other. [illegible] suggests that mental defect and mental [illegible] differing only in degree. The [illegible] which is placed upon [illegible] as the test of both mental efficiency and mental [illegible].

It has been truly said that the difference between men is not [illegible] but in [illegible] a quality of mind which facilitates the acquisition of [illegible]. Perhaps, [illegible] wrote, if we should meet Shakespeare we should not be conscious of any steep inferiority [illegible] of a great equality only that he possessed a great skill [illegible] his acts, which we lacked. We are so [illegible] to the use of the word intelligence that we have come to regard it as [illegible], whereas it is a composite and [illegible] abstraction.

A Scottish professor of divinity is said to have addressed his students as follows: "If you haven't got grace you may get it, and if you haven't got learning you may get it, but if you haven't got gumption you'll never get it." The professor recognised that

a fool may acquire learning and still remain a fool. He would have agreed, without doubt, that a person of poor intelligence and education, if he had gumption, might perform his duties creditably and negotiate the perplexities of life with success. Gumption, or 'the skill of using facts,' or the plasticity of mind which facilitates the association of ideas, is the only mental test by means of which the normal can be distinguished from the abnormal mind. Reduced to its simplest term it might, for convenience, be called conduct.

Although that plasticity of mind which is erroneously called intelligence is not the exclusive property of any class, it is not proposed to deny that the upper strata of society possess a large share of it; but when it is suggested that they are correspondingly immune from mental defect we must demur. Mental ability and mental defect are not mutually exclusive; indeed, it could be argued that where the one exists the other is frequently found, but that is an aspect of the subject which has not been investigated.

It is, of course, regrettable that the birth rate of the middle and upper classes has fallen steadily and is still falling. This is due to many causes, chiefly economic, but partly physiological, for there is no doubt that child-bearing among women of the upper classes is becoming less and less a physiological process.

As has been stated, there is reason to believe that the birth rate in the lower strata of society is also falling rapidly; and unless the assumption is correct that they contain a relatively higher proportion of mental defect it is difficult to see how the fact of a generally falling birth rate bears upon the increase of mental deficiency. Is the assumption correct? That question cannot be answered categorically, for there are no statistics to guide us, but a brief examination of the forms and the heredity of mental defect may make the matter clearer.

For administrative convenience mental defectives are divided into two classes, a lower and a higher. The former class, which numbers about a quarter of the whole, includes idiots and imbeciles who are—most of them—under supervision of some kind, and for that and other reasons may be regarded as infertile. The latter class, numbering three-quarters of the whole, includes the feeble-minded and the higher defectives, all of whom are not under satisfactory supervision, and many of whom are capable of reproducing themselves, but to a much smaller extent than is generally believed.

There are forms of mental defect which are not hereditary, but are caused by disease or injury occurring before birth, at the time of birth, or in infancy and early childhood. The relative frequency of these forms has not been ascertained with certainty, but it is admitted, even by those holding the most pessimistic

views on this subject, that they may amount to from 10 to 15 per cent. of the whole number. Some modern authorities, on the other hand, assert that from 40 to 50 per cent. of all the cases are due to syphilis, scarlet fever, measles, encephalitis and other diseases, to injuries received during birth, or to pre-natal affections of various kinds. If we put the number tentatively at the moderate estimate of 30 per cent., then at least 100,000 of the 300,000 mental defectives in England and Wales are not of hereditary origin. If that is true, it seems an obvious inference that much still remains to be done, especially among the poorer classes, towards reducing the number of defectives. The extension of ante-natal clinics for expectant mothers, better methods in midwifery, and the more adequate treatment of the diseases of childhood are all of them measures which are most urgently required for the prevention of a large proportion of mental defect.

Too little attention has been directed to the subject of reversion to more primitive human types as an explanation of some forms of mental defect. Reversion is in one sense a hereditary process, but it is a heredity which goes back hundreds, it may be thousands, of generations. It is not uncommonly among modern people [illegible] the development of [illegible] teeth, and various internal organs, but as it is [illegible] and usually causes little, if any, inconvenience, it attracts no attention. When, however, the brain is the seat of reversion, the consequences cannot be ignored. Yet medical men have been loath to admit that there is any connection between reversion and certain forms of mental defect. Darwin believed that microcephalic idiots were examples of reversion. After describing their small skulls, the simple arrangement of their cerebral convolutions, their projecting [illegible] and their prognathous [illegible] he wrote:

"It is hardly credible that a complex part arrested at an early phase of embryonic development should go on growing so as ultimately to perform its proper function unless it had acquired such power during some earlier state of existence when the present exceptional or arrested structure was normal."*

It has been argued recently with considerable ability that Mongolian idiocy is a reversion to an early strain of Asiatic ancestry in the European population. Whether other kinds of mental defect are caused by reversion we do not at present know.

The heredity of mental defect is not such a simple matter or so well understood as many people would have us believe. It is very commonly an indirect or atavistic heredity which is frequently traceable to grandparents or great-grandparents, while the intervening generation or generations show no sign of it. It may even be thrown further back, as where a collateral relative at

* Descent of Man, p. [illegible]

the level of the grandparental or great-grandparental generation has been a mental defective. In such instances the taint in the germ plasm unaccountably remains latent throughout one, two, or more generations. When this taint materialises as mental defect in a family it usually affects only one child, rarely more. The writer has seen a family in which six sons were imbeciles. The parents, who were both dead, were said to have been not only of normal mind, but to have been respected and esteemed by their contemporaries. These imbeciles were adequately cared for by a brother, who occupied a responsible position, and by a sister who was an excellent housekeeper and guardian. Why in a family of eight children six should be defective and two should be of average mental ability, or perhaps above it, is a problem which illustrates the darkness of our ignorance.

Another peculiar problem is that both in rural and in urban districts mental defectives are more frequently found in small groups or clusters than uniformly distributed throughout the population. The isolation of the [illegible] fishing community mentioned above, which suffered from Huntington's chorea, was easily explained; but it is difficult to understand how these clusters can have been formed in an apparently fluid population. Whether they are caused by the incidence of some [illegible] disease, or by the mutual attraction of the [illegible], or by both, it is impossible to say; but the explanation of the problem, when it comes, will throw light upon the distribution of mental defect and, probably, suggest means for its limitation.

In a recent number of this Review[1] Mr. [illegible] Moore put forward an eminently fair and moderately stated plea for the sterilisation of the [illegible] insane and the higher defectives. His argument rests upon the assumption that mental defect is a recessive Mendelian quality. The difficulty is that our understanding of all that is involved in the causation and transmission of mental defect and mental disorder does not justify us in accepting this assumption.

Theoretically it may appear to a disciple of a Mendelian that as normal mentality is a dominant quality, mental abnormality as a whole must be a recessive quality. To the psychiatrist and the neurologist, on the other hand, who have to grapple with hard practical facts, such a theory often appears untenable. On this question as it affects epilepsy Dr. Kinnier Wilson comments as follows: 'It is time protest should be uniformly raised by neurologists against the gratuitous ascription of a sombre prognosis to every case of epilepsy because of a supposed inheritance and consequent incurability.'[2]

[1] 'Sterilisation of the Unfit,' April [illegible].
[2] British Medical Journal, October [illegible], [illegible].

Feeble-minded parents often produce feeble-minded children but they may also have children who are not feeble-minded. During the latter part of last century it became a fashion to publish sensational records of mentally defective, insane, or criminal families, of a fabulous fertility, with the object of suggesting that an undesirable human variation was developing. With the exception of one or two royal families and a few families of eminence (the details of which were [illegible] corroborative of the argument), the other family histories were unreliable and unconvincing. In America a [illegible] family of the name of Jukes was for long the [illegible] scientific and literary worlds. In it were represented every [illegible] perversion, and moral vice which it is possible [illegible]. Moreover its fertility was so phenomenal that [illegible] influence adversely the normal mentality [illegible] of the North American population. This [illegible] with many others, has sunk long ago into [illegible] with the fantastic theories which had been woven [illegible].

Of the fertility of certain [illegible] there is no doubt, and there is [illegible] are fertile. But the question of these [illegible] one. The crucial question is whether [illegible] stock of this kind a true and persistent [illegible]. All the evidence goes to show that [illegible] other abnormal variations, it is destroyed by [illegible] and sexual selection.

The persistence of the germinal [illegible] responsible for mental defect is a wholly different [illegible] the persistence of the abnormal human variation [illegible]. Why this taint should skip one or more [illegible] appear in a subsequent one is a mystery. We [illegible] know how it arises how long it endures or how [illegible] may be compared to a current flowing through generation after generation of individuals. The current contains [illegible] qualities, most of them good, others bad, which appear in varying degrees of excess and defect in each individual. When mental defect appears in an individual it is futile to think that the taint can be eradicated by any measure we may apply to him, for while we are considering him the current of life has rushed past us, bearing with it the taint which will reappear in an individual yet unborn.

The idea of a germinal taint is of course a hypothetical attempt to explain what we conceive to be reality. The same idea might be expressed otherwise as a tendency on the part of the germ plasm to revert to a previous or a remote type of ancestry. In either case the proposal to eradicate this taint or tendency by

sterilising defectives who are themselves its victims, not its cause, is a mere fantasy.

If, however, sterilisation is urged on the ground of economy alone, the plea is less ambiguous. Some reduction in the number of defectives would probably result, but it would be very much smaller than is believed. It may be conceded also that it would be less offensive to public decency to sterilise certain defectives than, as at present, to allow them to marry and to have children.

Agitations about the increasing number of defectives, their danger to the community, and the cost of their care will continue to arise and pass away as such movements have always done. Forty or fifty years ago the country passed through a period of uneasiness about the supposed increase of insanity. The Commissioners in Lunacy endeavoured to calm the public mind by showing, incontestably, that there was no actual increase. So unconvincing were their efforts that a leading London newspaper could refer to them as 'the annual consolatory trick of the Commissioners.' Either nobody nowadays believes that insanity is increasing, or else the subject has been forgotten.

There is no more cause to be alarmed about the increase of mental deficiency than there was about the increase of insanity. It is true that the burden of the care of defectives will be more than twice as heavy as that of the insane; but for that burden we are responsible ourselves: we raised the tune and we must pay the piper. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the practice of allowing defectives to roam about uncared for must have entailed an unknown but substantial economic burden upon the community, and in estimating our direct and indirect financial responsibilities this aspect of the question ought to be taken into account.

Prior to the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1904 there had been no great desire evinced, and not much effort made, to ascertain the number of defectives in the country. Since then the efforts to ascertain them have been unremitting.

It is unreasonable to conclude that a condition already ignored for centuries is increasing merely because its actual proportions are being revealed to us for the first time. Perhaps our descendants, grown more sensitive than we are, may discover shades of mental indigence of which we are unappreciative, but there is not likely to be any further increase in our time.

JOHN MACPHERSON

THE FARMLANDS OF SCOTLAND AND WALES

WHILE agriculture in England receives a full measure of public notice, its many problems being discussed at length and apparently found insoluble, Scotland and Wales receive less attention than they deserve. In the case of Scotland this is hardly surprising, because its agricultural affairs are not administered in London, but from Edinburgh, where the Scottish Board, under the wise direction of Sir Robert Greig, does what it may within limits. The Treasury on the one side and a few backward agriculturists on the other tend to circumscribe its varied activities. In Wales Mr Bryner Jones sits at Aberystwyth to carry out the decisions of Whitehall Place. Scotland and Wales have many troubles in common, but there is a definite difference in the fashion in which these are met. Scotland puts up a fight, while Wales submits to the dictation of forces that Scots farmers strive to resist.

In the past year I have visited every Welsh county in turn, and all Scotland, save Argyll, Inverness, and the highland country immediately to the north of these. In ordinary circumstances both Scotland and Wales should have enjoyed an ample measure of prosperity; but times are not normal, and it takes more than an overflowing stackyard or an abundance of flocks and herds to create a credit balance.

Turning to Scotland first, it may be said that profit has followed the line of least resistance. Extensive farming has shown good results. Everywhere on the hills, from the Lothians through Berwick, and in the southern counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles and Kirkcudbrightshire there is a large measure of content. Flocks are the source of a good income; the black-faced and Cheviot sheep, hardy, thriving, readily marketable, yield a considerable return. The demand for lamb is insatiable, the price of fleeces high; the black-faced clip fetches 1s. or more a pound because of its value in the manufacture of wool mixtures. The modern taste is for small mutton. Where the farmer in the hill country has low ground suitable for wintering, he crosses his native sheep with those from the English

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but not [illegible] [illegible]; he brings h[illegible] [illegible] lands to the low grounds for wintering. In the pastoral counties, where you may travel for miles without seei[illegible] a field of corn, very little labour is employed. The shephe[illegible] receives from 2l. to 25s. a week, and is allowed to keep a fe[illegible] sheep for himself.

Towards the south-west there is a change in farming practice; you find Shorthorn or Ayrshire herds and a big business in chees[illegible] There is no better cheddar to be found anywhere than th[illegible] which comes from Wigton and Ayr, but the prices are controll[illegible] very strictly by the buyers. The farmer must take what he ca[illegible] get, and the profit of the industry goes in large part to middlemen who have none of the risks.

Striking eastward through Stirling, Perth, Forfar, and th[illegible] great stretch of fertile land that lies between Kincardineshire and the Moray Firth, we enter a country of mixed farming—[illegible] oats, potatoes, barley—and a fairly general depression. Th[illegible] season has, on the whole, been favourable. Stackyards are fai[illegible] literally to overflowing, the potato clamps are large; only price[illegible] are bad. Various reasons are put forward—perhaps the fir[illegible] among them is bounty-fed corn from Germany; but a littl[illegible] examination of the figures shows that the real cause of th[illegible] farmer's trouble lies in the gulf that separates producer fro[illegible] consumer. Although much cheap wheat has been imported, and a[illegible] the time of writing (November 1929) the 4 lb. loaf could be sol[illegible] for 6d., it remains at 8½d. to the exceeding profit of everybody but the farmer who grows the wheat and the householder wh[illegible] buys the bread. Oat products when sold in the form of oatmeal may be fetching as much as £20 a ton or more, but for his oat[illegible] the Scots farmer can get no more than 6l. The price of potatoes in the shops is four times as much as the price of potatoes in th[illegible] farmer's clamps, and the complaint that one finds throughout Scotland, as in England and Wales, is that all buying is controlled and all selling is left to the individual. The farmer must tak[illegible] what he can get, the consumer must pay what he is charged; between the two, men are making easy profits that have bee[illegible] estimated by good authorities at nearly two hundred millio[illegible] pounds a year in England, Scotland, and Wales.

The one hopeful condition in the case is that the truth at las[illegible] is realised. There is a movement towards co-operative selling in parts of Scotland; co-operative buying has long been popula[illegible] throughout Great Britain. In Scotland men are beginning t[illegible] understand that they must unite to sell their produce, and ther[illegible] are, at the moment, upwards of 150 co-operative selling societie[illegible] in the country, some of which are doing well.

The [illegible] Pool is a good example. It had a turnover of [illegible] in the first year of its existence, and has reduced the middleman's margin of profit. The Woolgrowers' Association, a young body, already controls 15 per cent of the clip. A municipal abattoir at Newtown [illegible] disposes of the farmer's livestock to advantage and will do better still when grading is taken more seriously. The North-East Agricultural Society of Scotland comes next to the Scottish Milk Pool in the range of its activities, and there are very many egg-producing societies, all of which are improving the position of their members.

Organisation by the producer is coming very late into the field to meet organisation by the distributors, and it is significant that the Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr [illegible], who has the reputation of being a shrewd [illegible] man, has appointed a committee of singularly able [illegible] to inquire into co-operation throughout the country. At present the distributors are admirably organised and [illegible] interests tend more and more to amalgamate [illegible] necessary, if agriculture is to live, that it should meet [illegible] with union. At present, for example, the [illegible] is in the hands of a very few men [illegible] another. The same remark applies to the [illegible] making and soap, and to those who [illegible]. They have a long start of the farmer and certain natural advantages which are being exploited to the full, but there is every sign of a big revolt in the making.

Life on the farmlands is changing rapidly. The old bothy system is dying out: men no longer live in a roughly converted barn attached to the farm buildings, preparing their own food, sleeping in cubicles and in fact herding together. Nowadays the single men may be found split up among the married men on the farm. The grieve or overseer will have one or two, a married ploughman may take one: wherever there is a cottage that can hold a lodger the housewife will probably have no difficulty in finding a tenant.

Another change is in the diet of the farmworker. Not so many years ago he received his allowance of oatmeal and milk — 15 lb. of oatmeal a month and half a gallon of milk a day. He fetched his oatmeal from the mill with an order on the miller, and porridge was his staple food. To-day it is quite common to find him selling his order to the miller for cash and spending the money on the grocer, who comes a mile if necessary bringing food in tins, some of which may be fit to eat.

Another change in labour on the farms is a spirit of restlessness. In the old days, in spite of the hiring fairs which offered

and the opportunity of frequent change, many stayed on for years and years in one service; to-day, so far as one can tell, the men who stay work on the hills, but down on the lowlands constant shifting is the rule of life. Another curious practice in Scottish farm life, and one that makes for unrest, is that when the grieve or overseer leaves his employment all the staff go at the same time, the theory being that the new overseer should have the right to choose his own people. Here we may find one of the causes of the state of farmhouse cottages; and they are very bad indeed. The tenants feel they have no abiding city. If a cottage is uncomfortable—and most of them are—they give notice at the end of six months or a year, and the newcomer, finding he has no home worthy of the name, decides to quit as soon as his agreement expires. The term, by the way, is a year for the married men and six months for the single. In that case, constant change and little or no attention, it is easy to understand why cottage property on the farms is as it is. Much of it [illegible] can never have been good. You may find places housing no more than one room with no access to it. The shrinkage of population in agricultural Scotland is undoubtedly due in part to bad housing conditions.

Generally speaking, acts of husbandry north of Tweed are sound. The land is generously treated, good seed is sown. So far as can be seen, the agricultural depression in Scotland is not due to free imports, though, naturally, they tend to lower prices; the trouble seems to be entirely in the fact that the distribution is unorganised and the producer is left to his own devices. If conditions were as they should be, the farmer might get more, the consumer might pay less, and the intermediaries would still receive a better return than they are entitled to. At present they are getting the largest share of the profits of farming and [illegible] the difficulty and danger of the agricultural situation.

When we turn from Scotland to Wales, we leave the country of the farmer for the country of the herdsman. The Welshman at heart is concerned with sheep and cattle. That was his chief business of old time, and the practice has extended with the years because arable farming is nearly everywhere on the down grade, though many [illegible] observers hold that the limit of the decline has been reached. In the time of our fathers and grandfathers corn was raised extensively in the [illegible] in Montgomery and the Isle of Anglesey, the last named enjoying the honourable title of Mam Cymru (Mother of Wales), because her cornfields were said to be ample enough to feed the principality. To-day you may travel from end to end of Anglesey and find very little corn, while in all the other areas of [illegible]

arable cultivation there is a great falling off, and the Welshman looks chiefly to his flocks and his herds.

From Severn estuary to Irish Sea the Welsh farmer and his wife are the victims of an invisible oppression. Market rings control his cattle. A chain of dealers may be found connecting the breeder of stores on some Welsh hill with the fattener of the rich grazing districts of Leicestershire and every link in the chain must be well greased.

In the market the farmer finds one bidder for many buyers. It is only when there are great sheep fairs or when horses come to Lampeter for the annual sale that there is free dealing, and towards the Marches of Wales one may find men who prefer to send their stock over the border into Shrewsbury or Hereford because there is more competition and a better chance of fair play. Dealing is becoming a fine art among the Welsh middlemen. It is no uncommon thing for the farmer who is driving his stock along the road to be intercepted by somebody who bargains with him on the spot, pointing out how much he will save in time and commission by dealing direct—emphasising the difficulties of sale, warning him that there will probably be no bids worth taking, and finally getting away with the farmer's animals on terms that admit of considerable profit.

One by one the marts to which farmers brought their stock, and in which they did their dealing, close down. In the markets that have taken their place the auctioneer is either unable or unwilling to control the situation in the interests of his clients.

In Scotland conditions are not nearly so bad; resistance is stronger. But so much of Wales is remote, the winter is so long, the farms are so detached from social surroundings, that the farmers do not seem to be able to look after their own interests. Many of them are in the hands of cattle dealers or auctioneers, a few are even involved with moneylenders; but there is an intense secretiveness, a large measure of pride, and perhaps on this account grievances are not readily ventilated. You must have more than the passing confidence of farmer or smallholder before he will tell you his troubles. Many of the holdings are family affairs worked by a man, his wife, and their children. On this account there is no wages bill. The children have a small allowance for pocket money, and it is understood that when their parents die they will succeed to the holding, although as the holding is often small and the family large the position is a complicated one. Where there is a family farm it is very hard to learn whether the going is good or bad. 'These people,' said a shrewd observer to the writer, 'never bend; they break.' Every now and again a family disappears, and you learn that they have been struggling against adversity quite a long time.

uneconomical that forbids, and consequently the middleman beats them every time. If men and women did not work so hard, if the small farms had to pay a labour bill, it is impossible to avoid the thought that the Welsh farmer would collapse. But the people are extraordinarily tenacious; they cling to the land, they do not know when they are beaten, and there are some very sound landlords in Wales who help their tenants, and several excellent colleges of agriculture and farm institutes where modern methods are practised and taught. Much of the intensive farming is excellent, and would yield a fair profit if only the problems of salesmanship could be mastered.

There is a future of great promise before Welsh agriculture by reason of the work that has been done or is in progress. Professor Stapledon at Aberystwyth is developing his experiments in pedigree grass breeding for districts of high rainfall; at his bidding many of the Welsh hills may cease to be barren within the next few years. Professor Montgomerie has found a cure for one of the worst diseases that beset the farmer's flocks. New methods are being perfected in every direction, while agricultural colleges and institutes are giving practical demonstrations of the utmost value to farmers. I recall one at which over 100 farmers were present, on the Aber experimental farm of Bangor University, and another, still more crowded, at the farm institute of Carmarthen. Only a few years ago farmers, whether in Scotland or Wales, would have declared that they had nothing to learn from agricultural institutes and county council advisers. To-day when the adviser comes to market, people stand in a queue to reach him, and when there is a demonstration on an experimental farm half the countryside sends representatives.

At the same time, one of the most far-sighted directors of an institute, Mr Purvis, of Usk, in Monmouthshire, was speaking sound common sense when he suggested to the writer that it would be well if all the brains in the service of agriculture in England, Scotland, and Wales could concentrate on the marketing problem. At present every scheme for the benefit of agriculturists has this one defect—the middleman rather than the agriculturist will benefit by it. Co-operation is, of course, the way out, but the Welshman, like the Englishman, is too individualistic, and all the interests that profit the producer are arrayed against co-operative endeavour of whatever kind.

Out of a tour through Scotland and Wales that covered some 4000 miles several dominant facts emerged. The first and foremost is that, in spite of all the efforts of the scientists and educational authorities, farming practice in these islands is becoming extensive. The decline in arable cultivation is beyond all dispute—statistics go to emphasise it; but against this we

have, of course, considerably more cows. Unfortunately, this increase is not altogether advantageous. It leads to an over-production with which consumption is not keeping pace. Here, again, we come to the old trouble—the distributor is taking so much of the price that the consumer cannot afford to treat milk as a necessity; he regards it rather as a luxury and limits his purchases. More cows and more dairies on a large scale can only lead to trouble until the cost of liquid milk is reduced, and the distributor will only reduce the price if the reduction comes out of the farmer's pocket. The way out will probably be the manufacture of liquid milk into dried milk, which the grocer can sell as he sells cheese and butter, and the elimination of the distributor altogether. If this can be done, the price of milk could be reduced by at least 50 per cent. and consumption would be on the up-grade. In the same way, if the bad price of the farmer's corn could be reflected in the housewife's loaf, the tendency would be for prices to maintain a reasonable level. At present the farmer is exploited for the benefit of the distributor, and not in the interests of the consumer.

So far as one can see, in both Wales and in Scotland intensive farming is passing out of fashion and extensive farming is gaining favour. In both countries it is possible to find farmers who derive a considerable part of their scanty income from the rabbits that infest their fields. They sell the trapping rights and take half the proceeds.

In Wales and Scotland the smallholder is doing well, and the demand for smallholdings has not been satisfied. So far as one can tell, Scotland deals more generously with applicants in this matter than Wales, because on some of the county councils in the principality there are obstructionists, and among the big farmers there is a very general attempt to check smallholding enterprise, largely on the ground that it will tend ultimately to deplete a supply of labour that is already dwindling. This labour question is one that should not be overlooked. The Welsh farmhand does not wish his lad to become a farmworker, but he will be quite pleased for him to be a smallholder, and in Scotland the ambition of parents for their children is one of the national virtues. Even the ploughman looks to see his boys and girls rising in the social scale and taking advantage of the wonderful opportunities for good and inexpensive education that the country affords.

It follows that the labour outlook in both Scotland and the principality is very serious, and the movement towards small-holdings would appear to be the only popular one among those who work on the land. Give a man a few acres in Wales, and he will work from dawn to dusk, quite content if he can keep his

roof over his head and his table well spread. In Scotland the smallholder will not regard his holding as the final goal, but as a medium of self-support through which he will be able to better things for his family; he does not wish to keep them in constant servitude to the farm. But, when we come to consider the whole question broadly, it would seem as though the real crux of the agricultural problem in Scotland and Wales, as in England, lies in the disposal of the finished article. When marketing can be improved so that the producer has his fair share of what the consumer pays, the land will regain the popularity it has lost.

S. L. Bensusan

TALKING PICTURES

THIS is an age of canned goods. Nowadays people prefer commodities neatly packed and adequately labelled to the home-prepared articles of the past. Less troublesome, less experimental! This is now true of theatrical entertainment, which has ever had to rely ultimately not only for subsistence but for the breath of life upon popular favour. Great masses of the public are now expressing a decided preference for canned entertainment as against the less guaranteed joys of the ordinary playhouse. The talking picture costs them less, can be viewed in more comfortable surroundings, and there is a higher percentage of probability that they will get their money's worth out of their favourite performers.

But, as I see it, the talking picture is much more than a violent temporary rival of the theatre. It is a wealthy cousin that intends to rule the roost, however urbanely. In the political field there is a certain analogy in the relative standpoints of Great Britain and the United States. The new industry is young, powerful, fiercely determined to succeed, and not particularly self-conscious about its mistakes. At present blissfully unaware of the new elements which speech has given into its hands, it cannot be long before it exploits the commercial possibilities of the magic of words. That is why some of the theatre people have begun to point out with gentle insistence that there is more in the making of a talking picture than money, be it in sterling or dollars, or than camera angles and what is dubiously regarded as cinematic treatment.

There is as yet no properly authenticated technique of the talking picture. Just as well that it should be so, for this is virtually a new form of expression and, as such, is rather more than a year old. Technique is, broadly speaking, the potter's ty of dead and gone masters. Yet so often it is made to serve the place of true art at the hands of second-class minds. If the talking picture had already acquired a technique it would indeed be a moribund affair. But the making of canned entertainment is very largely a commercial business; and it is only the outstanding creators who can afford to discard technique

from time to time. Everyday workers in the industry positively demand a technique upon which to lean. So, in the general uncertainty as to whether to adopt the methods of the silent screen or of the theatre, a most amusing struggle is going on. Theatre directors, seeing an opportunity to re-establish their sway over a vast mass of popular entertainment, long since passed out of their control, have dashed in with an easy confidence in their ability to straighten out the new difficulties of their ignorant cousins the screen directors. The latter, not unnaturally resentful of the implied patronage, have reasserted their positions with vigour, frankly regarding sound and dialogue as mere adjuncts to the further exposition of their virtuosity. The critics are floundering midway between either camp, most of them wisely content to await the arrival of a masterpiece upon which to found an opinion. Of course the silent directors, having the ear of the money, as represented by the highly placed executives, who prefer the evils they know to unknown and possibly greater terrors, are steadily winning back their pre-eminence. A prominent producer in Hollywood recently told me that he had come to the conclusion it was better to rely on the established screen directors and to give them young men who had had some theatre experience to assist in the handling of the dialogue. I was also told that the collaboration of screen and theatre directors of equal prominence had not always given satisfactory results. This is understandable. What is needed is not so much a collaboration in direction as a collaboration in method. This forces me to the conclusion that the truth in the present discussion lies midway between the two contestants. We need to regain all those qualities in story-telling that the screen has fought so hard to develop during the last ten years—speed, directness, the ability to express imagination pictorially and with an entire disregard of physical boundaries; in fact, all those things bound up with the complete mobility of the camera. But we also need to use sound symphonically, and words, not as a strange encumbrance forced upon us by a wayward public, but for the expression of ideas. Some screen directors in their natural resentment at the new turn of affairs go so far as to doubt the existence of any mystery in the spoken drama; they think that at one essay they can master all that the theatre has been learning for hundreds of years, and apply a kind of selective process according to the needs of the story they are filming. But the theatre does not render up its secrets quite so easily, and the results when this course is adopted are disastrous. A famous author complained to me recently that in a talking picture of one of his works a verbal reference to rain was immediately followed by a most realistic downpour in another setting—

typical example of the prevailing ignorance of the right use of words! Also many famous stars have impressed upon me the necessity for having as little dialogue as possible, otherwise a serious loss of *tempo* would follow. The truth is that dialogue should be used to aid *tempo*, and not to retard it. I believe that the old screen opinion that everything should be explained visually beforehand (a peculiar process called 'establishing' the idea in the audience's mind), thus making little or no use of the now added words, is fundamentally wrong. If you see the dog steal the chop off the kitchen table it is not always necessary to mention it in words, or *vice versa*.

The present dialogue in talking pictures is both characterless and humourless, except where it has been wrenched from the original story or play from which the picture was made; and then it is usually so divorced from its original context that its first characteristics are entirely lost. Wise cracks are not humour; neither is the reiterated 'I know it's wrong, Jack, but I just can't help myself, I love you' verbiage of the heroine necessarily an expression of character.

But, when all is said, the value of the entertainment lies mainly in the story that is to be told. Story-telling is a fine art; and the talking picture is but a new medium for its expression. In the ability of this new medium to express itself in a manner that has intrinsic merit lies the only hope of development of the talking picture as an art. The responsible leaders of the film industry both in England and America pay lip service to what is called 'story value', but that it is often only lip service is evidenced by the common tendency to purchase well-known stories and then to alter them beyond hope of recognition. Surely one does not make a costly purchase deliberately to destroy it? And who knows better than the original author what values are to be had out of his story? There is a poverty of ideas amongst the producers; and when one of them strikes a rich vein of popular approval he is immediately followed by a host of imitators. A highly successful cat burglar hero is quickly succeeded by a number of night prowlers with similar characteristics. Just now the minor tragedies and farces that compose the private lives of theatre folk are as well known to the inhabitants of Des Moines as the public utterances of the local town mayor. Back-stage scenes are all the rage; and the last shred of privacy is torn from the garments of Proteus. The only difference between England and America in this respect is that in England the flood of imitations usually appears twelve months later—and too late!

During my recent apprenticeship to the practical business of picture making I heard much about popular taste. The assump-

that is that the level of intelligence of the great mass of cinema audiences is considerably below that of the exhibitors and district managers whose business it is to ascertain and report on these things. If there were a public examination held, 'who shall 'scape whipping?' The big producers are able and imaginative men of business, but their agents may sometimes mistake the shout of a vociferous moron for the general level of opinion. Owing to the great size of the industry it has been found necessary to depend a good deal upon reports and opinions of this kind; and the costs of picture making are so heavy, mistakes are so difficult to rectify, that there has grown up within the big film corporations a system of consultation and conference before and during the process of transferring a story on to the celluloid that certainly avoids stupid mistakes, but has other and more sinister influences that at present pass unheeded but will eventually force themselves upon the attention of the most cynical of producers. Conferences of this kind are a battle of wits. Various motives have to be considered. Some of those present have doubts about the story or the characterization, others dislike the cast or the director, others there are who float in and out of the conference chamber with an air of diplomatic detachment like the first autumn leaf whose appearance vaguely presages the coming changes. There may be others whose objections are framed to catch the attention of the high executive presiding at the meeting, and not always with the sole object of improving the story. The result of all this is a great reduction in the percentage of error in the processes of manufacture, but it also causes a general flattening of interest in the resulting picture, for objections have to be met and points of view reconciled. The natural tendency is to reduce everything to one common denominator. But the time will come when a more individual expression in each important picture will be forced upon the film magnates if they are to avoid a repetition of the financial defeat that stared them in the face towards the close of the silent picture era, when the aggregate return upon the total capital invested in film making in the United States was, I am told, only some 2 per cent. The public are very quick to detect a sameness about their entertainments.

Re-reading what I have written, it seems pretty clear that the most neglected person in the whole situation is the most important, namely, the author. He provides the kernel of success in every instance. Yet he has never been given any but the most nominal authority over his own work. Usually he is treated like a writer of advertisements, and his copy is forwarded to the manager's office, there to be edited in conformity with the requirements of space and the needs of the department store

in question. The introduction of dialogue has changed many things in the film studio, but the revolution is not yet complete. The most profound change will come when the author is regarded as of more importance than the studio executive, and indeed the first cause of a film's existence, as the public is the final arbiter of its success or failure. In order to secure this development a new generation of combined dramatic and cinematic writers needs to be trained—men who not only possess a knowledge of literature and drama and an ability to write, but also have a comprehensive understanding of the peculiar needs of the film studio. The present way out of the difficulty which is to employ an author or dramatist to collaborate with a trained scenario writer is not good. The resulting product must always be a compromise, and not a reflection of one point of view.

Basil Dean.

THE EASTERN ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN ART AND THEIR REACTION UPON HISTORY

A REVOLUTIONARY change has come over our knowledge of the art of the last nineteen centuries, the art of Christendom; but the change is hardly known to the general reader, and has not yet been put in such forms as can be easily understood. Since the bearings of this new knowledge will be far-reaching, it may be worth while to describe it in a rough outline that lays no claim to finality.

Most of us believe what the English text-books still teach—the public school tradition, we may call it—that our art came to us through Greece and Rome, and from nowhere else. Quite recent German text-books are better informed; but I have before me a standard work as late as 1909, which begins with the Catacombs, proceeds to the basilica in its Western form, does not get to the East till the eighth chapter, and then does not reach further into Asia than the neighbourhood of Antioch. Now our debt to Greece is unchallenged and undying; but in the art of the Christian era there is another and a very vital element—something that caused the development from the simple lintel architecture of the Parthenon to the soaring elasticity of Westminster Abbey and the floating dome of St Paul's. The distinctive and vital elements in our art did not come from Greece, but from Asia. The high quality of Asiatic art is partly recognised by current criticism in its marked admiration of Chinese art: indeed, most connoisseurs would now agree that the greatest elements in sculpture and painting are to be found in two countries, Hellas and China. But the fact that our own origins lie between these two points, and that (to put it in a rough but intelligible form) we must look to Persia rather than to Italy, this is what the enormous labours of explorers and archaeologists in wild and desert lands are bringing to light, and what we have now to assimilate. It is not easy to explain, for there are no English text-books to familiarise the new orientation; most of the places and even the nations involved are unknown to the general reader; and there are no maps readily available. It is, however, worth while to take one's classical atlas and sketch new outlines

and comment upon it (many of the places can be found in *The Times Atlas*, plate 51): for the historical implications are fascinating and important.

Briefly, the historical position which discoveries in art are elucidating is that Christianity arose as a frontier religion in Asia where many races met, that it spread rapidly along the trade routes eastward, and established itself in North Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Armenia: it became a State religion, indeed, as early as the first half of the third century in Osrhoëne[1] (with Edessa as its capital), and formed the established Church of Armenia before the end of that century, at a time when it was still being persecuted in the Roman Empire; while in the tolerant atmosphere of Zoroastrian Persia it was able to form settled communities and to develop in its own way and express itself in architecture and other arts. Curiously enough, the fact has generally escaped notice that this 'Eastern-facing' position was expressed with remarkable accuracy in the Acts of the Apostles. There we are told in the second chapter that the audience at Pentecost consisted of Persians, and the order is noticeable—'Parthians, and Medes and Elamites'; then 'the dwellers in Mesopotamia and Judea'; then comes what we call Asia Minor, '(in Cappadocia, in Pontus (on the Black Sea),' and Asia' (on the west, in Phrygia and Pamphylia'), and after Asia Minor comes Africa or Lybia (in Egypt and the parts of Lybia about Cyrene—near Tripoli, as we might say), and then at the end, 'sojourners in Rome both Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians.' The crowd that heard the news had come in enormous preponderance from Asia to this Asiatic frontier-city of Jerusalem by the merchants' roads, and by the same roads they carried the news back to their own lands. They carried the news mainly to Asia, part of which was within the Roman Empire and part of which was not. For there was a second great empire in those days, the Persian, which did not suppress nationality as the Romans did. Early Christianity was not in most part dependent on a persecuted community haunting the Catacombs, as is still generally supposed (though even in Rome they normally lived and worshipped above ground like other people), but a universal religion spreading under different conditions across all the frontiers, and enjoying a peaceable life outside the Roman Empire, and indeed during long periods within it as well. The magnificent city of Antioch, for instance (which will reveal many secrets when the most difficult work of excavation is undertaken), was within that empire, but it was in close com-

[1] The reader can find this very important country on a modern map if he traces the triangle, half-way between Alexandretta and Lake Van, which is formed by the towns of Urfa (Edessa), Diarbekr (Amida), and Nisibin (Nisibis).

association with the independent countries. Thus Christianity was embracing in the first four centuries two Aryan States, the Roman Empire in the west and the East Aryan State of Persia in the heart of Asia, with an important and highly intellectual Semitic wedge between them. Christian art arose as a blend of these three elements, and all were in fact Eastern, for the art of the Roman Empire was Hellenistic, while the other two elements were directly of Asia.

Islam in the seventh century swept over the cradle of Christian art, only the patriarchate of Rome escaping from the great wave that submerged the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and, in the end, Constantinople the early histories of the Churches farther east were forgotten, the monuments till recently were inaccessible. Many of the ancient buildings perished or were destroyed, yet thousands have been found and much more awaits the excavator who can penetrate into regions not yet touched by the railway But something is already known. We know, for instance, from the *Chronicles of Arbela* that in the country of Adiabene fifty miles east of Nineveh—the reader must look at the map to realise the significance of this— Isaac, the third bishop, between A.D. 123 and 136 built a large and well-proportioned church, and that in memory of Noah, the fifth bishop A.D. 166–171, another church known as the small church was erected. Nothing has been found of these, and nothing of so early a date in the very important Edessa district, though we do not know what the spade may one day discover But ruined churches of the fifth and sixth centuries are abundant, and they show forms of architecture often magnificent, and far more varied and original than that of the West, which must have had precursors since they are well advanced along the road of development

The difficulty for the ordinary student is that photographs and plans are difficult to get at Mr O M Dalton, of the British Museum, has indeed in his *East Christian Art* given us some fine examples, and also in his translation of Strzygowski's *Origin of Christian Church Art* but these are few, and the reader in all works on this subject is baffled at every turn by being referred to some unobtainable foreign book, to the records of foreign learned societies, or to a few monographs by British explorers The reason is simple there is no money If research were to prove that all art and civilisation had come from one of the great Western Powers, we should be flooded with beautifully illustrated books; but the facts are not of that description. Strzygowski is the great pioneer, and in a long working life of immense and brilliant discovery, which is still progressing, he is still developing and modifying his original theories; but Strzygowski has had

against him every form of prejudice—the natural dislike of the older authorities to have their theories upset, and of the student to have to learn a new and difficult grammar of art, the strong interests, both nationalist and ecclesiastical, which are threatened, the classical tradition of our schools, the shrinking of the ordinary man from names and places and ideas which are utterly unknown to him. Thus each new step that Strzygowski has made has been opposed; but generally those who criticise his latest pronouncements have already accepted his earlier theories. At the moment, for instance, there are arguments among the learned few about Bactria and Iran, but the general conclusions about the enormous importance of the Eastern elements are not disputed except by a few die-hards. He is not infallible, and some of his theories may be modified in the direction of those who, like Wulff, Weigand, and Bréhier, stress Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia rather than the regions further east (or even that of the older view of men like Riegl which makes Hellenistic art still the main source), but the victory of the East in general is unmistakable; and the late learned and redoubtable Commendatore Rivoira is not likely to have any successors of the same calibre. But how long will it take for the discoveries to be understood? We forget how much we are helped in most ideas by early training, by the traditional way in which knowledge is arranged, the tables, maps, styles and (often arbitrary) periods, and the nomenclature familiar from our youth. How easy to grasp the outlines of Greek sculpture or Italian painting; how hard to sail with even keel on those strange seas where names convey so little, and where, it must be confessed, writers like Strzygowski do not help one by maps, cannot afford to provide the illustrations one needs, and constantly assume in the readers of their difficult German a knowledge which few possess! Strzygowski's list of works (on the origins of church art alone) now numbers over seventy-five, and his collaborators have published twenty-four of importance, not to mention others. And Strzygowski would produce, he tells us, new 'books of monumental size' if there were the money.

Therefore in this short article I am trying to give the normal educated man, to whom the subject is new, a few facts and theories which may give him an idea of the lie of the country—not without some faint hope that someone will arise who is able to produce a simple and cheap handbook with plenty of illustrations and with maps. Perhaps the following facts will make the position a little more clear. Ireland is not farther from the Holy Land than Turkestan. Christianity spread eastward far more easily than by the difficult sea routes to the West; and at the time when St. Patrick was converting Ireland the Christian religion was well settled in Chinese Turkestan, as the discovery during the last

twenty years of fifth-century fragments of a psalter in Pahlavi and of another in a Syro-Persian dialect prove. In China itself the Nestorian Christians (whose Church in South India is still a flourishing institution to-day) arrived in A.D. 638 and built a church in the capital, Si-ngan-fu; between 651 and 684 the Emperor Kao-Tsung caused churches to be erected in all the ten provinces of China, and a stele of 781 tells us of more churches—'great palaces of light and unity covered the length and breadth of the Middle Kingdom.'

But by this time a vast Muslim wedge had been driven between the Christianity of the Far East and that of the Mediterranean world (soon itself to be divided into Eastern and Western Churches). The Mediterranean fragment lived on and increased, gradually converting more of Europe, while the larger central portion suffered extermination at the hands of Islam. Of the Mediterranean part of Christendom, the Eastern or Greek wing was in its turn later conquered by Muslim invaders—even Russia was for two centuries of the Middle Ages under Tatar domination—but though weakened it was not destroyed. The more fortunate Western part, further from the seat of danger, is that with which Church historians have mainly concerned themselves, and beyond that most people know but little; but the weakness of ancient history is that it has been written in ignorance of art and without acquaintance with the monuments, which never lie. From China to Ireland these monuments are spread: from China to Syria they are but ruins, recently discovered and imperfectly understood.

One side of the evidence is found in ornament, which to the expert is more revealing of fundamental principles than anything else. Oriental ornament is markedly different from classical, as Mr. Dalton lucidly explains in his chapter on the subject in *East Christian Art*, where the balance between conflicting theories is admirably maintained: it is diffused instead of being concentrated, optical instead of being tactual—like embroidery, shall we say?—and it is non-representational and denaturalised. We can think of it in the terms of those 'Keltic' crosses which have been so largely copied, the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, or the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Kells and the Viking ships that have been dug up in Norway. But how came this Oriental ornament to Ireland, Britain, and Norway? It was carried by the Gothic tribes from the East westwards across Europe, and then southward to the Mediterranean. And it was this racially Gothic element, according to Strzygowski, which, with the other and more direct Eastern influences, brought life into the frozen architecture of the West and caused it to blossom into 'Romanesque' and 'Gothic.'

Now the timber-roofed basilica was a utilitarian meeting-hall

without architectural vitality and with no principle of development within it. It led to architectural stagnation in the West for a thousand years, until in fact it began to develop into what is called Romanesque; though Romanesque is due in part, as we have said, to the influence of the Goths, and most of its characteristic features have now been discovered of earlier date in Armenia, Syria, and even Egypt. But in the East basilican architecture was enriched by Asiatic forms which brought a vitality that has never been exhausted. From the East, it would seem, came the arch, the earliest improvement on the primitive basilica, which caused the architrave to be quickly discarded and made the later Byzantinesque and Romanesque developments possible. The vault and the dome came from Asia to broaden Hellenistic art; discussion about their origins is not ended, but most students of Eastern Art would perhaps now agree that the vault is a Mesopotamian feature while the dome is Persian; and it was in Asia that basilican architecture developed with extraordinary freedom and power by the use of these two vital features. Every type and shape of building is to be found among the widespread multitudinous ruins to which we have referred; but far more important than the Orientalised basilicas are the 'central' churches—buildings which grow, in an infinite variety of forms, round a central dome. These central churches have never ceased to be the normal form in Russia and the East; they are thought by some to have been originally carried westward by the Armenians to Constantinople, where stands the most magnificent example of all, St. Sofia, in the opinion of William Morris—lover of Gothic as he was—the finest building in the world; but nearer home and better known is St. Mark's at Venice, a Byzantine building copied from the now destroyed Church of the Apostles in Constantinople. The Armenians were a brilliant and adventurous people, with a national Church before Constantine; some idea of their ruined buildings, which have revolutionised our knowledge of architecture (though nothing has yet been discovered among them earlier than the sixth century), can be obtained from *The Thousand and One Churches* by Sir W. Ramsay and Miss Bell.

Thus a new conception of our own Western history has come upon us. Since I began writing this essay an article has appeared by an eminent English divine which alludes to 'the founding of Christian communities over the far-flung spaces of the Roman Empire.' That is a good example of the way in which the old traditional view is still taken for granted; but we have now to readjust ourselves and to think of our Christian civilisation as spreading not only under repression in the Mediterranean area, but among freer peoples across Edessa and Armenia and lower Mesopotamia, and to the farther boundaries of Persia, and

beyond. And we have to think of a new art, formed by these peoples during the first four centuries of our era, before it had been brought under ecclesiastical control. From that art came the new life which scattered Byzantine and, more especially, Byzantinesque architecture over Italy and western Europe, freeing the basilica by about A.D. 1000, and making possible the great Romanesque development which also grew from Eastern seed. Then to the three stocks—the West Aryan of the Mediterranean, the Semitic from Mesopotamia, and the East Aryan of Persia—was added the inspiration of a fourth, the North Aryan, which developed Gothic architecture and the Gothic spirit in art. The Renaissance followed, with its return to classicism; but what gave vitality to Renaissance architecture was not its attempt to adapt the Greco-Roman temple to modern requirements or its other weakness in the servile copying of antique ornament, but its use of the vault and the arch, and above all its reintroduction of the most splendid of all the builder's inventions, the dome. The Renaissance began with the dome at Florence, and Brunellesco, Michelangelo, Wren, were but reintroducing in the West the greatest artistic invention of Asia; they were in fact, bringing in that old world to redress the balance of the new.

PERCY DEARMER.

THE TIDES

OVER the Minch a leaden sky brooded. A southerly gale whipped the sullen waters of the Plain of Ler. Within the small thatched cottage beside the shore the smoke of the peat fire, set in the middle of the room, filled the dwelling with blue pungent haze. In a corner of the room an old man was lying on his bed. He realised that few hours of mortal life remained to him and, raising himself with difficulty upon his elbows, he asked 'Cia mar tha [illegible]-mara ?' (How is the tide ?) He knew, and his loved ones standing there anxiously beside him knew, that with the ebbing tide his spirit would leave his body.

The lore of the tides is deep and mysterious as the ocean herself—she who the old poets wrote of as Wife of Mannanan. Everywhere in the Celtic isles there is the belief that the soul of man leaves his body at the close of his earthly life when the tide of ocean is ebbing. It may be that there is an ebb and flow of a spiritual tide of which our material senses are unaware. This would account for the belief, still widely held, that life comes with the flood tide. When the Atlantic, at the imperious bidding of the pale moon, pours in a mighty, irresistible stream north-east past Malin Head and Tory Island, past Barra, Mingulay and Maile nam Mor Ibreann, the clustered shore clans of the isles awaken.

As the first faint ripples of the rising tide caress them the small rock pools tremble. Slowly the sea anemones open their deep red flower heads and rouse themselves from their slumber. Brilliant sunshine is in each pool where small green algae float feather-light. The flowing tide makes soft music as it majestically surges north-east, past the sombre rocks of Talisker, past Rudha Maernes and Rudha Hunish, then onward to Stornoway, Cape Wrath, and through the Pentland Firth to the North Sea beyond. Ebb and flow, rhythmic, measured, unceasing.

The isles of the west are sleepless, for the ocean is there, and she is without resting time. But inland the hills and glens are untouched by her spell. Thus in winter they sleep, and so lack the charm and spiritual essence of western isles. Yet when, at the coming of summer, they awake refreshed, charm is upon

them also for a season, for there can be no freshness more delightful than the awakening from a prolonged and dreamless slumber.

The ocean is not alone in its tides. Throughout Nature we find ebb and flow. The moon—she who draws the seas to herself and attracts the waters of each hill loch and rock pool so that in them also are infinitesimal tides—ebbs and flows from the sight of us here on earth.

In the isles the moon and the winds are said to be closely linked. When the new moon falls on a Saturday night the people say, 'Solus Sathurne gabhaidh e an cuthach seachd uairean' ('A Saturday's moon will go mad seven times'). The day after the moon is full is known by the beautiful expression 'Aig bristeadh an t-solus' ('At the breaking of the light'), and old people say that the change of weather will come with the first of the ebb of the moonlight.

When the moon is waxing is the time to sow. Corn set in the ground after full moon will not grow quickly. As human life goes out on the ebb tide of the ocean, so does plant life remain dormant with an ebbing moon. But harvesting should be done when the moon is on the wane.

Linked with the tides of the sea is the vigour of the waves. All who know the shores of the ocean must have seen the increasing waves as the flood tide approaches its height. It was perhaps on the flood that the Three Waves of Erin were heard. Tonn Cleena, Tonn Tuaithe, Tonn Rudraidhe were the names of these waves. When the King of Erin was hard pressed in battle his shield uttered a deep-sounding musical moan and the Three Waves took up the moan, so that all who lived beside the tides were aware that things went badly with their fighting host.

In an old descriptive tale these waves are written of as the Wave of Erin, the Wave of Man, the Wave of the North. There is a fourth wave mentioned, the Wave of Britain of the Comely Host.

The waves of the tide were of old beloved by the poets. In the *Book of Leinster* it is written, 'The place of the disclosure of poetry ever with the poets is the sea shore.' Neidé, son of the arch-poet of Erin, in meditation on a lonely shore, heard a sound in the wave as of weeping and of sorrow. He straightway put a charm on the wave, that it should disclose to him the reason for its grief. The wave sighed that it grieved for Adna the arch-poet, who had died. On hearing this Neidé at once set out for Erin, that he might claim the *tugen* or arch-poet's mantle in succession to his father.

Waves were credited with occult powers. Sickness could not travel out to sea farther than the ninth wave, for each wave is

turn out a barrier against it, and the ninth wave was the greatest of them all.

It was an ancient custom that anything floating on the sea beyond the ninth wave from the shore was the property of him who had seen it.

It is perhaps in autumn, when land and sea have completed their labours of summer, that the tides of ocean exert their greatest spell. One such day I recall. An hour before the dawn the full moon, low on the horizon, shone pale through luminous clouds that floated idly across the quiet sky. Dark against the water the ruins of a sea-girt castle rose. Once, twice, thrice the lonely lighthouse across the March flashed out its message, and after a period of darkness the three flashes again pierced the twilight that brooded over sleepless waters. From beside the castle one looked across seas that are always beautiful, but never more so than in moonlight. In a burnished pathway the moonbeams played upon the wavelets, awakening in them an ecstasy of delight so that they danced and leaped in a molten stream. It was easy for the mind to speed down that fairy pathway that stretched away and away westward into the great sea silence.

Nature sometimes inspires her lover at the hour which precedes the dawn. She sleeps lightly, and each living object becomes living and mysterious. Beauty and mystery come closer to revealing themselves at the silent hour of dawn.

How many men's minds have sought for beauty! Some see it in a wonderful prospect from a lonely mountain top, some in a venerable cathedral sanctified by prayer and good thoughts, some in moonlight on western seas where the tidal streams flow. Others, again, draw near to it in music—not only in human music, uplifting as that is, but in the music of the wind, and of the waves.

Through its perception of beauty the soul rises above things seen and visualizes those mysterious pathways leading on and ever on through unmeasurable space to the realm of the divine. Then comes a flood of realization of the light that is shining steadfastly ahead, although dark clouds so often dim it from our mortal senses.

The tang of seaweed at the hour of dawn brings health to mind and body. At dawn by moonlight at ebb tide, curlew feed beside the sea, and, having fed, fly wailing through the velvet twilight. Elfin pipe notes, too, carry far across the silent air, sounding sometimes slow and sometimes fast as though played for a dance.

We cannot always hear the fairy music, nor climb by aerial ladders of golden moonbeams toward the great silence where was no beginning and will be no end, where time and space

exist not. It is only when our hearts are uplifted that we can make this journey—uplifted, it may be, by wonderful music or by steadfast prayer.

It was Plato, I think, who wrote that life reaches its glory when some fair object, or some inspiring view, or some loved person, of a sudden draws back the curtain from our eyes so that we dwell in eternal beauty.

The tides and the wind are linked by some secret bond. Those of us who know the ocean are aware that the flood tide brings often the first faint stirrings of a breeze, and that the wind often falls light at the last of the ebb. Nowhere are the tides more clearly seen than in the Minch. Cuan Sgith,[1] as the Minch was known to the Gaels in early times, is the home of many tidal rivers. At the flood these rivers flow north-east. They swirl about the dark rocks of MacDonald's Table, and at their coming the great pollack which have their home beside Sgeir nam Maol awaken to activity and give swift chase to the silvery herring and the sturdy mackerel, while the Shiant Isles, caught in the arc of a rainbow, glow with mystic green light. There is a tradition that MacDonald of the Isles took his daughter, who was in disgrace, from his castle of Duntulm across the Minch to Sgeir nam Maol and left her there. The skerry is awash at the height of a spring tide, and the maiden's fate had been certain had not a passing galley seen her from afar and rescued her, taking her over to Harris, where she was content with some humble position lest she should be discovered.

Between Sgeir nam Maol and Trodday, the Fairy Isle, solans haunt the seas. When a shoal of herring are passing here, borne upon the tidal river, the sea air is alive with these white-winged fishermen. In a gleaming maze they sail above the blue tidal ocean, passing and repassing one another with the poetry of flight. Perhaps a score of the birds sight herring at the same instant, and dive headlong, churning the water as they enter it and sending a jet of white spray into the air. Throughout the daylight hours solans pass and repass across the Minch. They come, mostly, from St. Kilda, and at night they return to the stacks of Hirt,[2] or doze upon the surface of the sea. At night the petrels are abroad. They are weird-flying birds, graceful and attractive. The fulmar petrel, large and sturdy, and the small 'Mother Carey's chicken,' no bigger than a swallow, which rides out the strongest winter gale upon the Atlantic—these are active during the twilight hours. They are heard, too, when the south-west wind in the blackness of a starless autumn night lifts the surface water of the ocean in spindrift, or when the hunter's

[1] The Sea of Skye.
[2] St. Kilda.

moon, full-orbed, golden, serene, tops the hills of Skye and floods the waters of the Minch with mellow light.

The tides of ocean are not all alike. There are the greater tides—the spring tides—which flow in every fourteen days. These come at the full and at the new moon. The greatest of the spring tides is usually on the night following the new and the night following the full moon. For upwards of a week the spring tides sweep mightily through the Minch, then are succeeded by an equal period of lesser tides—the neaps—when the ocean is quieter and the ebb and the flow are less impetuous and strong.

During the neap tides the outposts of marine life are without salt water. The highest rows of the numberless clan of the barnacles are then exposed to summer sun and winter frost, and the golden ranks of the fucus seaweed are dried and shaken by the winds. These living things await patiently the coming of the full tides. Eagerly after days of drought must the barnacles feed upon the minute forms of ocean life that are drifted past them on the flood, where kittiwakes fish with graceful slanting dives.*

The tides of plant life follow, though more slowly, the tides of ocean. There is an ebb and flow here also. In spring (I refer, of course, to northern latitudes) the flood tide of awakening life stirs each ancient tree, each small flowering plant, each moss, each lichen. Its first impulses are seen almost ere the New Year is come, on sheltered banks beside the sea. Slowly that tide of awakening life flows northward. From the Isles of Scilly, where even in February the grass is green and the fields are golden with daffodils, it crosses the sea to Land's End, thence winds deviously toward the north, until, at midsummer, its waves break gently upon the summits of the Cairngorm giants, where, 4000 feet above the sea, the moss campion and star saxifrage have their home. Here, on the roof of Scotland, the flood tide of plant life lingers throughout July.

The flood spent, the ebb tide of plant life flows southward at the approach of autumn. The green oats become golden, flowers become fruit, the harvest is gathered. Then, when the ebb is far spent, comes winter, fierce, merciless, clothing the hills in white, freezing the tide as it flows across the numbed shore, covering the green grass and sending the grey geese in clamorous bands toward the south.

With the tide of spring comes the flood tide of bird life—a surging northward flow that has ever been the wonder of mankind. Each spring that tide brings the swallow and the swift from Africa to Britain, brings the clan of the sea swallows from tropic seas to nest beside the ice-filled lagoons of Spitsbergen, carries the knot from Australia to Grant's Land, most northerly country of

* The kittiwake is, I think, the only seagull which can actually dive.

our northern hemisphere. No compass have these feathered travellers, yet they fly unerringly, borne upon an invisible aerial tide.

With the spring comes also the tide of bird song. In autumn birds are silent. There are exceptions, it is true, for even in November the robin, mavis, jenny-wren, and dunnock may make music, but it is not until the first of the tides of spring stir that the clan of the birds tune their voices. Slow is the northward flow of the tide of bird song. In January the storm-cock may throw its defiant clarion notes to the winds of England, but it is mid-February, or even March, before his music gladdens upland highland glens. The willow-warbler that haunts the pine woods of Tresco in March will not sing in northern Scotland until April is making place for May.

In January the tide of bird song begins to flow; in May it reaches its height. After mid-June its ebb has set in. In July silence reigns in the bird world, but as the feathered songsters one by one complete their moult their song is once again heard for a short space, although lacking the full power of the spring notes. Even in October, when the sun shines and the winds for a time drop light, the larks and curlews that are on passage across the Hebrides from northern lands mount into the autumn air with song that is long sustained and joyful almost as the music of spring, while the corn bunting, swaying giddily upon some dried docken stem, pours out his wheezy song to the autumn dawn.

More secret than the song, and the voyaging of birds are the migrations of fish, and there can surely be nothing more wonderful in all Nature than the great journey of the common eel. On an inky dark night the mature eel leaves the highland loch, or the English lake, where it has lived and grown. Seeking the nearest stream, the eel is borne by the current to the parent river, and thence to the ocean. To the deepest part of the Atlantic it swims unerringly, and there lays its eggs. A thousand leagues and more from the land the infant eels, or elvers, are hatched, and, carried upon the tides and currents of ocean, at length reach the same rivers as those in which their parents lived, and press upward with incredible strivings against the fast-flowing stream to its head-waters.

In all things are ebb and flow. The Merry Dancers, those mysterious shafts of light which on autumn nights after the last of the sunset has ebbed quiver like ghostly fingers on the northern horizon, wax and wane, appear and disappear, yet all the while gradually increase in brilliance until, their full tide arrived, they become less bright and finally return whence they came. There can be no more inspiring sight than these Merry Dancers or

Northern Lights when they burn not only along the northern horizon, but leap upward to the zenith and even beyond. In pulsating waves the lights throb at incredible speed across the sky. They are perhaps greenish tinged, or are faintly coloured with red. So bright are they that they dim the brilliancy of the stars, and at times even of the moon herself.

Nor are the stars themselves constant. In them also is an ebb and flow—an increase and decrease of light. That light may take thousands of years to reach us, but the rays from the most distant star or spiral nebula as surely find us as does the spring tide seek out and flow over the most remote shore of some far-reaching sea loch of Scotland or fjord of Norway—so distant from the sea that even a glimpse of the parent ocean is denied it.

Finally, in ourselves also is an ebb and flow. All of us know the tides of Joy and of Sorrow: the flood tide of Joy that surges in upon us and drenches us with its warm life-giving waters so that all around us dwells a mystical and spiritual beauty while we stand awhile on the shore of life marvelling and almost pierce the veil that lies between things seen and things unseen; when we almost [illegible] that gulf called death and see the light that shines beyond it. The tide of Joy ebbs: there comes the ebb tide of Sorrow in its place. Come empty hours when the light of the sun is dimmed by clouds and shadows: when our hearts grow cold; when the tide of love ebbs within us and suspicion and unhappiness dwell where it had flowed. Then is our faith tested, then we must look forward with trust and faith in the calm serenity of hope that, sure as the ebb, the flood tide of the spirit will certainly arrive once more.

I close this essay with a poem by Rumann Mac Colmain, royal poet of Ireland—he who is called in the *Book of Leinster* the Homer and Virgil of Erin and who lived in the year 747.

A great tempest upon the Plain of Ler
Bold across its high borders
Wind has arisen, fierce winter has slain us; it has
Come across the sea.

The work of the plain—the great Plain of Ler—has
Brought trouble upon our great host
Save something greater than all, no less, what is
There more marvellous
Than the incomparable great story?

When the wind sets from the East, the spirit
Of the wave is roused
So that it desires to go past us westward to the
Land where sets the sun,
To the rough and broad green sea.

When the wind sets from the north it
Urges the dark fierce waves
Towards the southern world, surging in
Strife against the white sky
Listening to the . . . song

When the wind sets from the west across the
Salt sea of swift currents
It desires to go past us eastward to the sun-tree,
Into the broad long distant sea.

When the wind sets from the south across the
Land of Saxons of mighty shields
The wave strikes the Inner Isle of Scit it has gone
To the point of Caladnet
And pounds the grey-green mouth of the Shannon.

The Ocean is in flood, the sea is full, delightful
Is the home of ships.
The sandy wave has made whirls around the
River mouth of the Two Showers
Swift is the rudder against the broad sea.

This is not easy a rough sleep with
Fierce triumph, with angry strife
The ocean's ... covers the Son of Mil*
With his people
The Tresses of Manannan's wife are tossed about

The wave has tumbled with mighty force
Across each dark broad river mouth
Wind has come, white winter has slain us
Around Cantire, around the land of Alba
Slieve Dromcat pours forth a full stream.

Son of God the Father with vast hosts, save me
From the horror of fierce tempests.
Righteous Lord of the Feast, only save me from
The horrid blast
From Hell with high tempest

Seton Gordon

* Scotland

THE GOD OF OBSTACLES

An Indian Village Tale of the Time of the Great War

[The God of Obstacles is not included in any list of the gods of India printed in the English tongue. He is worshipped in villages by the simple-minded. Sometimes he has an image, most often he has not. The way of worship is simple. When plans go wrong, and the rains fail to come, or the plough-bullocks die, or those whom the women love are in trouble and difficulty, opposed by forces too great for them, the women say: 'The God of Obstacles must be propitiated.'

There is only one propitiation which he accepts. A lamp (a wick afloat in a shellful of oil) must be lighted and set in the very middle of the busiest traffic at the cross-roads. If the lamp keeps burning for three minutes, the god has accepted the act of propitiation. The obstacle, trouble, opposing force will be removed. *It is only a woman who can so propitiate this godling.*]

The little God of Obstacles sits at Indian cross-roads, and is worshipped by women. The way of worship is difficult, and some have wondered why there should be a godling who gets in the way at all, and to what intent he needs propitiation, and why the propitiation should cost so much and be asked alone of the frailest of human beings.

To some of these questions the Great War gave me an answer; and when I tell you the story of Sukumari Devi you will understand what I mean.

Sukumari lived in a mat hut in her father's village. Always she lived there: in the time of coolness when the leaves of the umbao trees trembled with joy, listening to the music of the Wind God on his shrill reed pipes; in the heat time of the sun when the mango trees budded and the brain-fever bird sang his one-note song; and, later still, when the fevered breath of the red earth scorched all things living, and left the white-limbed cotton trees standing bare among their fallen red petals; even then also was Sukumari to be found in the mat-hutted village.

Sukumari loved the Wind God's days of the time of coolness; singing, she carried her pitcher to the well, or ran fleetly to her daily tryst with a blue kingfisher who built his nest among the reeds of the bathing tank.

But in the heat time the burden of the days lay heavy on her: no music was there in her soul, scarce could she drag the small silver-weighted feet upon their housewife's errands, and nor food nor drink was pleasant to her.

'My mind also,' she mused, 'has turned sour like last night's bowl of milk.'

Her husband had been among the first to offer for the service of the King-Emperor in the Great War. He had gone away to an unknown place too suddenly for farewells. Sukumari had understood nothing about it all, and felt neither pride nor resentment.

No news came to her; but she would lie on the soft grassy patch in the mango grove near the cowbyre, her ear to the earth, listening. . . . She had the earth-child's belief that news would come of him that way. Was not earth, the mother, one—here in Bengal, and there in the fighting place?

But no news came, only vague forebodings born of that silent vigil; and the days lost their savour.

'Oh! Blue Kingfisher, is there a bathing tank in the fighting place?' she said one morning, as she stepped out of the water. 'Could you perhaps build a nest beside it, and watch and remember, and bring me word again?'; and she sat down on the cool steps of the ghat to think.

What was it like in that far place? What was fighting like?

A war—yes, she knew, like the tales in the old-time books: Arjun and his bow and arrow, and chariots and horses of fire and two sides clashing as they opposed each other and great war-cries, which rent the air—and then one side victor.

But that was as the gods willed; and for the fallen, bound-up wounds, and lameness, and all-is-wellness when once the gods had spoken as to who deserved to win. . . . Had he fallen, was he pierced with an arrow? . . . She pulled her straight black brows together, thinking hard.

How, then, did he fight? Did he use an arrow too? Oh! how little she knew about anything. Why must men fight at all?

One force opposing another. . . .

And how did one worship the God of Fighters? Her people were not fighters. Who would tell her about the fighters' god?

One force opposing another . . . things getting in the way, and you having to push them out of the way, to tread them down . . . *to tread them down.*

Was that what her man was doing?

"Oh! but we people have a god who will help, when things are like that—of course we have," said [illegible]. "There is the little God of Obstacles. He will understand. If I go [illegible] find him by the path of difficulty, and if I [illegible] him he will hear, and then all the other [illegible] will be [illegible] in that far fighting place, and my man will walk over them, and come straight home to us in our very own village. [illegible] how glad I am of the difficult way."

And light hearted [illegible] the [illegible] heat, she took up the [illegible] to [illegible] to the obstacle worship.

For, as I said, the way [illegible] little Sukumari must go to the [illegible] cross-roads place where there [illegible] of wheels and animals and [illegible] and just it in the very middle of the [illegible] four roads square. That was where [illegible] God of Obstacles, and if the lamp burnt brightly [illegible] that all was well and that her [illegible] and all things that barred his way [illegible] safety.

There were but two [illegible] Sukumari and her old father [illegible] when the sun dropped behind the [illegible] meal of [illegible] and [illegible] sweet, fresh milk to wash it down. [illegible] the dew and smoke a pipe before [illegible] of day. It would be an earlier start [illegible] morrow.

There were cattle to [illegible] the river. He [illegible] as he looked [illegible] before her own bedtime.

It was that which [illegible]

He would be away all [illegible] must she start for her worship of the [illegible] the day after to-morrow's day she would be [illegible] her father.

The moon shone brightly on the [illegible] which led straight to Calcutta, largest [illegible] that minute. There was a quiver of fear [illegible] before had she made such a journey, and [illegible] without doubt the whole adventure must needs be difficult. How else should she get a hearing of the God of Difficulties?

And now it was eight o'clock on the morrow in the heart of the great city, two full hours before [illegible] darkness which was smitten for poor Sukumari, with unknown spears of strange lights—sparks from the electric trams, glares from the motor cars. Oh! truly was it a difficult place.

She found the shadow of a wall in a tiny gully and lit her lamp—four cotton wicks—in a small earthen pot of oil.

Fear lay in thinking—she knew that instinctively: she must run at once in among the wheels and legs and horses, pushing her way across a crowded pavement.

To shield her lamp she slipped it under a fold of her saree and now she had laid it down, right in the very middle of that great cross of city traffic. Certainly it was alight when she turned to look; with her own eyes she saw that, and thanked the God of Obstacles for making ways of hardness for women folk, since such wages alone they were which could purchase

But the end of that prayer was unspoken. It was a motor that did it, they said at the [illegible] Hospital to which she was carried, and she must lose one foot. But there would be life for the maimed as there had been life for the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

When [illegible] was told about her foot [illegible] [illegible] be still for joy, talking to her own heart with shining eyes [illegible] songs of victory.

'Difficult ways [illegible] purchase things, and the [illegible] the more one [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to pay!' she wondered. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] wall of those who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] making a [illegible] path [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Oh! but [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] light keep burning! Did not the little god take tribute even [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Oh! but the way of difficulties was a great and [illegible] way. It [illegible] things from you, but also [illegible] [illegible] things [illegible] back again better things. [illegible] under my feet, she kept saying, 'something [illegible] under my feet.'

It was nearly a year later that her man came home [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] down the king's enemies in that place where he stood before them, and having made [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] of the skin. [illegible] kept glancing [illegible] at the soldier [illegible] the things which he had conquered had given her [illegible] [illegible] round-shouldered student [illegible] who had gone forth to war.

'If there were no things to conquer, if nothing opposed us, if the little God of Obstacles did not get in the way,' she said and fell silent.

'Yes, that is just it,' her man made answer, in perfect understanding, soldier-scant of words.

CORNELIA SORABJI.

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. CVI

JULY–DECEMBER 1929

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CONSTABLE & COMPANY LIMITED 10 & 12 ORANGE STREET
LEICESTER SQUARE W.C. 2

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